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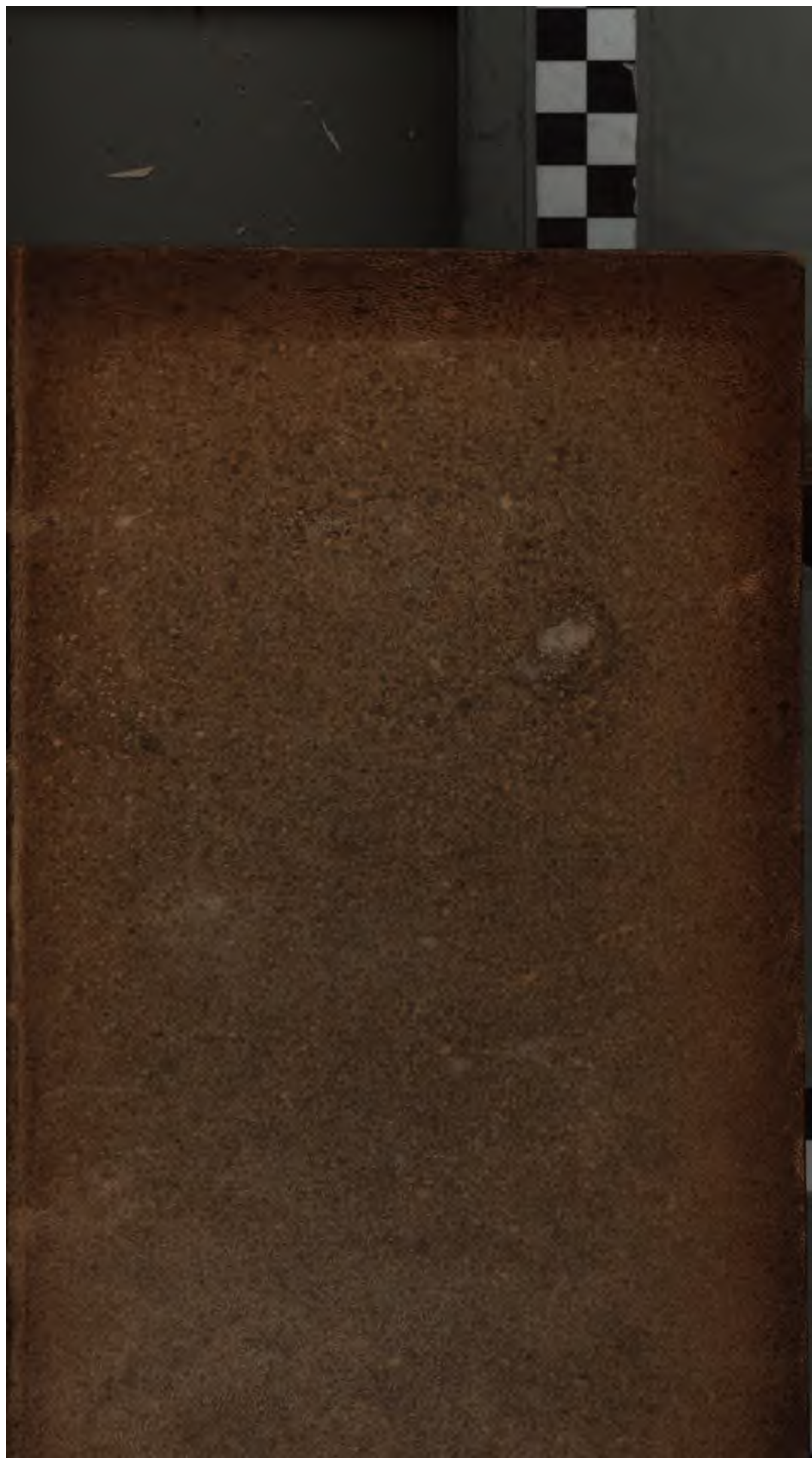
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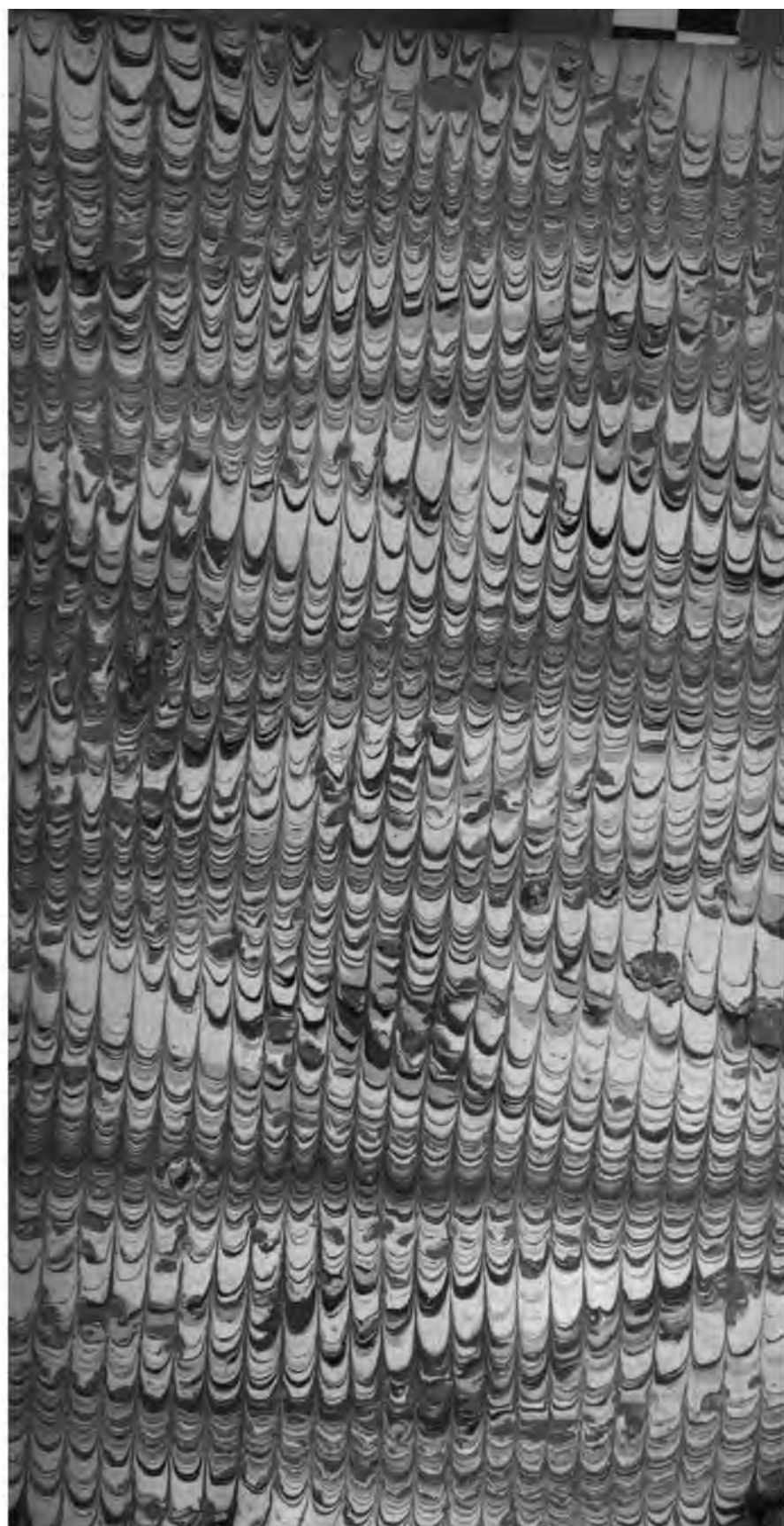




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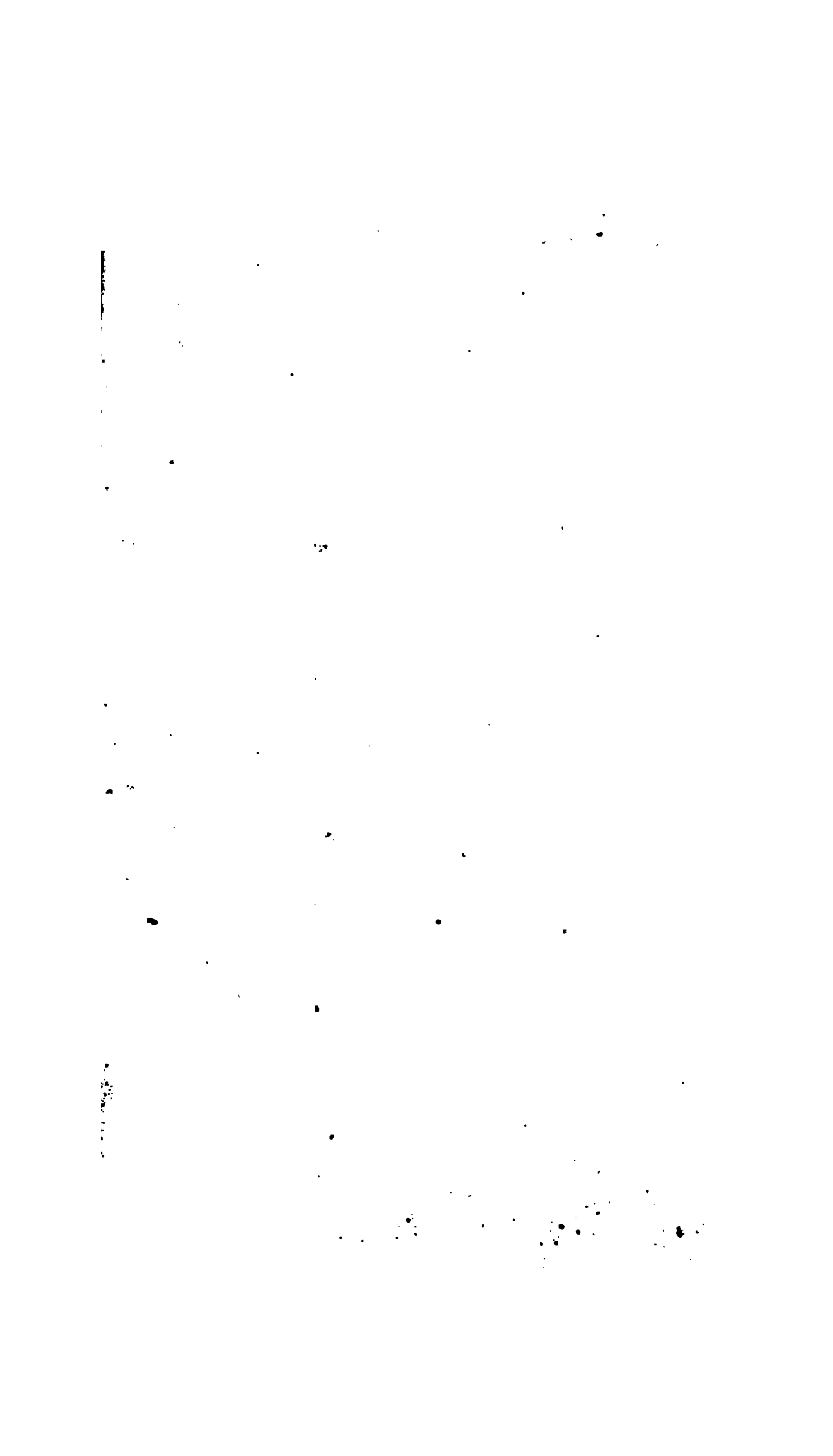




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*W. G. W. G. W. G.*

*J. E. P. G. W. G.*

*Pym's Farewell to Stratford*

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1846.





THE  
ST A T E S M E N  
OF THE  
COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND;  
WITH  
A TREATISE ON THE POPULAR PROGRESS  
IN  
ENGLISH HISTORY.

BY JOHN FORSTER,  
OF THE INNER TEMPLE.

EDITED BY J. O. CHOULES.

NEW-YORK:  
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TO

**THOMAS COLLEY GRATAN,**

HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S CONSUL AT BOSTON,

THIS EDITION

OF THE LIVES OF

THE STATESMEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH

**As Dedicated,**

WITH SENTIMENTS OF ATTACHMENT AND RESPECT, BY

**THE EDITOR.**

History triumpheth over Time, which, besides it, nothing but Eternity hath triumphed over ; for it carrieth our Knowledge over vast and devouring space for many thousands of years, and giveth to our mind such fair and piercing eyes, that we plainly behold living now, as if we had lived then, that great world, MAGNI DEI SAPIENS OPUS. . . . It is not the least debt which we owe unto History, that it hath made us acquainted with our dead ancestors, and out of the depth and darkness of the earth delivered us their memory and fame. Out of History we may gather a policy no less wise than eternal, by the comparison and application of other men's forepast miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings.—WALTER RALEIGH.

## P R E F A C E

### TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

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AMERICAN citizens can never be indifferent to the history of the struggles for freedom in the land of their fathers; and there is no more appropriate study for our youth than a careful examination of the men and measures of that period which constituted the transition state of England, from the oppressive reigns of the Tudors and the Stuarts, to the Constitutional liberty which it afterward enjoyed. The close sympathy which was felt by our pilgrim ancestors with Eliot, Hampden, Milton, and Vane, gave an origin to our national existence, and planted the institutions of piety and learning on our shores. The Puritans were the conservators of civil and religious freedom, and to the days of the civil war we are indebted for the assertion of those political truths which we now cherish as our dearest inheritance. The glories of the *English nation* in the seventeenth century are *our* rightful patrimony, and New-Englanders, when they indulge a justifiable pride in the patriotism and statesmanship of Adams and Webster, may remember with exultation that they are the guardians of the same precious ark once watched over by Sidney, Russel, and their compeers.

The great merit of Mr. Forster's *Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth* is, that he has afforded a life-like sketch of characters that will continue to appear more extraordinary to those who, by the march of time, are removed farther from the era in which they appeared on the stage of action. I mistake if this volume does not quicken much thought into activity, for it holds up to view the real life—the stirring, glowing, argumentative life of the days of the Protectorate. The thoughtful reader feels that he knows quite as much of the doings in St. Stephens at this period, as he does of the wrangling and personalities in the House of Representatives at Washington; and if it were possible for old Nell, or Eliot, or Pym to walk our globe again, he would not fail to recognise them. A perusal of this biography compels to the reflection, that faith in eternal verities is as important to nations as to individuals. The strong, earnest faith of England made her revolution at the death of Charles what it was, a blessing, then and forever, while the skepticism of France rendered the revolution at the death of Louis a living curse, a widespread damnation. The large sale of this work in America, not-

withstanding the London edition in five volumes is so costly, affords gratifying evidence that the public mind is called out to the investigation of this period of time, and no part of English history is more deserving the profound attention of the

"Sons of sires who baffled  
*Crown'd and mitred tyranny,*"

than the days of Charles I., and the devout, God-fearing, and strong-hearted Oliver Cromwell.

A careful revisal has been given to the work, notes have been added, but no alteration has been made in the text of the author.

JOHN. OVERTON. CHOULES.

June, 1846.

# THE STATESMEN OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

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A *DESIRE* having been expressed that this portion of a series of British statesmen, originally published in the "Cabinet Cyclopædia," should be given to the world in a distinct form, that desire is here complied with. I seize, at the same time, the occasion it affords me of soliciting the reader's attention, on the threshold of the work, to some considerations of historical interest that may give greater completeness to its design. It is scarcely possible—without some such general view as history will rarely give of the social, political, and religious influences which, in their gradual action after the Norman Conquest, built up what we call the Constitution of the state—to understand the secret of the origin and power of that remarkable race of men by whom, on the awful stage of the old English Revolution, events of such influence to succeeding ages were created and controlled.

Any notice of the Saxon period would be foreign to this purpose, save in so far as the revival of the national spirit, after the Norman invasion, brought back the more sturdy features of our old national character with the better portions of free Saxon usage. As little needful is it to describe from its earlier beginnings the subversion of the feudal system, which gradually declined as towns arose, as municipal communities were formed, as capital was accumulated, and the arts cultivated with success. It is obvious that, with the enrichment of a mercantile or manufacturing class, the power of an aristocracy must decrease; and our country formed no exception to the rule. It will be more important to explain briefly to the reader the secret of that attachment to monarchy, which, without question, continued to prevail throughout the nation at the beginning of the struggle for liberty described in this volume, and a knowledge of which, while it reveals the less obvious difficulties that beset the struggle, and may refine and exalt our perceptions of the policy and statesmanship of its leaders, marks also, with singular precision, the commencement of Popular Progress in the Norman period of our history.

From no principle of passive obedience, but out of the simple instinct of self-pres-

ervation, that attachment arose. It is clearly indicated, in its relations both to king and people, in one of the proclamations of Henry the Third, first discovered and partly quoted by Sir Robert Cotton. From this we perceive that it was not till majesty had been driven to extremities by the barons that it bethought itself of the expediency of securing the affections of the people; and we observe farther, that the humble prostration of the commons before the feet of sovereignty had at once its motives and its reward in the assurance of a full and sufficient protection against the great lords. A common enemy had, in fact, made common cause between the highest and lowest states of the realm, and the dormant political rights of the people were suddenly roused into action on behalf of the endangered security at once of people and of king.

Gradual advances had been made in law and jurisprudence during the reign of the first in the great line of the Plantagenets, the wise and powerful administration of Henry the Second; the general adoption of juries had given justice to the commonalty, and the institution of circuits had carried it to each man's door. The Crusades, too, had served to reawaken the failing spirits of men, had loosened more and more the bondage of the feudal laws, and had opened to the new and enterprising race then peopling our English towns various and most profitable sources of commerce with other lands. Nor had a silently growing but very potent influence of a higher nature passed unheeded. The gay resources of religious chivalry implied nobler and more generous offices than the mere relaxation of crusading knights, or conciliation of their lady-loves. They scattered the seeds of a national literature, which, whether tracked through the wandering paths of Troubadour or Dominican, sprang up afterward, during the whole period of the thirteenth century, in silent but most significant places. Still had no distinct recognition of the people been heard. The thirteenth century opened, and, as an order of the state, they were still unknown.

But about then it was, and not till then, that, happily in one sense, if unsuccessfully



in another, monarchy appealed to them in its despair. It was the weak and powerless John who first stretched out his hands to them, in fear of his barons, and implored them to lift up a distinct voice in the arrangement of public affairs. Strange and memorable for all ages were the events that followed. The success of the barons in the struggle was far from a popular success; but it was secretly acted upon by those passing, powerful, and silently expanding influences to which allusion has been made, and which shaped the mere exclusive claims of a powerful faction, as against their feudal lord, into an unconscious but eternal record of general rights, inalienable and imperishable, nor ever afterward to be denied to even the meanest Englishman. Little known to its framers were the mighty secrets included in the great Charter. Little did they suspect that, under words that were intended to limit the relations of feudal power, many of the grandest equitable truths of polity lay concealed, as though afraid to show themselves till a milder and more auspicious day. They denied protection to serfs, and knew not that the swords which gave them that very power of denial had already cut through forever the bonds of English serfdom. They protested against the power of taxation in a prince, while they reserved it in limitation for themselves, ignorant that the formidable principle would bear down the weak exception. They demanded the regular summoning of a great council to control the king, whether in imposition of new laws or administration of old; but they dreamed not that within fifty years the mere tenants of the crown, to whom they limited the commons' portion of that council, would almost insensibly yield to the admission of burgesses and knights by the forms of popular election. Of incalculable importance, for these reasons, is it to consider this great charter justly. A truth has not its fair side and its foul. A principle is not a convertible thing; nor could these iron barons of Merton, all-powerful as they were, claim its operation in the one case, and control it in the other. All was not done when their part was done. It was enough for them to have conceived the prudent thought that, when once the rust of the Norman Conquest had been worn out of the souls of men, the various and discordant elements of England could never be moulded into any safe political form without a distinct admission, however limited, of political privileges to every rank, and a nominal concession, however unfairly hampered, of civil rights of liberty and property to every class. The selfishness in which that thought began has not availed to check the reverence now fairly due to it. It was for future time to purge the selfishness and leave the

greatness. It was for a posterity that has heaped upon these men praise they would have trampled on as insolence, to demonstrate the inherent force and inexhaustible power of the simple spirit of resistance to irresponsible tyranny, whether lodged in the honest and manly warmth of a peasant's jerkin, or within the harsh and selfish links of a baron's mail. The five centuries that followed the scene at Runnymede were filled with the struggles of freedom, and never, at any new effort, were the provisions of that feudal charter appealed to in vain. Even when silent in themselves, the spirit out of which they were born still gave itself forth irresistibly in accents of warning and terror, of strength and consolation. Whether our thoughts have turned to the terrible death-field of Simon de Montfort; to the gray discrowned head of the second Richard; to the miserable fate of the first Charles; to the stakes of Ridley and Cranmer, or the as sublime sufferings of More; to the prisons of Eliot or of Marten; to the scaffold of Strafford or of Vane; to the glorious fall of Hampden, or the hopeless and irretrievable ascent of Cromwell; whether our hopes for English liberty beat high with the eloquence of Pym, or have been composed to a more sober assurance beneath the wigs of Somers, of Danby, or of Halifax, we have yet borne witness, at every new emotion, to the presence of that spirit of *MAGNA CHARTA*.

Ignorant of the extent of good which had been thus achieved for them, and still, by the influences I have named, controlling the power of the barons by dint of their superior attachment to the monarchy, the English people found themselves now, with the passage of each successive reign, more and more distinctly recognised as a power and a resource in the government. They were formally summoned to the legislature by John's successor; many of Henry the Third's writs for their election, directing "the sheriffs to elect and return two knights for each county, two citizens for each city, and two burgesses for every borough in the country," were discovered by Prynne; and in the reigns of the first and second Edwards and their successors, we find them a strong and efficient branch of the state.

That the compact was no slavish one by which the popular rights were thus revived and secured, sufficiently appears in a glance at these succeeding reigns. The sturdiest free Saxon need not have blushed, could he have lived them over. In all affairs of peace and war, in the marriages of princes, in a direct control of the domestic government, and in the formal tenure of the public purse, the commons of England, even thus early, claimed and accomplished the privilege of being consulted. Their existence once recognised, all else followed in its course. Not a reign passed that did

not give them a more decisive position. With the help of the wiser princes, in despite of the weaker, ~~their~~ power still grew.

In the reign of the first Edward, when so many great improvements in the laws were effected, that the somewhat too lofty title of the English Justinian has been claimed for that prince, they gave the residents of the various counties in which, at last, the jury system had been finally consolidated, the power, which was afterward lost, of electing their own sheriffs. They also claimed at this period a security for free and uninfluenced elections—sure evidence of a growing importance; and a remarkable statute, which dates in the third year of Edward, runs in these words: "And because elections ought to be free, the king commandeth, upon great forfeiture, that no man, by force of arms, nor by malice, or menacing, shall disturb any to make free election." The power of the purse was a more formidable claim; but, having wrested it in the weak government of this great monarch's successor, they always afterward, or at least with rare exceptions, made money supplies conditional, not only that the specific services for which they were voted might be secured, but that, as the voluntary gift of lords and commons, they should not by any pretence be drawn into forced precedents. In Edward the Second's time, we find them voting as a distinct house, apart from the temporal and spiritual barons. It is curious and significant, too, to mark in this short reign the commencement of the system of government boroughs. Edward the Second's counselors, acting upon a regular plan of strengthening the regal influence, erected no less than twenty-two new boroughs; and then it was that the lower house not only claimed, in a memorable statute, equal legislative power with the other estates of the realm, but declared that power to be a fundamental usage of England. "The matters," they said, "to be established for the estate of the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, *according as hath been before accustomed.*" Then, too, the great Charter was again confirmed, and with the striking addition of "Forasmuch as many people be aggrieved by the king's ministers against right, in respect of which grievances no one can recover without a common Parliament, we do ordain that the king shall hold a Parliament once in the year, or twice, if need be." Six different statutes in the succeeding reign still more confirmed and enlarged its provisions. But the historical student should pause with pride at the name of Edward the Third.

During the brilliant fifty years' reign of

that famous sovereign, seventy Parliaments were summoned, and by one of them, which in this may express the spirit of all, it was insisted that the nomination of the chancellor and other great public officers should be committed to itself; a claim which, though tolerated in effect in modern days, would, if formally advanced among us, be condemned as an invasion of regal prerogative. Then, too, was passed one of the most popular laws conceded by any prince, one of the most advantageous achieved by any people. This was the statute of treasons, which limited the crime, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads: the conspiring the death of the king, the levying war against him, the adhering to his enemies; and which prohibited the judges, if any other cases should occur, from inflicting the penalty of treason without application to Parliament. Without a struggle, this famous statute was won. For Edward himself, he always conceded freely what weaker sovereigns would have perilled life to hold. He was too wise to mistake in any case a shadow for a substance, and too powerful to fear concessions that had a tendency, without danger to the throne, to conciliate the other authorities of the realm. Peace, therefore, had her victories for him, not less renowned than even war. He could compose or amuse his restless lords by a politic foundation of their order of the Garter, as he would propitiate his discontented commons by a frank redress of their complaint or grievance. No manlier prince, and none more prudent or successful, occupied the English throne. No influence more brilliant or powerful, or having plainer tendencies to popular cultivation, survived to a succeeding age. It was Edward's object always to interest men in himself, but for no apparently selfish reasons; to justify his own ambition by the ambition of a common country; to aggrandize his own glory, but as the summit of the greater glory of the nation; and in this he rarely failed. Even his palaces taught something of elevation to his people. The magnificent structures of Westminster Hall and Windsor rank justly with the intellectual influences that were then diffused, and, as though an era of so much that was great should not pass without a mark to distinguish it among even the greatest of all future time, the poet Chaucer arose to charm and instruct his countrymen, and, by the purification of their native tongue, to complete the national glory. In the thirty-sixth of the third Edward, an act was passed declaring that the language so ennobled should be in future used as the language of legislation.

Every advance in intellect, how slight sover, unerringly marks the advance of a people. There are tens of thousands of

listeners for every new thought, all sure to find it in their own good time, no matter where it was first dropped, or in what obscure corner lodged. Wicliff lived in this reign. Michael Scot and Duns Scotus had preceded him; and Friar Bacon had proclaimed the advent of the true philosophy, as the morning star the day.

An imbecile prince succeeded, but the strong or the weak would have been alike powerless in an age upon which such mighty agencies as those of the sway of Edward had, in so direct a shape, descended. The beginning and the close of that reign were, therefore, not unworthy of all that had preceded it. The one was marked by a wide revolt of the serf class, and the other by the formal deposition of a rightful king. This last event established on an irremovable base the political importance of the English people. A king was formally arraigned, with at least the nominal co-operation of the constituted authorities of his empire, for treason to the trust reposed in him; was convicted, and was punished. The terms of "divine right," or indefeasible power, were, from that instant, struck out for ever from the dictionary of the state. "I confess," said that humbled prince, to the men who had sternly and calmly laid down their allegiance, "I recognise, and, from certain knowledge conscientiously declare, that I consider myself to have been, and to be, insufficient for the government of this kingdom, and for my notorious demerits not undeserving of deposition." Nor was the voluntary abdication held sufficient. The houses of lords and commons, in solemn conclave in the hall at Westminster, made Richard the Second's renunciation of his crown their own compulsory act, and, amid the enthusiastic shouts of thousands of the common people who had there assembled, Henry of Lancaster was conducted to the vacant throne.

The popular power was, perhaps, seen and felt in more visible action on that momentous occasion than at any preceding period, even among the Saxons. It was only some years before that the exclusive pretensions of the barons had been invaded by admission of regal writs of summons into their hereditary house; and here they were now themselves inducting a new sovereign to the seat of supreme power, with less guarantee that he would found his future pretensions on the fidelity of their swords, than that he would rest it rather on even those commonest shouts of the people. From such shouts, in which the old Saxon liberty again seemed pealing through the air, there no doubt fell more safety on the ear of even the haughty Bolingbroke, than from the clanking armour of the barons who led him to Richard's chair. May we not even realize the

thought which is left us by the poet whose genius takes rank with history, and suppose the new sovereign of the house of Lancaster, for years before this crowning day, an earnest and suppliant candidate for the popular shouts that now hailed, at last, the downfall of the family of York!

"Ourself and Bushy, Bagot here, and Green,  
Observed his courtship to the common people  
How he did seem to dive into their hearts,  
With humble and familiar courtesy;  
What reverence he did throw away on slaves,  
 wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles,  
And patient underbearing of his fortune,  
As 'twere to banish their affects with him.  
Off goes his bonnet to an oyster wench;  
A brace of draymen bid . . . God speed him well .  
And had the tribute of his supple knee,  
With . . . 'Thanks, my countrymen! my loving  
friends!'

As were our England in reversion his,  
And he our subject's next degree in hope."

The first great object of these crafty courtesies attained, they did not cease as soon. Ever watchful, and wary as he was bold, the policy of the aspiring Bolingbroke continued the policy of the English king. The parliamentary authority which had given him power, the popular sympathies which had confirmed his title, were strengthened and promoted by every possible resource during fourteen years of great though still disputed rule. It was natural, in the circumstances of such a reign, that the question of succession should assume paramount importance, but the most enthusiastic student of popular progress is scarcely prepared for the elevated as well as resolute character of the measures it calmly originated.

Never, at any period of the reign, was it denied that the right of Parliament to alter the succession was the solid and single claim of the house of Lancaster. Henry's first house of commons asserted that great principle by formally taking on itself to recognise his son as Prince of Wales and heir-apparent to the throne. It was revived and confirmed in the year 1404, when the sovereign, all-powerful save in this, solicited and obtained from the Parliament a permission that the right of succession to the crown should be vested in the prince's brothers, if he himself should die without heirs. In 1406, another and a grander step was taken, by which the most essential principle of popular right was reached and consummated. The commons themselves in that year carried up a petition to Henry, limiting the succession expressly to his sons and their heirs male, and obtained its formal enactment. This was, in effect, a precedent for the settlement of the crown in after years on the house of Hanover.

Other precedents, scarcely less illustrious, date from this reign. In the first session of Henry the Fourth, a law was passed that no judge should be released from

the penalty affixed to the sanction of an iniquitous measure, by pleading the orders of the king, or even the danger of his own life from the sovereign's menaces. In the second year of the reign, that practice, which was afterward one of the strongest bulwarks of popular privilege, was formally insisted on as a right, and a necessary supply was proposed to be withheld from the prince until he had answered a petition of the subject. Three years after this, the king was desired to remove from his household four officers, one of them even his own confessor, who had given offence to the commons; and Henry, that he might gratify the wishes of his faithful subjects, complied with the request, though he told them that he knew of no offence which the persons complained of had committed. In the sixth year of the same reign, while they voted the king supplies, they appointed treasurers of their own, whom they instructed to see the money disbursed for the purposes intended, and required to deliver in regular accounts to the house. In that year, also, new laws to regulate parliamentary elections attested the rapidly-increasing strength of the commons. An important statute—on “the grievous complaints of the commons against undue elections for shires from the partiality of sheriffs,” and directing “that the next county court, after writs for Parliament are delivered, proclamation shall be made of the day and place of the Parliament, and that all they that be there present, as well suiters duly summoned as others, shall proceed to the election freely and indifferently, notwithstanding any request or command to the contrary”—bears date in the year 1406.

That was the ever-memorable year, too, in which the House of Commons, having been asked to grant supplies, startled the king with a plain proposal that he should seize all the temporalities of the Church, and employ them as a perpetual fund to serve the exigencies of the state. It is needless to describe what the Church was then, or the extent to which the enormous and ill-gotten wealth of the regular clergy had at last attained. Its accumulation had been somewhat checked by statutes of mortmain under the first and third Edwards, but these were again eluded by licenses of alienation; and the hand of a churchman, according to the competent evidence of Bishop Burnet, is particularly famous for the habit of never once letting go what it has once firmly grasped. Equally objectionable with the extent of this wealth was its unequal apportionment. While such abbots as those of Reading, or Glastonbury, or Battle lived with the riotous pomp of princes, and passed their days in feasting, thousands of monks were labouring with the lowest poverty, and toiling after the

loftiest learning. The project of the commons included, therefore, a general and reasonable endowment of all the clergy to precede any state appropriation of the enormous surplus of ecclesiastical revenues. The argument they urged for it, and returned to again and again with a resolute energy, was, that the exorbitant riches, no less than the too scanty earnings of churchmen, could tend only to disqualify them for performing the ministerial functions with proper zeal and attention; and though they failed in their immediate purpose, and had a heretic or two burned in their faces by way of archiepiscopal revenge, and were dubbed by the higher clergy, in scorn, a lack-learning Parliament, they might have felt that, by the very agitation of such a question, the seeds were sown of no partial gain for posterity. The feeling it left behind shows the deep impression it had made, and in a manner foreshadows all that followed. “The fat abbotes swet,” says Halle, “the proude priors frouned, the poor riches cursed, the sely nonnes wept, and al together wer nothyng pleased nor yet content.”

It was in the eighth year of this same great reign, however, that the most striking advance was made towards the freedom of a thoroughly and decisively limited monarchy. Thirty very important articles were then proposed and conceded for the regulation of the king's household and government, and the momentous principle of ministerial responsibility was distinctly set forth in them. Henry was required, and he consented, to govern the realm by the advice of a permanent council; and this council was, at the same time, obliged, with all the judges and all the officers of the royal household, to take a solemn oath in Parliament to observe and defend the amended institutions. This reformation has been termed, on authority well entitled to respect, a noble fabric of constitutional liberty, hardly inferior to the petition of right.

It is vain to say that many of these vast advantages were, in later years, obscured or disregarded. To show that they were once achieved, and that the principle involved in them was solemnly recognised and acted on, is to demonstrate all. There are truths in politics as in morals which, when once revealed to the light, no after darkness suffices to obscure. Seeming dead, they yet speak from what men think to be their graves. He who outrages or denies them does so at his own peril; no common practice will justify him, no precedent absolve him. A king who continued strong enough to rule by the strict right of the Norman Conquest, fairly measured his reign and its immunities by the length and temper of his sword; but he who surrendered that right to either pray-

ers or threatenings, and flung back to his people any portion of the freedom which had been theirs before, which was theirs still, and which no act of theirs could waste or alienate, barred himself and his descendants forever from the resumption of a conqueror's claims. The struggle between two such principles as tyranny and freedom, once set on foot, admits no compromise. A generation of men who have insisted upon certain rights for themselves, cannot, by subsequent indolence or indifference, be said to have bargained away those rights from a succeeding generation; nor, when the theft of a people's liberties has been confessed by one restoration of them to the just possessors, can any prince, into whose violent keeping they may again have fallen, claim exemption from the penalties of political crime. The thief and the receiver are classed together by our laws.

When Henry the Fifth took up the crown from off his father's deathbed, he said that, as the sword had won it, the sword should keep it still. But in that crown was now implied the popular sanction, and this the generous and impetuous prince well knew the value of preserving. It was not the crown of William the Norman, and the sword that was to keep it did not turn itself against English breasts. By the splendour of foreign conquests, Henry sought to dazzle or propitiate such doubts as were still thought by some to lurk about his title; but, with the vast majority of his people, none knew better than he that his best security was a fair administration of the laws, equitable concessions to his Parliament, and protection to the poor from the oppression of those above them. As little was he wanting in these, therefore, as in the brilliancy of success in battle, and the year which witnessed the victory of Agincourt completed also, and finally secured, the legislative rights of the English House of Commons.

It had been found that the privilege left by the commons to the judges, to clothe in the formal terms of legal language, at the close of each session, the various bills and petitions passed in its course, had opened many opportunities to fraud on the part of the lawyers. The usage had originally risen from the desire of the house, in those days of imperfect education, to achieve, as far as possible, brevity and precision in the language of their statutes. In very many cases, however, the judges were discovered to have deliberately arrested the purpose of the commons to their own ends or those of the sovereign, and to have substituted for popular protection a popular snare. Therefore it was that an act was now introduced and passed, providing that "from this time forward, by complaint of the commons asking remedy for any mischief, there be no law made thereupon

which should change the meaning by addition or by diminution, or by any manner of term or terms." A formal and solemn grant, in the name of the king, was at the same time appended to it, stating that from thenceforth nothing "be enacted to be petitions of his commons that be contrary to their asking, whereby they should be bound without their assent." The effect was to secure to the house an unrestricted power over everything that belonged to the sacred trust of legislation.

What followed was the necessary incident to such a power. Authority, without the means for its sharp and decisive enforcement, is the most dangerous weakness known to a state. The commons claimed, therefore, in the name and for the protection of the people, certain exclusive rights and exemptions needful to the fearless discharge of the popular trust, to last as long as that trust lasted, and to cease when it was laid down. Among other things, they demanded personal release from such judicial proceedings as might be in danger of impeding parliamentary functions. They asserted their right to an absolute despotism concerning everything that passed within their own walls. In especial, they solemnly exacted the exclusive jurisdiction of offences, whether committed by their own members or by others, which peculiarly and manifestly tended to impair the powers they held in trust as deputed from the people, and which were, in fact, the people's own, or threatened in any way to obstruct the public duties they were by them called on to discharge. In a word, they achieved what was thenceforward known by the formidable name of PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT—the shield and buckler under whose protection all the battles of liberty were fought in after ages, and by whose assistance they were mainly won. An attempt to drag the adjudication of this privilege into the courts of law followed; when, in the famous case of Thorpe the speaker, the judges declared "that they would not determine the privilege of the high court of Parliament, of which the knowledge belongeth to the lords of Parliament, and not the justices." It may be safely predicted, that when this privilege is in the smallest degree forfeited or abandoned, we have lost the best security of true political freedom. When once the deputed privileges of the people are assailed successfully, the absolute rights of the people are safe no longer. That Parliaments without parliamentary liberties are but a fair and plausible way into bondage, was the saying of one who passed his life in the illustration and enforcement of this and every other truth which could affect the happiness of the English people. First established in practice, as I have thus described it, by this Parliament of Henry the

Fifth—and a more enduring honour to that reign than any of Henry's warlike triumphs—it served to herald the way for a yet more tremendous concession to the popular element in the state. It was followed, not many years afterward, by the awful right of IMPEACHMENT.

The reign of Henry the Sixth began in doubt and disaster, as it continued and closed in bloodshed; yet it began, too, in a formidable assertion of the independent power of Parliament; and one of its latest statutes bore testimony to the still increasing interest and importance of popular representation.

The first thing done after the death of the hero of Agincourt was an alteration of that form of government, during the minority of the young king, which had been settled by Henry's will. Without paying any regard to the latter, the lords and commons at once assumed a power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They would not suffer even the name of regent, as implying too much dignity in the state, apart from the individual claims of a king. The title of protector or guardian was supposed to express a more limited authority, and this they substituted. In order, also, to limit the protectorial power still farther, they named a council, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance was ever to be determined. Nor less striking or decisive than these are what I have referred to as the later evidences of parliamentary power afforded even by this disastrous reign. They lie in the form and preamble of a statute "for the due election of members of Parliament in counties." I have noted the rapid precipitation of the fall of the feudal system, and of its great distinctions of tenure, after the concession of Magna Charta. I have described that enactment of Henry the Fourth (one of the first advantages which accrued to the people from the doubtful title of the house of Lancaster) by which clandestine elections were restrained, and the power given to every freeholder present at the place of election—for that seems to be the true construction of the words used, and certainly not any implication of a right of universal suffrage—to give their votes, whether summoned or not, freely and indifferently. The statute now passed, while professing to limit this right to a certain extent of freehold, offers a priceless proof, in the very terms of its preamble, of how much the commonest orders of the English people had in late years risen; in all that gives the sense of personal power, the knowledge of political privileges, the gradual means to estimate them, and, in the end, the strength to win them.

This is that famous preamble: "Whereas the election of knights has of late, in

many counties of England, been made by outrageous and excessive numbers of people, many of them of small substance and value [an expression confirmatory of the above construction of Henry the Fourth's statute], yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries, and divisions among the gentlemen and other people of the same counties shall very likely rise and be, unless due remedy be provided in this behalf." Even our greatest anti-popular historian may here feel impelled to exclaim, What an important matter the election of a member of Parliament was now become! The "remedy provided" was a limitation of the right of suffrage, exclusively settled by the act on such as possessed forty shillings a year in land free from all burden within the county; and it was a remedy which happily left untouched the very seat and core of the disease. When a people have once been thoroughly recognised, it is a worse than vain attempt to seek to thrust them back into obscurity.

Before describing other passages in this reign, which, in the very centre of all its horrors, its confusions, its desolating streams of blood in field or on scaffold, is to be noted here for its unacknowledged services to civilization and humanity, it will be well to transcribe, from the works of Sir John Fortescue, certain brief passages which, in effect, describe the nature of the settled political advantages achieved before Henry the Sixth's accession. Fortescue was chief justice for many years in this prince's reign; became his chancellor; and, having been driven by the civil wars into France, with his royal master's wife and son, employed his leisure in the composition of learned works, which rendered him, to succeeding times, a great Constitutional authority. The chief object of the principal of these was to contrast the political Constitution of England with that of France, and to impress upon the mind of the young prince of the house of Lancaster the nature of his legal tenure as a political magistrate in precepts which, it is right to add, Fortescue was not called upon to change when he afterward entered the service of a prince of the house of York. They were precepts recognised by both parties in the nation. This was the "*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*," the republication of which, some years ago, with the learned notes of Mr. Amos—now chief commissioner in India, and whose name I can never mention without confessing the warmest and most lasting obligations which a pupil can owe to his teacher—conferred an inexpressible benefit on every student of English history. Its results may be briefly stated before the extracts are submitted to the reader, since their tes-

timony to at least the comparative happiness and freedom of all classes of Englishmen under the Plantagenet rule is strong and incontestable. In France, according to this work—and its contents are more than warranted by Philip de Comines—the principle of the civil code, that the will of the monarch is law, prevailed, while in England the people lived under the protection of laws of their own enactment. In England they paid taxes of their own imposing, while in France the people were plundered at the sole discretion of their prince, who at the same time granted the nobility an immunity of taxation, lest he should drive *them* into rebellion. In England a man, upon any charge of crime, had the benefit of trial by a jury of his peers, while in France confession was extorted by the rack: “a custom which is not to be accounted law, but rather the high road to the devil.” An independent middle class of society also existed in England, while in France there existed only the two great divisions of a noblesse and a wretched peasantry. In England, in short, the people lived in reasonable political security, and in circumstances of social comfort; in France they were in the most debased and most deplorable misery.

“A king of England,” says Fortescue—and he speaks of two hundred years before the sixth Henry, as well as of that prince’s time—“a king of England cannot, at his pleasure, make any alterations in the laws of the land, for the nature of his government is not only regal, but political. Had it been merely regal, he would have a power to make what innovations and alterations he pleased in the laws of the kingdom, impose tallages and other hardships upon the people, whether they would or no, without their consent. . . . But it is much otherwise with a king whose government is political, because he can neither make any alteration or change in the laws of the realm without the consent of the subject, nor burden them against their wills with strange impositions; so that a people governed by such laws as are made by their own consent and approbation enjoy their properties securely, and without the hazard of being deprived of them, either by the king or any other. . . . As the head of the body natural cannot change its nerves or sinews—cannot deny to the several parts their proper energy, their due proportion and aliment of blood, neither can a king, who is the head of the body politic, change the laws thereof, nor take from the people what is theirs by right, against their consent. . . . For he is appointed to protect his subjects in their lives, properties, and laws; for this very end and purpose he has the delegation of power from the people, and he has no just claim to any other power but this. . . . The stat-

utes of England are not enacted by the sole will of the prince, but with the concurrent consent of the whole kingdom, by their representatives in Parliament. And if any bills passed into a law, enacted with so much solemnity and foresight, should happen not to answer the intention of the legislators, they can immediately be amended and repealed, in the whole or in part; that is, with the same consent and in the same manner as they were at first enacted into a law. . . . By the laws of England the truth of any matter cannot appear to a judge but upon the oath of twelve men of the neighbourhood where the fact is supposed to be done. . . . What evidence witnesses give in must be in open court, in the presence and hearing of a jury of twelve men, persons of good character, neighbours where the fact was committed, apprized of the circumstances in question, and well acquainted with the lives and conversations of the witnesses; especially as they be near neighbours, and cannot but know whether they be worthy of credit or not; it cannot be a secret to every one of the jury what is done by or among their neighbours. . . . A king of England does not bear sway over his subjects as a king merely, but in a mixed political capacity; he is obliged by his coronation oath to the observance of the laws, which some of our kings have not been well able to digest, because thereby they are deprived of that free exercise of dominion over their subjects, in that full, extensive manner, as those kings have who preside and govern by an absolute regal power. . . . In England, no one takes up his abode in another man’s house without leave of the owner first had. . . . Neither is it lawful to take away another man’s goods without the consent of the proprietor, or being liable to be called to an account for it. . . . The king cannot despoil the subject without making ample satisfaction for the same; he cannot, by himself or his ministry, lay taxes, subsidies, or any impositions of what kind soever upon the subject; he cannot alter the laws, or make new ones, without the express consent of the whole kingdom in Parliament assembled. . . . The inhabitants of England are not sued at law but before the ordinary judge, where they are treated with mercy and justice, according to the laws of the land; neither are they impleaded in point of property, or arraigned for any capital crime, how heinous soever, but before the king’s judges, and according to the laws of the land. These are the advantages consequent from that political mixed government which obtains in England; and from hence it is plain what the effects of that law are in practice, which some of your ancestors [the treatise is addressed to the chancellor’s pupil, Henry the Sixth’s son], kings of England, have

endeavoured to abrogate. . . . That must needs be judged to be an hard and unjust law which tends to increase the servitude, and to lessen the liberty of mankind; for human nature is evermore an advocate for liberty. God Almighty has declared himself the God of liberty; this being the gift of God to man in his creation, the other is introduced into the world by means of his own sin and folly; whence it is that everything in nature is so desirous of liberty, as being a sort of restitution to its primitive state: so that to go about to lessen this is to touch men in the tenderest point. It is upon such considerations as these that the laws of England, in all cases, declare in favour of liberty."

Such is the ancient chancellor's testimony to the truth of the popular progress in England, appealed to triumphantly in after years by Cotton, Coke, and Selden, when they first began to fight with the bloodless weapons of moral and intellectual truth, and under the invincible shield of those laws whose nature it was to "declare in all cases in favour of liberty," the great battle of the people. It is simple, manly, plain, and unaffected by any of those preposterous doubts and mysteries about prerogative which were started in later days. Be it observed, at the same time, that the advantages it so forcibly commemorates did not by any means at once embrace within their sphere all the various classes that were soon after known by the name of the people. Even while Fortescue wrote, a vast body of mere men-at-arms and feudal retainers, of peasants and of vassals, remained to be merged into that recognised class; but it is no less certain that a larger admission of these within the constitutional pale was effected by circumstances between the accessions of Henry the Sixth and Henry the Seventh than in any previous age.

This period divides itself into two epochs. The first comprises the melancholy conduct and ignominious close of the second war for the establishment of the Plantagenets in France. But, as in the affairs of men, it is often with the business of nations, that there is a providence which shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will. Every leaf that was lost from the laurels of Henry the Fifth was a security gained for the internal welfare of England in the rule of his successors; for by the loss of the last, in which, with such apparent ignominy, the contest ended, all projects of territorial aggrandizement on the European Continent were happily ended also, and with them those accessions to the power of conquering kings that were incompatible with a moderate system of political liberty, as well as that attention given to desired acquisitions abroad which had become inconsistent with a due regard to the subject's

interests at home. The second epoch includes the wars of the white and red Roses, and to this it is more important to direct the attention of the reader.

The dispute of the rival houses of York and Lancaster implied at its origin the popular acquiescence and assistance in a change of regal succession, and it exerted a proportionate influence on the political position of the people. When the barons of the Yorkist party revived the dispute in a more bloody form—after that temporary insanity of Henry the Sixth, into which his constant imbecility, aggravated by illness, had driven him—the influence it exerted, though in another form, was of a character still more beneficial. It at once engaged the two great aristocratic factions in a self-exhausting struggle, while it enabled, in the interval, a great mass of the people, who stood almost quite aloof from the contest, to improve largely, not only by the exhaustion of the strength of their noble adversaries, but by their own plebeian successes in commerce and the arts, the powers and rights of the commonalty of England.

There is not a matter of more curious contemplation in our history than these wars of the white and red Roses. They raged only upon the surface of the land; the peaceful current beneath ran on as peacefully as before. No burnings, no plunderings, no devastations, reached the towns. When we look within the latter for evidence of the desolating strife which was deluging the country round in blood, we behold commerce increasing; the arts thriving; schools for education in progress (after the first endowments in London in the twenty-fifth of Henry the Sixth, the foundation of grammar schools increased rapidly everywhere); and, in the only sign of outward danger, a still surer symbol of inner and lasting safety, since the town combinations against possible outrage from the barons took the form of guilds, of corporations, and of those other municipal safeguards which now for the first time arose in the Norman period, and which are the schools, or small republics, in which a people are best taught not only the art of self-government, but its priceless value, its independence, and its honour. The few legislative enactments of this singular period, passed when parliaments were at leisure from raising or putting down the rival sovereigns, sufficiently prove the importance into which commerce had risen. It is unfortunate that they do not also prove a knowledge of its true interests, or of the means of best promoting them. It was a Parliament of Edward the Fourth which—after confirming the statutes of the fourth, fifth, and sixth Henries, with the impolitic and dangerous distinction of "late, in fact but not of right, kings of England"—pro-



hibited the importation of foreign corn; and it is an unhappy circumstance that the idea of a people being ruined by making their food too cheap did not remain the peculiar property of the fifteenth century. It was in parliaments of Edward the Fourth and Richard the Third that importations of foreign manufacture were forbidden, where the like articles could be produced at home. And it was by Richard the Third himself that the practice of extorting money from merchants and citizens, on pretence of loans and benevolences, was abolished, for which the usurper has obtained the honourable praise of Lord Bacon "as a prince in militar virtue approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker for the ease and solace of the common people."

But even the lowest ranks of that common people—the common men-at-arms themselves—were able, out of these wars of York and Lancaster, to snatch a way to rise in. Their actual loss of life in the struggle was nothing in proportion to that of their chiefs; and the result of the final victory was such as mainly to withdraw their services from the aristocracy, and attach them to the people and the king. When Stowe tells us of the battle of Northampton, he adds, that "the earles of Marche and Warweke let cry, thorow the field, that no man should lay hand upon the king, ne on the common people, but on the lords, knights, and esquires." When we read of the results of the battle of Bosworth, we find victory in the hands of Henry and the smaller baronial faction of the Lancasters, and observe the instant commencement of a system by which the preponderating Yorkist aristocrats were sought to be depressed, by which severe statutes against the farther prevalence of armed retainers were freshly enacted or revived, restrictions on the devising of land, in effect, removed, and all things directed towards an ultimate transfer of the old baronial strength into new and, *as it was supposed*, less formidable channels. Large numbers of the baronial vassals took refuge in the towns, increasing their power and privileges; large numbers, unhappily, still remained upon the soil; and these, no longer necessary for the shows of pomp or the realities of war, suffered the worst horrors of destitution, were driven to its last resources, became incendiaries or thieves, overran the land as beggars, and, in the end, rendered necessary that great social change which took the name of a Poor Law in the reign of Elizabeth.

With the battle of Bosworth Field the civil wars were finally closed, and with them the illustrious line of the Plantagenets. The pretensions of York and Lancaster were compromised by Richmond's marriage with the heiress of the house of York; and in

the person of Henry the Seventh the line of the Tudor princes assumed sovereign rule in England. The strife had lasted upward of thirty years; twelve great pitched battles had been fought in it; eighty princes of the blood had fallen; the ancient nobility had been almost entirely annihilated; and in the renowned and powerful Earl of Warwick—who was said to have daily feasted at his board, in the different manors and castles he possessed, upward of thirty thousand persons—there had fallen the greatest and the last of those mighty barons by whom the crown had in former times been checked and overawed, and in whom, less happily, a serious obstruction had always existed to the political advancement of the mass of the people. Such, indeed, had been this deluge of noble blood in the field or on the scaffold, that Henry the Seventh could find only twenty-eight temporal peers to summon to his first Parliament; and such the change effected by it, in a political sense, on the management of public affairs, that the accession of the first Tudor is considered the origin of the modern system, and from it the constitutional historian of England has dated the commencement of his history.

It is not in itself, however, but by peculiar accidents alone, entitled to this distinction. The time at which Henry the Seventh ascended the throne marks the exact date, not only of the revival of ancient literature, but of the time when the old Continental system was broken up, and foundations laid for the modern political arrangement of the European commonwealth. His reign itself includes a period of transition which will be lastingly memorable, not in the annals of England only, but in the history of the world. Great things had been begun, but their completion was waited for; great men had risen, but the greater, of whom they were the heralds, had yet to come. I have described the rise of an industrious commercial class, but not the discovery of a new continent and of Eastern commerce. The mariner's compass had guided the eager and adventurous Portuguese to distant points of Africa, and to regions more profitable still; but there was also living one calm and courageous Spaniard, by whom a new world was about to be disclosed to the rising hopes or the failing energies of the old. The printing-press of Gutenberg had begun to reveal its might and its mysteries, but William Caxton's was yet silent. Wicliff had taught great doctrines, but the name of Luther was still unheard. The monks had tortured Roger Bacon, and Francis Bacon had not risen to torture the monks.

What an entire world of intellect lives within these last two names alone. What far-extending views of philosophy and reason. What an elevation of the hopes of

men, and a sharpening of the intellect to achieve them, may be said to have gone forth from the grave of the first of these daring philosophers. A final verdict was then passed against the tricks of Church impostors, against the pretences of magic, against the delusions of abstract reason, against all the bad devices by which craft and hypocrisy are from age to age sustained. It seems a simple thing to have said that no man could be so thoroughly convinced by argument that fire will burn as by thrusting his hand into the flames; yet there lay the ominous germe of that Baconian philosophy which taught the vast superiority of one simple interrogation of nature, by actual experiment, over all the cobweb quibbles of all the schools. It is as easy now to laugh at the brazen head of Friar Bacon, as it was easy in his day to invent the story, or to bury the philosopher himself for upward of twenty years in the living grave of a convent prison; but let the more thoughtful reader imagine what the effect must have been of only one half page of the first circulated "Epistola" of this astonishing genius, as I shall quote its translation here, communicated, as it necessarily was, to many active spirits of the time; and communicated, not as a tale of wonder or of prodigy, but as the simple revelation of science; not as a mystery of secret and miraculous art to astonish or amuse mankind, but as an honest and plain announcement of the wonders nature had in store for all who could be excited and encouraged to a vigorous search after knowledge.

"I will mention," he says, "things which may be done without the help of magic, such as, indeed, magic is unable and incapable of performing; for a vessel may be so constructed as to make more way with one man in her than another vessel fully manned. It is possible to make a chariot which, without any assistance of animals, shall move with that irresistible force which is ascribed to those scythed chariots in which the ancients fought. It is possible, also, to make instruments for flying, so that a man sitting in the middle thereof, and steering with a kind of rudder, may manage what is contrived to answer the end of wings, so as to divide and pass through the air. It is no less possible to make a machine of a very small size, and yet capable of raising or sinking the greatest weights, which may be of infinite use on certain occasions, for by the help of such an instrument, not above three inches high, or less, a man may be able to deliver himself and his companions out of prison, and to ascend or descend at pleasure. Yea, instruments may be fabricated by which one man shall draw a thousand men to him by force and against their will, as also machines which will enable men to

walk without danger at the bottom of seas and rivers." It was not a mere matter of accident that a friar so wonderful should have risen at such a time.

In the still and wearied pause which had followed a storm of strife, and before these intellectual influences appeared in action on the scene, the first Tudor began his reign. It is useless to disguise the fact that, notwithstanding many great principles asserted and advantages achieved, it was not, in its immediate course, favourable to liberty. But a distinction of vast importance is, at the same time, to be carefully noted. The defection from popular progress did not lie with the people themselves, but with their natural leaders in the state, the House of Commons. Risings in the commonalty were frequent, remonstrances in the commons were few. In the early years of the reign Henry appealed directly to the country for a loan, leviable at a certain rate, but was flatly refused it. In a Parliament of a few years later he found more compliance. The truth was, that, relatively to what is called the state, circumstances had thrown an overbalance of power into the hands of Henry, while to the mass of the people these very circumstances rendered him the unconscious instrument of transition and of progress. Nor less was this the destiny of all the Tudors. The position they occupy in history, and the rights they exercised, were peculiar to a great social mission which began and ended with their race.

Lord Bacon has pronounced the laws of Henry the Seventh to be "deep, and not vulgar." They were not vulgar, but it may be fairly made a question if they were very deep; just as Henry himself was by no means a great man, and yet very far from a little one. The act which worked most permanently and for great results, was one from which nothing but the most temporary advantages seem to have been originally contemplated; and it is a question whether the first idea of it is due to Henry the Seventh or to Richard the Third. This was the statute of Fines, as it is generally called; the act out of which arose greater facilities of alienating entailed lands, and which has therefore been ascribed to Henry's sagacious and politic desire still farther to reduce the aristocratic influence, and divert it into new channels. Here, however, as in other things, there cannot be a doubt that the king was quite unconscious of the mighty change he was the means of effecting. He knew it as little as that the new powers he first gave to the old *Consilium Regis* would in after years, under the name of the Star Chamber, strike, by their vicious uses, at the very heart of the monarchy itself.

That a more direct power of alienation was never aimed at by the framer of this

statute of fines, will appear from a brief mention of the state of the law at the time. Edward the First's act, *De Donis Conditionalibus*, had declared that lands given to a man and the heirs of his body, with remainder to other persons, or reversion to the donor, could not be alienated, either from his own issue or from those who were to succeed them by the possessor for the time being; but the courts of justice in subsequent reigns made many strong efforts to relax the strictness of these entails, not out of any hatred to them on the score of principle, but rather because they had been also held incapable of forfeiture for felony or treason; and ultimately, in the reign of Edward the Fourth, the judges held, in the celebrated case of *Taltarum*, that a tenant in tail might, by means of an imaginary device of law, which was termed suffering a common recovery, divest all who were to follow him of their succession, and become absolute owner of the fee simple. This unwarrantable stretch of judicial authority having been recognised, and often acted upon afterward, the intention of Henry the Seventh's statute was merely to throw greater obstructions in the way of those suits for the recovery of lands, which the recent civil turmoil had rendered very frequent, by establishing a short term of prescription. Its effect, at the same time, was to give a great impulse and a more decided efficacy to the power of alienation. It enacted, on the old principle of favouring possession, that a fine levied with proclamations in a public court of justice should, after five years, be a bar to all claims upon lands.

The history of the House of Commons in this reign is not to be contemplated without pain and sorrow, natural as, perhaps, it was in the new position of the king, and necessary to what followed in the government of his successor: yet it passed two statutes which are not undeserving of honourable mention. The first was that of Henry's settlement, which "ordained and enacted by the assent of the lords and at the request of the commons, that the inheritance of the crowns of England and France, and all dominions appertaining to them, should remain in Henry the Seventh and the heirs of his body for ever, and in none other." These words are admirably fitted for the occasion. The reader need not be reminded that, though Henry was the only surviving heir of the house of Lancaster, the illegitimacy of the ancestor from whom he derived the inheritance precluded its assertion as a just right. This, therefore, is artfully avoided in the words quoted, which, while they neither assert nor contradict the pretensions of lineal descent, are framed with a view to the creation of a parliamentary title. At the same time, however, a marriage with the only surviving

issue of Edward the Fourth was forced upon Tudor, as though the house really feared to see a "spectre of indefeasible right standing once more in arms on the tomb of the house of York." The other statute referred to bore upon this subject also, and was framed to place the subject's duty of allegiance on a solid ground of reason and justice. Its language is such as a free people had the right to claim. It enacted, after reciting that subjects are by their allegiance bound to serve their prince, for the time being, against every power and rebellion raised against him, that "no person attending upon the king and sovereign lord of this land for the time being, and doing him true and faithful service, shall be convicted of high treason, by act of Parliament or other process of law, nor suffer any forfeiture or punishment; but that every act made contrary to this statute should be void and of no effect." The latter provision was, of course, idle, since the laws of one generation cannot bar the legislation of another; but it shows from what an earnest and passionate experience of the horrors of disputed allegiance this act had risen: an experience well justified in later ages, when the statute was appealed to again and again, and too often vainly.

The hoards of money amassed by Henry the Seventh through a long and lucky life, with the spirit of an extortioner and the care of a miser, are said to have amounted at his death to a sum that in our days would be tantamount to sixteen millions. With a treasury so enriched, with a title altogether undisputed, with extreme youth and a robust health, with a very handsome person and a more than average intellect, Henry the Eighth succeeded to his father's throne.

Events of vast importance to mankind do not steal into the world like thieves in the night, though men seldom recognise, till all is over, the heralds that preceded them. Invisible messengers might they have been,

"Horsed on the sightless couriers of the air,"

that gave the tidings of their coming; but these were not felt the less, nor the less welcomed: men's souls were stirred, their brains made busy, and their hearts set strongly yearning. Such a ferment was in England long before the voice of Luther was heard from out of Germany. It began with the heresy of Wicliff, a hundred and fifty years before Luther was born. Its workings were at first obscure, but by the light of the fagots that burned the followers of Wicliff they were slowly and surely revealed.

The martyrdom of a few of these Lollards marks the beginning of Henry's reign. It is not my intention to dwell in detail

upon any part of its course. The House of Commons became more servile; the few ancient lords that remained carried on an ignoble struggle with the new lords Henry created, as to which should surpass the other in servility; the nation looked on in a strange and uncertain attitude of compliance and disgust; while above all there rose, in the festive, riotous, and burly form of Henry, a power of a kind that had been till then unknown—a power of unlimited passion, of unrestricted indulgence; of daily humours that availed against centuries of right and law; of caprices and lusts before which intellect was nothing, virtue nothing, life or love nothing; in whose presence even the genius of Wolsey and of More weighed lighter than dust, and at whose slightest frown the perfect graces of Anne Boleyn changed to a bloody horror. And this power, such and so terrible, existed for a purpose far greater and more lasting than its cruelties or crimes could be, and therefore it was permitted to exist. Be it only kept in mind that with the political Constitution of England it had no natural alliance or connexion, and that with the Progress of the People it only became identified by the vast results for which Providence suffered its continuance during a space of forty years.

Twelve of those years had passed when Martin Luther appeared before the diet at Worms and flung defiance at the pope. The nations of Europe were not unprepared for this, even from an obscure and apparently powerless monk. Gregory the Seventh's vast structure of theocratical power had long been broken down, and the various popes after his time, who made such strenuous efforts to excommunicate each other, had been more successful in excommunicating from popular deference or respect the faith which they professed. "Brother Martin has a fine genius," said the dainty and dilettanti Leo, "but these are the squabbles of friars." They were the muttered thunders of nations. England was lying in wait to swell the sound; the world was ripe to echo it. The civil governments of Europe had long impressed upon the governed that there was something rotten in them all. A new interest was wanted to engage and elevate men's hearts and souls. Nothing in which the higher nature or faculties of men could participate seemed to be going on in any part of Europe. What was Italy with its Cambray leagues! What Spain and its Cortes under Ferdinand and Isabella, or their successors! What was France with its States-General under Louis the Twelfth! What England, with its degenerate House of Commons, in waiting on the lusts of Henry! The same word suffices for all. The whole was a cheat which men, without resistance, could endure no more.

Henry himself was one of the first to resist—Luther, not the pope. This only marks the more truly what a mere brutal instrument he was—a mass of passion and will that were convertible for other uses, and in which even the grossest and most indecent inconsistency was suffered to take the shape of power. The title of Defender of the Faith, conferred upon him by Leo, he turned into a battering-ram against Clement. With it he even propitiated large masses of the moderate Catholics in England who did not pin their doctrines implicitly to the skirts of the Roman See, but were ready to offer homage to a new pope in the person of Henry himself.

This was, in fact, Henry's own most passionate desire. It was well that it was so, or Protestantism might never have been established as it was in his great daughter's reign. He had himself no regard for the truth in anything he did. The Gospel light as little beamed on him from Boleyn's laughing eyes, when she was about to mount his bed, as from her serene and patient look when she was about to mount his scaffold. The Gospel light has nothing to do with lust, has no sympathy for satisfied cruelty, takes no regard of personal interests, sheds no virtue upon ambitious passions, and could find in the whole huge bulk of Henry not a crevice or a corner into which it might cast even one of its diviner rays. Yet who, save Henry, could have done what the time cried out for? What, save his reckless brutality, could have discharged that painful but imperative work! Who could so have thrust down the monasteries, and hunted out the priests! Who would have dared, save he, to cram his own exchequer with their enormous revenues! Above all, what prince or priest, acting sincerely as a reformer of the faith and a champion of Luther's doctrines, could have done what was absolutely needful at the first flinging down of the national allegiance to Rome: could have kept in resolute check both Protestant and Catholic; could have persecuted with an equal hand the Romanist and the Lutheran; could have passed as an adherent to Catholic doctrines while he spurned the papal authority, and have loudly declared his passion for transubstantiation, while he still more loudly shouted forth his abhorrence of submission to a court at Rome. Be it assuredly believed that all was more wisely ordered than the mere wisdom of ordinary policy could presume to have foreseen. This broad and vicious body of Henry the Eighth was as the bridge between the old and the new religions.

It is fearful, but not unsalutary, to cast a parting glance at it after its great work upon the earth was done. It lay immovable and helpless, a mere corrupt and bloated

ed mass of dying tyranny. No friend was near to comfort it; not even a courtier dared to warn it of its coming hour. The men whom it had gorged with the offal of its plunder hung back in affright from its perishing agonies, in disgust from its ulcerous sores. It could not move a limb nor lift a hand. The palace doors were made wider for its passage through them; and it could only then pass by means of machinery. Yet to the last it kept its ghastly state, descended daily from bed-chamber into room of kingly audience through a hole in the palace ceiling, and was nightly, by the same means, lifted back again to its sleepless bed. And to the last, unhappily for the world, it had its horrible indulgences. Before stretched in that helpless state of horror, its latest victim had been a Plantagenet. Nearest to itself in blood of all its living kindred, the Countess of Salisbury was, in her eightieth year, dragged to the scaffold for no pretended crime save that of corresponding with her son, and, having refused to lay her head upon the block (it was for traitors to do so, she said, which she was not), but moving swiftly round, and tossing it from side to side to avoid the executioner, she was struck down by the weapons of the neighbouring men-at-arms; and while her gray hairs streamed with blood, and her neck was forcibly held down, the axe discharged, at length, its dreadful office. The last victim of all followed in the graceful and gallant person of the young Lord Surrey. The dying tyranny, speechless and incapable of motion, had its hand lifted up to affix the formal seal to the death-warrant of the poet, the soldier, the statesman, and scholar; and, on the "day of the execution," according to Holinshed, was itself "lying in the agonies of death." Its miserable comfort, then, was the thought that youth was dying too; that the grave which yawned for abused health, indulged lusts, and monstrous crimes, had in the same instant opened at the feet of manly health, of generous grace, of exquisite genius, and modest virtue. And so perished Henry the Eighth.

Not so perished all his passions, or the penalties which are exacted for them in this world. He left children who inherited both, and pursued each other with an unnatural hatred. The legitimacy of Mary branded Elizabeth as illegitimate; the legitimacy of Elizabeth affixed a stain on the birth of Mary; and both were subject to that stain in the presence of their brother Edward. It had been made treason to hold the marriages both of Catharine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn to be legal; treason to hold the children by those marriages illegitimate; treason to be silent on the subject; and treason to refuse to take an oath upon it when required. One statute disabled Mary from the succession to make

way for Elizabeth; another set aside Elizabeth to make room for Edward; a third, in raising that prince to a settled superiority in law, confirmed both his sisters in the imputation of disgrace. What but misery and hate could follow all this! And hate and misery followed hard indeed. Mary was thirty-two years old when her father died; Elizabeth was fourteen; Edward scarcely nine. What wonder that the persecution of Mary by the authority of her boy-brother tended to change into gall the distempered blood she had inherited? or that the after persecution of Elizabeth by Mary forced forth the less loving qualities of that greater woman Tudor? Very painful is it to contemplate all this, but far more painful would it be to speak in reprobation of what was vile and cruel, nor care to discriminate the sources to which it owed existence.

I have refrained from any remark on the popular progress in the civil government of this reign, apart from the great event of the beginning of the Reformation. A word concerning the House of Commons will yet be not without its use, low as the condition was to which it had servilely descended. Even in its mean and unworthy office of subserving to the interests and wishes of a tyrant, nobler duties were implied; the idea of higher functions was, at least, never lost; nor the sense that, however unworthy the immediate agent, it alone could be the instrument, of changes that affected the people. Towards that house the people were still instructed to look for good or evil. They saw it still grant subsidies which could not be raised by any other course; they saw it still used in the proposal of statutes which, without its consent, could never have been binding. Even the worst infringements of public liberty were but confessions of its power. When the sole proclamations of Henry the Eighth received, under penalty of fine and imprisonment, the force of statutes ("provided they should not be prejudicial to any person's inheritance, offices, liberties, goods, and chattels, or infringe the established laws"), it was the House of Commons which enacted it; declaring thus that without its authority no royal prerogative dared ever soar so high, that without its assistance liberty could never have fallen under such a fatal wound. When one fifth of the landed property of the nation passed from the possession of its owners, it was by the act of the House of Commons. When bills of attainder struck down the guilty, or shed the blood of the innocent, still it was from that house they came. The king may have been, indeed, all-powerful, but it was in the omnipotence of the parliamentary authority which had been suffered by base servility to descend upon him.

Finally, two direct cases of constitutional advantage were achieved in this reign, of which some mention should here be made. The first was the extension of parliamentary representation to the entire principality of Wales, on the basis of certain great and important principles laid down in the preamble of the bill which granted it—that it is disadvantageous to any place to be unrepresented; that representation is essential to good government; and that those who are bound by the laws should have a direct influence in the enactment of those laws. All this is distinctly laid down in the thirteenth chapter of the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth of Henry the Eighth, by which upward of thirty members were added to the lower house. The second advantage was in support of privilege of Parliament. A burgess of the name of Ferrers had been arrested on his way to the house. The sergeant was at once sent with the mace to the prison to demand his immediate release. The sheriffs in whose names the arrest had been made, as well as the jailer who refused to comply with the demand of the sergeant, were subsequently brought to the bar and punished with imprisonment, while the king himself, in the presence of his judges, confirmed in the strongest manner this great assertion of privilege. Holinshed, who relates the incident, says, in reference to this demand for release of a party from prison at the mere demand of the sergeant of the house, that “the chancellor offered to grant them a writ of privilege, which they of the Commons’ House refused, being of a clear opinion that all commandments and other acts proceeding from the nether house were to be done and executed by their sergeant without writ, only by show of his mace, which was his warrant.”

In the short reign of Edward the Sixth, the Reformation was really introduced in England, and Protestantism established upon the soil. But the edifice was yet feeble, and was indeed far from completion, when the sudden accession of Mary, on her brother’s premature death, overthrew it altogether. The last effort of the Reformers, before that event occurred, may be even said to have constituted the most essential stone of the building; and this was not quite accomplished at its fall. Edward the Sixth, after the example of his father, had been placed in the exact position of the pope; and Cranmer, with other bishops, had contented themselves with again taking out the commissions conceded to the tyranny of the old king, by which their sees were merely held during pleasure. A new scheme of ecclesiastical laws had been drawn up, when the young king was thrown upon his deathbed.

One thing is quite certain in any careful consideration of the tendencies of this short

reign. The Reformation was pushed on after Henry the Eighth’s death much too precipitately, and the Catholics, in consequence, began to recover ground. In vain did the Princess Mary herself implore to have the exercise of the old religion, to which she clung, conceded to her at home; in vain did Gardiner and Bonner protest against their unmerited deprivation of liberty and property; in vain did even Heath and Day, worthy and moderate bishops, who had gone as far as the Reformers should have wished, and only stopped where they also should have been content with making a temporary pause—in vain did even these solicit charity or justice. Some indulgences there were which Cranmer and Ridley would have granted, but the young king stood firm against all, and against his sister Mary with an obdurate harshness.

Much misery had meanwhile been attendant on the new distribution of the Church lands, and insurrections everywhere told of want and of despair. The comfortable dish at the convent-door was sighed for again. The blessings of the new faith had not fallen according to the promise. The waverers from the old system began to retrace their steps, the protectors of the new to abate their enthusiasm. What was it that was wanted, then? Something that should display the worst vices of the Romanist faith, the bigotry, the intolerance, the spiritual slavery, the lower deep than that lowest into which conscience seemed threatening to return. And then Mary ascended the throne. Still there was something wanted. A translation of the Bible had for some years been offered for sale in the parish churches, but men seemed yet to need an incentive to its study—a light to read it by; and within two years the fires began in Smithfield. No light of greater efficacy could have been devised to show the moderation of its doctrine, the gentleness of its wisdom, the all-embracing charities of its love. As hundreds perished in the flames, thousands upon tens of thousands began to breathe with ardent hope the name of Anne Boleyn’s daughter.

This is all that need be said of the deplorable reign of Mary, save an important reference to one or two strong intimations of reviving independence in members of the House of Commons. In these the people seemed rising on the scene once more. No sovereign packed that house more sedulously with the creatures of the crown than Mary did. Men of the new faith were driven from the places of election by force and terror; foreign gold was distributed in profusion; pensions and bribes universally rewarded political profligacy; and a forcible exclusion from the house, even after regular election, was the

common tribute to political honour. With all this, Mary approached her first Parliament in fear. She met them with affected moderation on her lips, though the fever of bigotry already consumed her heart. Nor did the result prove the fear misplaced. This first Parliament was speedily dissolved for thwarting her in her marriage negotiations. Another was summoned, and shared the same fate. Within two years she had summoned three Parliaments, which, though subject to heavy responsibility for many crimes, are not, in some respects, undeserving of most honourable mention.

In respect to the Spanish marriage, for example, nothing could induce them to give way to Mary's passionate desire for Philip, by conceding to that prince a dignity which they believed to be incompatible with the independence of the English crown, or by conferring a political authority upon him which might involve danger to the privileges and laws of the English people. They gave him, indeed, the empty title of king, which was due to his own independent rank, and in everything else exacted much and gave nothing. Commendable spirit was also shown in the repeated negotiations concerning the old property of the Church; and guilty as these Parliaments of Mary were in much that has disgraced them with posterity, it is a memorable circumstance to record that a band of patriots absolutely existed in one of them who, having publicly declared that all their efforts to serve the country were unavailing in that assembly, and that they would no longer remain to countenance what they would rather curse, openly and deliberately seceded from the house. Mary's attorney-general filed an information against them, but it was not pursued, and the reign soon after saw its close. Its work had not been left undone. For the advent of Elizabeth, all parties were now thoroughly prepared.

The glory of this extraordinary woman's reign was the final uprooting of the Roman Catholic faith, and the establishment of Protestantism. Amid many passions she indulged, and more over which she exercised a great control; amid many crimes she committed, and many from which she most magnanimously refrained, this has consecrated her memory. It was a policy not restricted to the country which she governed: she championed it throughout the world. All who were carrying on, against overwhelming numbers, the struggle of the new faith in other lands, were taught, not vainly, to appeal to her; and as it was one of the grand peculiarities of the Reformation to have given a new interest to ordinary politics, by lifting them out of the selfish regions of factious party into the nobler and serener atmosphere of con-

science and religion, the English queen, while she deservedly won the fame of a defender of mental freedom, assumed, without desert, to be entitled to the office and the praise of a defender of political freedom also. Nor was this delusion practised unsuccessfully. It lasted for at least the half of her entire reign. The delusion was then discovered, and in the other half a difference arose.

The political position of Elizabeth at her accession was in all respects very striking. She at once entered on the easy inheritance of that estate which the singular stewardship of her father and grandfather had been cultivating and improving for upward of seventy years, and, as it might now almost seem, for her use alone. But the tenure of the estate was not less singular than its growth or its extent. Once carried to its highest point of cultivation, it was doomed to inevitable and speedy decay; its ripeness and its rottenness must appear together. Elizabeth lived to enjoy the one, and not altogether to escape the other. The state in the first period of her reign? That was Elizabeth. The state in the second period? That was a combination of Elizabeth, the House of Commons, the rack, and the scaffold.

Her desire and resolve to work out the problem of the political system of her father and grandfather appeared immediately on her accession. Everything was in favour of the plan. The House of Lords had now no power independent of the crown, for by the sole pleasure and will of the sovereign it had of late existed; the fear of confiscation and the scaffold on one hand, the hope of influence and Church property on the other, dealt out with a most impartial regard to the regal interest from the steps of the Tudor throne, held that house, from the beginning to the close of the reign, in the humblest subjection to Elizabeth—a nullity, a negation in the state. For the House of Commons, there was every reason to suppose that the business of the establishment of Protestantism would so far occupy the members as to leave undisputedly, at the first, a dictation of the main branch of the civil government in the queen's own hands. And this was a just belief; the members were so propitiated. "I have heard of old Parliament men," said Peter Wentworth, from his place in that house, twenty years afterward, "that the banishment of the pope and popery, and the restoring of true religion, had their beginning from this house, and not from the bishops." With regard to the people, it was always Elizabeth's fondest purpose to place herself at their head. The idea which had entered her great spirit seems to have been, that she could fling down every barrier between the sovereign authority and the popular allegiance. Her

subjects she would have made her children. Her kingdom was to be to her as her own palace. It might be said, even, that she did not so much desire to be a sovereign prince as to be a sovereign demagogue. She would mix with the people, gladly make their interests hers, condescend to their amusements, uphold their prejudices, gossip with them, joke with them, swear with them, but never, on any pretence, suffer them to mount higher than her knee. Their aspiring tendencies she never countenanced. While she patted a mayor or an alderman on the head, she disdained to lift her finger for the support of a Spenser or a Shakspeare. The man of genius found no protection in her, nor did she ever give any direct encouragement to the cultivation of literature. The reverse of this has been stated so confidently and so long, that it is hazardous to replace it by the truth. Sad and sorry as it may be, it is the truth notwithstanding.

But the people, in her despite, had their Spensers and their Shakspeares; they had their translation of the Bible, with its lessons of brotherhood and charity; they had their tales of a New World, their lessons from the Old; they had as free an access to the great literature of the ancient writers as to that of the living and surpassing genius which surrounded them; they had poetry in thought, and poetry in action; adventure and chivalry moved in living realities through the land; and the commonest people might lift caps, as they passed along the streets, to a Drake, a Sidney, or a Raleigh. It was only necessary that the rising influences which marked the accession of the Tudor family should thus appear in full and active operation on the minds of the English people, to sentence to a gradual but certain downfall the half political, half patriarchal system of this famous woman, by far the greatest of the race.

Discontent directed itself first against the weakest and most ominous quarter. In the year 1570, the institution of episcopacy in the Protestant Church was openly assailed by the Lady Margaret's professor of divinity at Cambridge. There had been an active discussion going on for some years on matters of minor consideration. Tippetts had been violently contested, and sad and serious had been disputes on the surplice. But now, to the amazement of the imperious Parker, who had declared that he would maintain to the death these essentials of the new religion, all farther mention of such matters ceased, and the archbishop was summoned to maintain to the death neither tippet nor surplice, but the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy of England. This was sudden, but the people did not seem to be taken suddenly. Cartwright's lectures were as a match to a train, and a formi-

dable party of Puritans forthwith started up in England.

It was obvious, at the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, that the great danger lay here. It was, of course, an essential feature in the Tudor system, that the framework of the ancient hierarchy of Rome should be left untouched. At a time when politics had suddenly become, as it were, only a part and parcel of religion, the idea of unlimited spiritual dominion was too valuable to be surrendered, implying, as by a very simple analogy it did, unlimited temporal dominion also. This dominion, again, by the acts of supremacy and uniformity, was placed at the absolute use and disposal of the sovereign, who thus formally assumed the cast-off robes of the pope. But such an assumption, even so early, scattered the seeds of discontent in fruitful places. The very Catholics assumed a virtue in the eyes of the more pure religious Reformers, when they saw the peculiar nature of the persecution with which the queen indiscreetly visited them, and felt, as in the instance of the Act of Uniformity, that even they themselves would not be able altogether to escape its penalties.

It was prohibited by that statute, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, a year's imprisonment for the second, and imprisonment during life for the third, that a minister should, whether beneficed or not, use any but the established Liturgy; and a fine was, at the same time, imposed on all who should absent themselves from church on Sundays and holy-days. The act of supremacy was much more atrocious. It enacted, with what has been truly termed an iniquitous and sanguinary retrospect, that all persons who had ever taken holy orders, or any degree in the universities, or had been admitted to the practice of the laws, or held any office in their execution, should be bound to take the oath of supremacy when tendered to them by a bishop, or by commissioners appointed under the great seal. A *præmunire* was the penalty for the first refusal; death, under the pains of high treason, for a second.

Not without a manly protest did these statutes pass at the time. "I say," exclaimed Lord Montagu, in his place in Parliament, "that this law that is pretended is not necessary; forasmuch as the Catholics of this realm disturb not, nor hinder the public affairs of the realm, neither spiritual nor temporal. They dispute not, they preach not, they disobey not the queen, they cause no trouble nor tumults among the people. . . . I do entreat whether it be just to make this penal statute to force the subjects of this realm to receive and believe the religion of the Protestants upon pain of death. This, I say, is a thing most unjust. For that it is repugnant to the law of nature, and all civil.



laws. The reason is, for that naturally no man can, or ought to be constrained to take for certain that which he holdeth to be uncertain. For this repugneth to the natural liberty of man's understanding. For understanding may be persecuted, but not forced. It is sufficient and enough for Protestants to keep possession of the churches, and the authority to preach and excommunicate, not to seek to force and strain men to do or believe, by compulsion, what they believe not; and not to swear, and to make God witness of their lie." This was spoken in 1562, while, at the same time, Mr. Atkinson vainly adjured the House of Commons with equal eloquence, and as fine a sense of philosophic toleration, to listen to like reason. "Is it not," he asked, "a sufficient punishment for a man that he shall not, by his wit and learning, so long as he continueth a certain opinion, bear any office, or have any countenance in this commonwealth? What better proof can you have of the goodness of the law, that you see, since that time, no great breach of the law; no seditious congregations, no tumult, but the common peace well kept? . . . Suppose you that the greatest part will refuse the oath? Think you that all that take it change their consciences? Nay, many a false shrew there is, that will lay his hand to the book when his heart shall be far off. Of this hath this house full experience. If men, for trifles, will forswear themselves, it cannot choose but be perilous when their goods, lands, liberties, and lives shall depend upon it. And if men were seditious before, now will they become ten times more seditious. And if any were rebellious before, now will his heart become more rebellious; for that he is enforced to perjury. . . I beseech you," concluded this admirable speaker, in a tone of prophetic warning, "I beseech you that you will well remember the trust that your country putteth in you; and, since you have the sword in your hand to strike, be well ware whom you strike. For some shall you strike that are your near friends, some your kinsmen, but all your countrymen, and even Christians. And though you may like these doings, yet may it be that your heirs after you may mislike them; and then farewell your name and worship."

The dangers thus predicted fell even more heavily than had been foreseen. The sword struck, and recoiled from the breasts of friends as well as foes. Persecution, insurrection, and the scaffold went on, after Protestantism had been immoveably established, in a continual round. Not the admirable and devoted attitude of the Catholics on the threatened approach of the armada, when, in that "agony of the Protestant faith and name," they flocked in every county to the lord-lieutenant's stand-

and implored to be allowed to prove

that the national glory of England was dearer to them than their religion itself: not even this abated the severities against them. On the other hand, not even the hatred borne by the purer order of the Reformers to Romanism and its professors in the slightest degree tended to the toleration of Protestant nonconformity. Indeed, the spirit of persecution in the last case was perhaps more keen and personal than in the first. Elizabeth loved, to the latest moment of her life, the gorgeous ceremonials of religion, as she cherished all that placed in subjection to authority the senses and the faith of men. It was with this feeling that she clothed her own bishops in such supreme authority; that she adhered to forms and ceremonies which, but for this, her inasculine sense would have put aside in scorn; that she called in to a constant share in her government, during its later period, the rack and the scaffold, and bequeathed to her successors a regal inheritance rotting to its very core. *No bishop, no king*, was a dangerous, and, indeed, fatal maxim. Its very form implied not only an endeavour to check the great impulses of the Reformation, but also the possibility of a rebound from that endeavour which would involve ruin to both bishop and king. And so it proved.

Cartwright's lectures at Oxford were followed by an immediate movement in the House of Commons. A few days after the opening of the session, in the Parliament which met in April, 1571, Mr. Strickland, "a grave and ancient man of great zeal," rose and addressed the house at great length, and with great temper, on the abuses of the Church, and presented a bill for the reformation of the Common Prayer. This was followed, a few days after, by a bill to take away the granting of licenses and dispensations by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The queen, upon this, interfered, in great anger. Mr. Strickland's bills were arrested, and himself too. He was summoned before the council, and commanded not to return to the house till their farther pleasure. This was resented with spirit and success; and Mr. Strickland, in despite of queen and council, resumed his seat next day, when, in the course of a debate on the subject, Mr. Yelverton said, "that all matters not treason, or too much to the derogation of the imperial crown, were tolerable there, where all things came to be considered of, and where there was such fullness of power as even the right of the crown to be determined; and by warrant whereof we had so resolved, that to say the Parliament had no power to determine of the crown was high treason. He remembered how that men are not there for themselves, but for their counties. He showed it was fit for princes to have their prerogatives, but yet the same to be straitened within reasonable limits. The prince, he

showed, could not herself make laws, neither ought she, by the same reason, break laws." He concluded with defending both Mr. Strickland and his bills.

Such expressions may well startle the believers in that kind of history which compares England and Elizabeth to Turkey and its sultan. But they were not then uttered for the first time in this reign. The political achievements of the days of the elder Henrys and Edwards were not to be so soon forgotten. The principles implied had been laid down over and over again, though the peculiar crisis of affairs at Elizabeth's accession enabled her, as I have shown, to dispense with them largely in her practice. As early as 1566, Onslow, then speaker of the House of Commons, thus referred to the authority of the common law, in his sessional address to the throne. "For, by our common law," he said, "although there be for the prince provided many princely prerogatives and royalties, yet it is not such as the prince can take money or other things, or do as he will, at his own pleasure, without order; but quietly to suffer his subjects to enjoy their own, without wrongful oppression, wherein other princes, by their liberty, do take as pleaseth them." He next proceeded to tell the queen "that, as a good prince, she was not given to tyranny contrary to the laws, had not attempted to make laws contrary to order, but had orderly called this Parliament, who perceived certain wants, and thereunto had put their helping hand." Onslow was at this time the queen's solicitor as well as speaker of the house, and Elizabeth offered no denial to his claims either for the house or the common law.

Harrison, who was a writer of some authority, used still stronger language a little later in the reign. "This house," he said, referring to the commons, "hath the most high and absolute power of the realme; for thereby kings and mightie princes have from time to time been deposed from their thrones; laws either enacted or abrogated; offenders of all sorts punished; and corrupted religion either disannulled or reformed. To be short, whatsoever the people of Rome did in their *centuriatis* or *tribunitiis comitiis*, the same is and may be done by authoritie of our Parlement House, which is the head and body of all the realme, and the place wherein everie particular person is intended to be present, if not by himselfe, yet by his advocate or attorney. For this cause, also, anything ther enacted is not to be misliked, but obeyed of all men without contradiction or grudge." The noble language employed by Hooker, in his "Ecclesiastical Polity," is more accessible, and need not be repeated here. He anticipates in that the whole theory of Locke; in every part of it de-

rives the origin of government explicitly, both in right and in fact, from a primary contract; enlarges on the advantages of a limited monarchy, and expressly lays down that of Elizabeth as a government restrained by law.

But, finally, I may quote the striking expressions of Aylmer, afterward Bishop of London, as early as 1559, when he answered Knox's "Blast of the Trumpet against the monstros Regiment of Women." The blast had been blown against Mary, but the echo of the sound loitered disagreeably in the ears of the new queen. "Well," says Aylmer, "a woman may not reigne in England: better in England than anywhere, as it shall wel appere to him that withoute affection will consider the kinde of regiment; while I conferre ours with other as it is in it selfe, and not maymed by usurpacion, I can find none either so good or so indifferent. The regiment of England is not a mere monarchie, as some, for lack of consideracion, thinke, nor a mere oligarchie, nor democratie, but a rule mixte of all those, wherein each one of these have or should have like authoritie. Thim-age whereof, and not the image, but the thing in dede, it is to be sene in the Parliament Hous, wherein you shall find these thre estats: the king or quene, which representeth the monarche; the noble men, which be the aristocratie; and the burgesses and knights, the democratie. The verye same had Lacedemonia, the noblest and best city governed that ever was; thei had theire kings, theire senate and Hippagretes, which wer for the people. As in Lacedemonia none of these could make or break laws, order for warre or peac, or do any thing without thother; the king nothing without the senate and commons, nor either of them or both withoute the king (albeit the senate and the ephori had greater authoritie than the king had). In like manner, if the Parliament use theire privileges, the king can ordein nothing withoute them. If he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and theire follye in permitting it. . . But to what purpose is all this? To declare that it is not in Englayd so daungerous a matter to have a woman ruler as men take it to be. For, first: it is not she that ruleth, but the laws, the executors whereof be her judges appointed by her, her justices, and such other officers. Secondly: she maketh no statutes or laws, but the honorable court of Parliament; she breaketh none, but it must be she and they together, or else not. If, on the other part, the regiment were such, as all hanged upon the king's or quene's wil, and not upon the lawes wrytten; if she might decre, and make lawes alone, without her senate; if she judged offences according to her wisdom, and not by limitation of statutes and laws; if she might dispose

alone of warre and peac ; if, to be short, she wer a mere monark, and not a mixte ruler, you might, peradventure, make me to feare the matter the more, and the les to defend the cause. But the state being as it is or ought to be (if men wer wurth theyr eares), I can se no cause of feare." And no fear there was. The slumber was only for a time. Men *were* worth their ears, and had resolved that neither pillory nor rack should continue to make light of them.

After Strickland's return to the house, a very bold step was taken, and taken successfully. It had been found necessary that the Articles of the English Church, as altered from those of Edward the Sixth, and settled in the convocation of 1562, should receive the sanction of Parliament to make them more binding on the clergy. They were now introduced. On those that related to matters of faith no discussion arose ; while, on those that declared the lawfulness of the established form of consecrating bishops and priests, the supremacy of the crown, and the power of the Church to order rites and ceremonies, an opposition started up of so decided a character, that the house eventually withheld its assent to them, and the insertion of the word "only" into a portion of the statute excluded those articles from legislative assent. Peter Wentworth, one of Strickland's supporters and fellow-patriots, and the most distinguished assertor of civil liberty in Elizabeth's reign, described in a subsequent Parliament his conversation on this subject with Archbishop Parker. "I was," said this bold and honest speaker, "among others, the last Parliament sent for unto the Bishop of Canterbury, for the Articles of Religion that then passed this house. He asked us why we did put out of the book the articles for the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like? 'Surely, sir,' said I, 'because we were so occupied in other matters, that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God.' 'What,' said he, 'surely you mistook the matter; you will refer yourselves wholly to us therein?' 'No, by the faith I bear to God,' said I, 'we will pass nothing before we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes; make you popes who list,' said I, 'for we will make you none.' And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me a pope-like speech, and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the pope's canons unto themselves, *Papa non potest errare*; for surely, if they did not, they would reform things amiss, and not to spurn against God's people for writing therein as they do: but I can tell them news; they do but kick against the pricks, for undoubtedly they both have, and do err."

*Make you popes who list, for we will make you none*, is, in a single sentence, a whole history. The people were taught to re-

ject the false dogma of a papal supremacy, and suddenly found a High Church principle of a character scarcely less offensive lifting up its insolent head among them. Having achieved the sacred right of private judgment and national independence in the all-important matter of religion, they were instantly required to submit to an ecclesiastical usurpation of civil power and conscientious belief almost less tolerable than that which they so reluctantly bore in the days of papal slavery. The intellect and chivalry of the land, its earnest and serious persuasions, alike forbade it. And now a sudden encounter of both gave birth to a new race of men, who were soon destined to start forth, still affronted by that *No king, no bishop* cry, bear down both Church and throne into the dust. The sons and daughters of the Arcadia were the parents of the men of Charles and Cromwell.

Meanwhile the struggle which began against Elizabeth herself was so far conducted with spirit and with boldness, as to achieve many very solid and large accessions to the privileges of the House of Commons (which it is not necessary to make farther reference to), as well as to leave on lasting record a valuable protest against the Tudor system, as one which centuries of English history rejected and disclaimed. It was in vain that Elizabeth packed the house with placemen; in vain she flooded the country party with upward of sixty-two new members. The Wentworths and Stricklands still remained, and still in every session proclaimed at least the duty and the right of Parliament to inquire into every public matter, to remedy every public abuse, to avert, as far as possible, every public mischief. The cry of English liberty was never raised more piercingly, though it remained for later days to send back to it a louder and more terrible echo.

"Two things, Mr. Speaker," said Peter Wentworth, in the session of 1575, "two things do great hurt in this place, of the which I do mean to speak. The one is a rumour which runneth about the house, and this it is: 'take heed what you do; the queen's majesty liketh not such a matter; whosoever preferreth it, she will be offended with him.' Or the contrary: 'her majesty liketh of such a matter; whosoever speaketh against it, she will be much offended with him.' The other is, that sometimes a message is brought into the house, either of commanding or inhibiting, very injurious to the freedom of speech and consultation. I would to God, Mr. Speaker, that these two were buried in hell; I mean rumours and messages . . . I will show you a reason," continued this honest orator, and he had a brother, Paul Wentworth, worthy of him, "I will show you a reason to prove it perilous always to follow the prince's mind. Many times

it falleth out that a prince may favour a cause perilous to himself and the whole state. What are we, then, if we follow the prince's mind? Are we not unfaithful unto God, our prince, and state? Yes, truly; for we are chosen of the whole realm, of a special trust and confidence by them reposed in us. . . . Sir, I will discharge my conscience and duties to God, my prince, and country. Certain it is, Mr. Speaker, that none is without fault, no, not our noble queen, sith her majesty hath committed great fault, yea, dangerous faults to herself. . . . No estate can stand where the prince will not be governed by advice." For these daring references to the sovereign, Wentworth was summoned before the council, justified all he had uttered, and was flung into the Tower. The house obtained his release after a month's imprisonment; but shortly after his reappearance he was again arrested and committed, with several friends and supporters; again released; and, on resuming his seat, again in bitter opposition. The spirit which animated him could not be repressed by bonds, could not by death be extinguished.

How, it may be asked, did Elizabeth resist it so long? Because she had wily counsellors, and, in everything that directly affected the comforts of the great mass of the people, was a wise and prudent princess. She husbanded her tyranny, and, for the most part, laid its finger lightly on the commonalty of England. She would have treated them, in more senses than one, as though they were her own. She was frugal in her personal wants, and never kept an ill-supplied exchequer. In the first session after Wentworth's more determined resistance, she had generously remitted one subsidy voted to her, and was yet able, after the close of that session, which had been more than commonly distasteful, to dispense with farther subsidies for the space of five years, during which she refrained from summoning another Parliament. When compelled, at last, to do so, the invincible Wentworth again presented himself, with a still stronger and more compact band of allies, and again the remonstrances began.

Her last House of Commons met in 1601, and its proceedings imply a serious advance of hostile temper, as well in the country as the house. I quote a singular extract from one of the debates on subsidies—which had been rendered more needful to Elizabeth by a foreign war, an Irish rebellion, and a sudden depreciation in the value of money—from a report of the time. "Then Sergeant Heyle: 'Mr. Speaker, I marvel much that the house will stand upon granting of a subsidy, or the time of payment, when all we have is her majesty's; and she may lawfully, at her pleasure, take it from us.

Yea, she hath as much right to all our lands and goods as to any revenue of her crown.' At which *all the house* hemmed, and laughed, and talked. 'Well,' quoth Sergeant Heyle, 'all your hemming shall not put me out of countenance.' So Mr. Speaker stood up and said, 'It is a great disorder that this should be used; for it is the ancient use of every man to be silent when any one speaketh; and he that is speaking should be suffered to deliver his mind without interruption.' So the sergeant proceeded; and when he had spoken a little while, the house hemmed again, and so he sat down. In his latter speech he said, 'he could prove his former position by precedent in the times of Henry the Third, King John, King Stephen, &c., which was the occasion of their hemming." It is significant to mark in this that the worthy sergeant stands alone in his obsolete views and obsolete precedents. All the house laughed at him. How short the time that had elapsed since the sergeant might have been coughing at the house, and the house complaining of the sergeant!

But out of doors there is laughter too, and remark upon public affairs. Gathering clusters of common men discuss the doings of Parliament, even as Mr. Secretary Cecil passes along in his carriage. Mob orators are collecting; eager faces are turned to them. The common people themselves, at last, seem to be taking politics in hand. "I must needs give you this for a future caution," said Cecil to the assembled commons, on the 25th of November, 1601, "that whatsoever is subject to public expectation cannot be good, while the Parliament matters are ordinary talk in the street. I have heard myself, being in my coach, these words spoken aloud: 'God prosper those that further the overthrow of these monopolies! God send the prerogative touch not our liberty!' I think those persons would be glad that all sovereignty were converted into popularity; we being here but the popular mouth, and our liberty the liberty of the subject."

And Cecil might the less inaptly think so, since his mistress had sent him there with a conciliatory message from the throne, freely surrendering her demand of certain monopolies, in consequence of their having occasioned several fierce debates of resistance in the house. It is a memorable thing that this should have been one of the last public acts of the great Elizabeth. It illustrates her system of government, the means by which she had sustained it so long, and the inevitable certainty that it could not be sustained much longer. Her mission had reached its close. She went down to the House of Commons a few days afterward, and spoke to them

in a gentle and melancholy tone, as though conscious the meeting would be their last.

"Of myself," she said, in a spirit of self-vindication, and she might say it with truth and pride, "I must say this: I never was any greedy, scraping grasper, nor a strait, fast-holding prince, nor yet a waster; my heart was never set on worldly goods, but only for my subjects' good. What you do bestow on me, I will not hoard it up, but receive it to bestow on you again. Yea, mine own properties I account yours. Since I was queen," she continued, "yet never did I put my pen to any grant, but that upon pretext and semblance made unto me that it was both good and beneficial to the subjects in general, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants, who had deserved it well. But the contrary being found by experience, I am exceeding beholden to such subjects as would move the same at first. . . . And if my kingly bounty hath been abused, and my grants turned to the hurt of my people, contrary to my will and meaning, or if any in authority under me have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offences to my charge. . . . To be a king," she added, with an eloquent and even affecting protest against any harsh judgment in posterity, "to be a king and wear a crown is more glorious to them that see it than it is pleasure to them that bear it. For myself, I was never so much enticed with the glorious name of a king, or royal authority of a queen, as delighted that God hath made me his instrument to maintain his truth and glory, and to defend this kingdom from peril, dishonour, tyranny, and oppression. There will never queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country or care to my subjects, and that will sooner, with willingness, yield and venture her life for your good and safety, than myself. And though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving. Should I ascribe anything to myself and my sexly weakness, I were not worthy to live then, and, of all, most unworthy of the mercies I have had from God, who hath ever yet given me a heart which never yet feared foreign or home enemies. . . . And so I commit you all to your best fortunes and farther councils. And I pray you, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary, and you of my council, that before these gentlemen depart into their counties, you bring them all to kiss my hand."

And having so spoken, this lion-hearted woman returned to her palace, passed a few more months there in depression and in sorrow, and, dying, bequeathed her crown to her "cousin of Scotland." The Stuart

race at once and undisputedly ascended the English throne.

The movement which hurled them from it, and led to the temporary establishment of a republic in our country, is described in this volume. The biographies it contains are so eventful, that the history of the age itself might well be written in it; for the times, awful as they were, were not greater than the men. The ideas of both present themselves to us at once, like shadowy and solid giants standing together, and hardly letting us discern which leads the other.

The subjects have been selected with reference to the various stages in the struggle, from the opposition in the reign of James to the breaking out of the civil war, and thence to the execution of Charles, the erection of a republic, the usurpation of Cromwell, and the resumption of power by the Republicans on the abdication of his son. I have included the principal person who adhered to Charles. The exertions of the great men who founded the Commonwealth of England required illustration from those of the only great man who made a brave resistance to them.

Four lives out of the seven are here written in a detached shape for the first time; for, though few have been able to dispute the celebrated saying of Bishop Warburton, that, at the period they illustrate, the spirit of liberty was at its height in this country, "and its interests were conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government that the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause," the number of those who have troubled themselves to inquire into the reason or precise value of this saying have been fewer still. It is a grave reproach to English political biography, that the attention so richly due to the statesmen who opposed Charles I., in themselves the most remarkable men of any age or nation, should have been suffered to be borne away by the poorer imitators of their memorable deeds, the authors of the imperfect settlement of 1688.

I may, perhaps, be allowed to add, that the latter part of that portion of this work devoted to the life of Cromwell contains what I have endeavoured to render as clear and faithful a statement as it was possible to make of the case of the Republican statesmen who opposed him.

The portrait of Eliot has been engraved by the courtesy of Lord St. Germans, the patriot's lineal descendant. It is the first published portrait of Sir John Eliot. I am also indebted to the same obliging courtesy for the noble contemporary portrait of Hampden, which, having passed from the possession of Hampden's son as a gift to the son of Eliot, has been carefully preserved among the heirlooms of that family.

J. F.

# TABLE,

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## HENRY MARTEN.

1609—1666.

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*Geo. John Holt.*

HARPER & BROTHERS.







THE  
STATESMEN  
OF THE  
COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND.

SIR JOHN ELIOT.—1590–1632.

JOHN ELIOT was "a Cornishman born, and an esquire's son."\* His family, though new residents in that county, were of very ancient Devonshire descent. Prince alludes to them in his "Worthies;" and Fuller has pointed out the name of Walter Eliot, one of his ancestors, in the sheriff's return of the gentry of the county of Devon, made in 1433, during the reign of Henry VI. Browne Willis, who may be considered a good authority on the subject, having married a lineal descendant of the family,† states that this Walter Eliot allied himself to the family of Sir Richard Eliot, appointed a justice of the Court of King's Bench by Henry VIII., but more illustrious as the father of one of the earliest of our vernacular writers, the famous Sir Thomas Eliot.‡ The first of the family who settled in Cornwall appears to have been the great-uncle of Sir John, who obtained from the family of Champernowne the priory of St. Germain's and its lands, in exchange for property possessed by him at Cutlands, near Ashburton.§ To this priory the name of Port Eliot was then given, which it bears to this day. Its large estates have descended with it from father to son, and form a considerable portion of the property of the present Earl of St. Germain's.||

At this seat of Port Eliot John Eliot was born, on the 20th of April, 1590.¶ In his youth he was subjected to none of the restraints that

should have been applied to a temper naturally ardent. His father was a man of easy habits, kept very hospitable house,\* flung it open to every sort of visitor, and never, it is to be presumed, troubled himself to consider the effect of such a course upon the uncontrolled disposition and manners of his son. It is to this lax education that we have to attribute a painful incident in the life of Eliot, of which the most treacherous advantage has been taken by his political enemies.†

Archdeacon Echard, a notorious advocate of the Stuarts, and a most inaccurate historical writer, gave the first public account of it. After stating, most untruly (as we have seen), that Eliot was of a "new family,"‡ this archdeacon proceeds: "Within his own parish there lived one Mr. John Moyle, a gentleman of very good note and character in his country, who, together with his son, had the honour to serve in Parliament. Whether out of rivalry or otherwise, Mr. Eliot, having, upon a very slight occasion, entertained a bitter grudge against the other, went to his house under the show of a friendly visit, and there treacherously stabbed him, while he was turning on one side to take a glass of wine to drink to him."§ He states farther: "Mr. Moyle outlived this base attempt about forty years, who, with some others of his family, often told the particulars to his grandson, Dr. Prideaux, and *other relations, from whom I had this particular account.*"¶ We are here left uncertain, it will be seen, whether the account was received at fifth or sixth hand from gossiping relations, or from the respected and learned Dean of Norwich. A late writer, however, has thought fit to assume the latter, and has insisted, with considerable and very obstinate vehemence, on the probable truth of the statement.¶ With the help of materials in a lately-published work by Lord Nugent,\*\*

\* Anthony Wood, *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii., p. 478, ed. Bliss.

† See Ducarel's "Life of Browne Willis."

‡ Browne Willis's "Notitia Parliamentaria," vol. ii., p. 142.

§ "I do not know," says an accomplished living descendant of the patriot, "the exact year in which this change took place: but John Eliot died at the priory of St. Germain's, having given it the name of Port Eliot, in 1565. An account of that transaction is to be found in Carew's Survey of Cornwall, published about 1580. Chalmers, in his Biographical Dictionary, speaks of the family of Eliot of Port Eliot, and those of Heathfield and Minto, to be descended from a Sir W. Eliot, who came over with William the Conqueror; but this account is merely traditional, and cannot be borne out by proof. The Herald's Visitation of Cornwall, made in 1602, and preserved in the Herald's College, gives the armorial bearings of the family; a shield containing twelve quarterings: a proof, at a time when pretensions to heraldic honours were minutely scrutinized, that the origin of the family could not have been very recent."—*Lord Eliot*.

¶ In "Notitia Parliamentaria" (the notice of the borough of St. Germain's, at p. 149, of the second volume), a description will be found of Port Eliot. See also "Carew's Survey of Cornwall," ed. 1602; and the fourth volume of Mr. D'Israeli's "Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.," p. 509.

¶ Browne Willis. Anthony Wood fixes it incorrectly at 1592.

\* See "Carew's Survey of Cornwall."

† How eagerly such a charge as that which follows would have been seized by the bitter opponents of Eliot among his contemporaries, had a reasonable foundation existed for it, is sufficiently obvious. It might have served as the title of an apology for his harsh treatment. Nowhere, however, in Parliament or elsewhere, does a trace of it appear.

‡ Echard's History, p. 494, folio, ed. 1720. Is this the "contemporary writer" to whom Mr. D'Israeli alludes in vol. iv., p. 508, of his Commentaries? I can find no other.

§ Echard's History, p. 494.

¶ Mr. D'Israeli. See his Commentaries, vol. ii., p. 370; vol. iv., p. 513; his pamphlet in answer to Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden," p. 5.

\*\* Memorials of Hampden.

and guided by a fact I have discovered respecting Sir John Eliot's father, I now present this singular incident in a new, and, it may be hoped, a final aspect.

It occurred, so far as there is truth in it, in the extreme youth of Eliot. That he should have earned for himself at that time the epithet "wilful" will scarcely appear surprising after what I have said of the habits and indulgences of his father. Mr. Moyle, who resided at Bake, a district of the parish of St. Germain's, close to Port Eliot,\* took upon himself to warn old Eliot that such was the disposition of his son. Miss Aikin, the historical writer, has now in her possession a letter, written by an ancestor of one of the most respectable families of Devonshire, wherein the cause and course of the quarrel which ensued are given, as described by the daughter of Mr. Moyle himself, a witness not likely to be unjustly partial to Sir John Eliot.† This is the statement of that letter: Mr. Moyle having acquainted Sir John Eliot's father with some extravagances in his son's expenses, and this being reported with some aggravating circumstances, young Eliot went hastily to Mr. Moyle's house and remonstrated. What words passed she knows not, but Eliot drew his sword and wounded Mr. Moyle in the side. "On reflection," continues Mr. Moyle's daughter, "he soon detested the fact, and from thenceforward became as remarkable for his private deportment, in every view of it, as his public conduct. Mr. Moyle was so entirely reconciled to him that no person in his time held him in higher esteem."

That this hasty ebullition of will occurred in extreme youth I am now prepared to prove. I find, from documents of the time, that Eliot's father died in 1609.‡ He was buried in the Church of St. Germain's on the 24th of June in that year. Anthony Wood (the best authority on such a point, though on such only) tells us that young Eliot entered college in 1607, and continued there three years.§ It is evident, therefore, that, at the time of the quarrel with Moyle, Eliot could not have been more than seventeen, or, assuming (which is most unlikely) that it occurred in a college vacation of his first year, eighteen years old. This will be considered as established beyond farther doubt. It is confirmed still more by a remarkable document which has been found among the Eliot papers.|| "An apologie," addressed to Mr. Moyle by young Eliot, for the "greate injury" he had done him, and witnessed by names, some of which were afterward greatly distinguished in the Parliamentary history of the time. The terms of it are highly curious, and indicate the writer clearly. It is an atonement which marks the characteristic impulse of a young and generous mind, anxious to repair an

unpremeditated wrong. "Mr. Moyle," so runs the apology, "I doe acknowledge I have done you a greate injury, which I wish I had never done, and doe desire you to remit it; and I desire that all unkindnesse may be forgiven and forgotten betwixt us, and henceforward I shall desire and deserve your love in all friendly offices, as I hope you will mine."

"JO. ELYOTTE."

That this apology was honestly meant and strictly redeemed—that the writer did desire the love of him whom he had hastily injured, and deserve it, and, moreover, obtain it, we are fortunately not without ample proof. In the volume of Eliot papers already referred to exist two letters,\* written, many years after this event, by Sir John to this very Mr. Moyle, granting him solicited favours. It was a saying of shrewd severity, that few natures exist capable of making compensation to those whom they may have injured, or even of ceasing to follow them with resentment. Assuredly, however, rare and virtuous as such natures are, John Eliot's was one of them. He held himself the constant and willing debtor of the man he had unwillingly offended. "I am sorry," he says, in one of his letters, after granting Moyle what he had asked, "this return is not better to the occasion you have given me; it may serve for an expression of my power, though my affection be beyond it. I can command corruption out of no man, but in mine own heart have a clear will to serve you, and shall faithfully remain your true friend." In the other, written some months after, in answer to an intercession by Moyle for an offending tenant of Sir John's, the following passage occurs: "In answer to your love, I will give orders to my servant Hill, at his return into the country, to repay him the money that's received, and so to leave him to his old interest for the tenement, in which he must acknowledge your courtesy and favour, for whose satisfaction it is done by your most affectionate friend."†

Taken in connexion with the statements I have given, this incident assumes, in my mind, a more than ordinary interest, and becomes, indeed, an important feature in the life of Eliot. It is the line drawn between his passing youth and coming manhood. Whatever may have been the turbulence of his boyhood, whatever the struggle of its uncurbed passions, this event startled him into a perfect and sober self-control. His "private deportment," says Mr.

\* Eliot Papers, MS., Nos. 63 and 96.

† Mr. D'Israeli has said, in his fourth volume, p. 513 (in reference to the "apologie" quoted above), "I perfectly agree that this extraordinary apology was not written by a man who had stabbed his companion in the back; nor can I imagine that, after such a revolting incident, any approximation at a renewal of intercourse would have been possible." He then proceeds, with very amusing pertinacity, to shift the grounds of the charge. His argument, however on his own admission, is wholly exploded by the letters above cited. No malignity, however desperate or reckless, can again revive it. I cannot leave the subject of this first calumny, in the promotion of which Mr. D'Israeli has joined with such painful and mistaken bitterness, without expressing my regret that political passion and preconceived notions of character should so bewilder an ingenious mind. Mr. D'Israeli, though in all cases too fond of suggesting events from rumours, has rendered many services to history, and notwithstanding his various misstatements respecting Eliot, which I shall have occasion to refute, has never scrupled to pay a not unwilling tribute to the greatness of his intellect.

\* Notitia Parliamentaria. Browne Willis, the intimate friend of the Moyles, does not make the slightest allusion to this incident, as remembered harshly by that family; a circumstance explained by the testimony which has been since obtained from the daughter of the pretended "victim."

† See Memorials of Hampden, vol. i., p. 132. Aikin's Charles the First, vol. i., p. 263.

‡ Willis's Researches into the Pedigree of the Eliots. Not. Parl., vol. ii., p. 144.

§ Ath. Oxon., vol. ii., p. 478.

|| See Lord Eliot's communication to Mr. D'Israeli, full of excellent feeling, and a proper concern for the memory of his great progenitor, "Commentaries," vol. iv., p. 509.

Moyle's daughter, was as remarkable ever after as that of his public conduct. In the latter his temper never ceased to be ardent for the general good and against the wrongful oppressor. In private it was ardent in kindness, in busy purposes and affections for those around him. To the "last right end," he stood

"A perfect patriot, and a noble friend,"

and so his biographer must delineate him, apart from all preconceived affections or prejudices.

Immediately after the quarrel with Mr. Moyle, it is probable that young Eliot left his home for the University of Oxford. Anthony Wood states that he "became a gentleman-commoner of Exeter College in Michaelmas term, anno 1607, aged 15."<sup>2</sup> The same authority tells us that he left the University, without a degree, after he had continued there about three years.<sup>3</sup> That his time, however, was not misspent at that venerable seat of study he afterward well proved. He had naturally a fine imagination; and when, on the lapse of a few years, it burst forth in the House of Commons, it was surrounded with the pomp of Greek and Roman learning. In the studies of his youth, in those invaluable treasures of thought and language which are placed within the reach of every scholar, he had strengthened himself for great duties. And more than this. In his youthful contemplation of the ancient school philosophy, he had provided for his later years the enjoyment of those sublime reveries which, we shall have occasion to see, were his chief consolations in a dungeon. Little, probably, did he then imagine, as he was first making the acquaintance of Seneca, of Plato, and the Stagyrite, that they would stand him in the stead of friends, when prison bars had shut out every other.

The sudden interruption to his studies, at the expiration of three years, appears to have originated in his desire to obtain some acquaintance with the common law of England. This knowledge began then to be considered a necessary accomplishment for one who aspired to the honours of Parliament, with the view of supporting the principles of the rising country party. Eliot was one of these; and, as Wood informs us, after leaving the University, "went to one of the inns of court, and became a barrister."<sup>4</sup> The lapse of a year or two introduces us to a new incident in his private life, of which a malignant advantage has, as usual, been taken by his political opponents.

His disposition, never less active than meditative, induced him to visit the Continent. At precisely the same period, the discerning Lady Villiers<sup>5</sup> had sent her famous son to grace the

beauty of his face and the handsomeness of his person (his only birthright) by the advantages of foreign travel. Eliot and Villiers met, and the courtesies of English travellers in a foreign country ensued between them.\* They journeyed together; and it is not surprising that a generous warmth in the disposition of Eliot should have suited well with the bold address and sprightliness of temper for which alone, at that time, George Villiers was remarkable. It is said they became intimate. In all probability they did so, if we may judge from a circumstance that shall in due course be noticed.

Meanwhile, I have another misrepresentation to clear away. After his return from the Continent, Eliot married. It has been reserved for the writer before referred to—Mr. D'Israeli, whose ingenuity of research and pleasant attractiveness of style are only outstripped by his violent political tendencies and his most amusing professions of philosophical impartiality—to fasten upon even this domestic and most private incident in the life of Eliot, as another instance of what he is pleased to consider the turbulence and "ungovernable passion" of his "bold and adventurous character."<sup>6</sup> Without quoting any authority, Mr. D'Israeli states, that "when the House of Commons voted £5000 for a compensation to the family for his [Eliot's] 'sufferings,' they also voted another £2000, part of four, for which he had been fined by the Court of Wards, by reason of his marriage with Sir Daniel Norton's daughter." He then goes on to state that this indicates the violent carrying off of the lady by the turbulent Eliot. What possible authority Mr. D'Israeli can bring forward for this statement I know not. The only record in existence bearing on such a subject, so far as I am aware, is an entry in the Earl of Leicester's journal, of unquestioned authenticity and correctness. It is most satisfactory on the point, as will be seen; and I will not suppose that this was the source from which Mr. D'Israeli derived his statement. It is as follows: "Monday, 18th January, 1646. The House of Commons this day, according to former order, took into consideration the great losses and sufferings of many members, in the years tertio Caroli, for speaking (in Parliament) in behalf of the kingdom. A report whereof was made to the House, from the committee to whom it was formerly referred; and the Commons, upon debate, passed several votes for allowances to be given to such members, in recompense of their wrongs and sufferings, as followeth." Several names are then specified, and among them, "that £5000 be allowed to Sir John Eliotte's younger children, and his elder son's fine in the Court of Wards to be remitted."<sup>7</sup>

\* Ath. Oxon., vol. ii., p. 478. This is incorrect, however, as I have stated, in respect to Eliot's age. He was seventeen. † Ath. Oxon., vol. ii., p. 478. ‡ Ibid.

§ Buckingham was a younger son, by a second marriage, of Sir George Villiers, of Brookeley, in Leicestershire, whose family, though ancient, had hitherto been unheard of in the kingdom. His mother is reported to have served in his father's kitchen, but he, being struck with her extraordinary beauty and person, which the meanness of her clothes could not hide, prevailed with Lady Villiers, not without difficulty, to raise her to a higher office; and on the death of that lady he married this her servant. As, however, the heir by a former marriage succeeded to the family estate, it became a grand object with Lady Villiers, who had obtained the means through a second husband, whom she afterward deserted, to accomplish her children for pushing their own fortune in the world. Hence her

conduct to George, as I have noticed it above. See R. Coke, p. 74. Hacket's Life of Williams, part i., p. 171. Brodie's British Empire, vol. ii., p. 12, 13.

\* Echard's History, p. 424. Mr. D'Israeli claims the merit of having discovered this (vol. iv., p. 607; pamphlet, p. 3), a claim on which his friends also insist (see Quarterly Review, No. xciv., p. 470), on what authority does not appear. Echard was the first discoverer, if there be any merit in it; nor would his statement have carried any weight, but that other circumstances have tended to confirm it.

† See Mr. D'Israeli's Commentaries, vol. ii., p. 283.

‡ Sidney Papers, p. 2, 3. This early portion of the journal is especially remarkable for its accuracy and precision. All of it was written for the author's private use.

## ENGLISH STATESMEN.

... friend the Duke of Buckingham, in order to get his pardon, which, to his great disappointment, he could not obtain without advancing a considerable sum of money into the exchequer. But as soon as his pardon was sealed and the money paid, he received intelligence that Mr. Moyle was unexpectedly recovered. Upon the happy assurance of this, he again applied himself to the duke to procure the repayment of the money; but that being swallowed up in the occasions of the court beyond any recovery, all that he could obtain in lieu of it was to be knighted; which, though it might have allayed the heat of his ambition, was so heinously taken at the hands of a person once his equal, that after that he never ceased to be his mortal enemy, but helped to blow up such a flame in the House as was never extinguished." This monstrous account, which I have extracted partly for the amusement of the reader, has found its believers in the present day.\* It is idle to waste words on its refutation. At the period when, it is thus hardly asserted, the assassin Eliot hurried up to his friend the duke to crave protection from the laws he had outraged, that "assassin" was but a boy, and the "duke" plain George Villiers, with less power than his pretended suppliant.

Among the inconsistencies of the candid "historians" and "commentators" do not end here. Mr. D'Israeli, who adopts the ridiculously false statement just quoted, has attempted to corroborate it by the production of a letter written in the year 1623 to the duke.† That is to say, he adopts the statement that Sir John repaid the protection and the knighthood given him by the duke with immediate and violent hostility; and proposes to corroborate that by producing a letter, written in courteous and deferential terms, by Sir John to the duke, some considerable time after the period of the knighthood. The gross folly of this is apparent. I pass that, however, to consider the letter, and the position attempted to be established by its means, namely, "that in 1623 we find Sir John a suppliant to, and, at least, a complimentary admirer of, the minister, and only two years after, in 1625, Eliot made his first personal attack on that minister, his late patron and friend, whom he then selected as a victim of state."‡

With respect to the first part of this charge, the answer is short and obvious. The letter is not written in Sir John's personal character, but as Vice-admiral of Devonshire to the Lord-high-admiral of England. This is admitted even, in another place, by the author of the charge himself.§ The office of vice-admiral had proved extremely troublesome to Sir John, involving him in many disputes concerning the wrecks on the coast, and saddling him with the expenses of various trials.|| Rather than submit to these, it would appear that, in one instance, Eliot preferred to subject himself to the inconveniences of arrest. Under such circumstances, it was most natural that he should seek some reparation for the injuries he had undergone in support of the office and rights of the

... from the Eliot Papers, MS.  
... the consistency which the mention of  
... has retained the reader that Sir Thom-  
... remembered but for his misfortunes,  
... scholar, and adorned literature by  
... Some passages in the "Witty"  
... to his poem of "The Wife," are  
... simplicity and gentleness.  
... the *Religion*, folio ed., vol. i., p. 9.  
... p. 424.

\* See Mr. D'Israeli's *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 270; a passage which has not yet been retracted.  
† *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 270. ‡ Pamphlet, p. 6.  
§ *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 270.  
|| See *Commons' Journals*, 27th of February, 1623; and again, 2d of March in the same year.

Duke of Buckingham. For this purpose the letter in question was written; its tone is ex-postulatory, and, courteous as its terms are, it is even deficient in those elaborately complimentary phrases which were considered due, in that age, to the ceremonious observances of letter-writing. It is as follows:

"Right Honourable—With what affection I have served your grace, I desire rather it should be read in my actions than my words, which made me sparing, in my last relation, to touch those difficulties wherewith my letters have been checkt, that they might the more fully speak themselves. *I shall not seek to gloss them now*, but, as they have been, leave them to your grace's acceptance, which I *presume* so noble, that scandal or detraction cannot decline it. It were an injury of your worth, which I dare not attempt, to insinuate the opinion of any merit by false colours or pretences, or with hard circumstances to endear my labours, and might beget suspicion sooner than assurance in your credit, which I may not hazard. *My innocence, I hope, needs not these; nor would I shadow the least error under your protection.* But when my services have been faithful, and not altogether vain, directed truly to the honour and benefit of your place, only suffering upon the disadvantage of your absence, I must importune your grace to support my weakness, that it may cause no prejudice of your rights and liberties, which I have studied to preserve, though with the loss of mine own. My insistence therein hath exposed me to a long imprisonment and great charge, which still increaseth, and threatens the ruin of my poor fortunes, if they be not speedily prevented; for which, as my endeavours have been wholly yours, I most humbly crave your grace's favour both to myself and them, in which I am devoted. Your grace's thrice humble servant,  
J. ELIOT."  
"Novemb. 8, 1623."\*

Now, not a single expression in this letter is inconsistent with the construction which I have placed on it, or justly appropriate to any other construction. The complimentary phrases fall evidently short of the notorious custom of the time. I am, indeed, surprised at the bareness of the language, considering the year in which it was written. Buckingham had just then managed to conciliate the country party,† and was bespattered with praise in all directions. The people, freed from the political panic that had been caused by the prospect of the Spanish match, in the suddenness of the escape showered applauses on the masked duke; and Sir Edward Coke, leading the opposition in the House of Commons, was betrayed shortly after into the very professional hyperbole of calling him the "saviour of his country."‡ Had the terms of Eliot's letter, therefore, been most adulatory, there would have existed little cause for wonder; we see that

\* Cabala, ed. 1663, p. 412, 413. The italics are my own. They show the independence of spirit which breaks through even this official complaining.

† In the same volume of letters—the "Cabala"—p. 340, is a letter to the duke from a staunch and unaltered patriot, Sir Robert Philips, on which a precisely similar charge to this we are now discussing might be as easily founded. Had Mr. D'Israeli overlooked this? He admits Philip to have been emphatically an independent country gentleman.

‡ Clarendon, Hist., vol. i., p. 7.

they are not so. Whether the letter was answered or not appears uncertain; but the acquaintance of the parties did not cease here, as I shall have occasion to indicate hereafter.\* One word more on this subject. Mr. D'Israeli, alluding to the date of this letter, calls it "the close of 1623."† which would intimate that Parliament had already commenced its sitting, and then goes on to tell his readers that the patriotism of Eliot was a "political revolution, which did not happen till two years after he had been a suppliant to this very minister."‡ This is most untrue. The letter was written in the eighth month of 1623 (old style), two months before the assembling of Parliament; and in that Parliament the voice of Eliot was heard in stirring accents of honest patriotism. Though none of his speeches at this period have been preserved in the Parliamentary histories, I am prepared to prove, from the journals of the House of Commons, and from manuscript records, that no "political revolution" ever occurred in his life; that he was consistent from the first; that his eloquence was often exerted in that last assembly of James's reign, and never but in support of the great party for whose rights and privileges he afterward suffered death.

A few words may here be allowed to me, on the aspect of public affairs at the meeting of this Parliament, which introduced Eliot to public life.§ I shall always avoid, in these biographies, matters of general history or character, except so far as may be needed in illustration of individual conduct, or of those particular questions which called forth its distinctive energies; that individual conduct shall also be limited, as much as possible, to the subject of each life. Thus, in the present instance, I have nothing to do with the great men who laboured in the same cause with Eliot, except as their general policy and characteristics illustrate his exertions. I have nothing to do with the great questions they agitated, except in so far as they called forth his individual energies: what remains will be noticed in other biographies; nor shall I seek in vain the opportunity of observing upon any great incident of this great era of statesmanship. The first object will in all cases be to carry light and life into general history by particular details of character.

The ignominious defeat of the elector palatine by Spinola, and the circumstances which ought especially to have induced James to render assistance to his weak, but unfortunate son-in-law, belong to history.|| In not doing so, he

\* At the duke's death a suit pended between them, and accounts still unsettled. Eliot MSS.

† Commentaries, vol. ii., p. 272.

‡ Ibid., vol. ii., p. 227.

§ For a sketch of the preceding Parliaments, see the biography of Strafford.

|| See the various histories. Dr. Lingard has treated the subject very fully. See, also, some able reasoning on the general question in Bolingbroke's Remarks, p. 285-306, 8vo edit. Mr. Brodie has stated the demerits of James's conduct with appropriate bitterness. There are, also, some very important communications relative to this in Lord Hardwicke's State Papers; in the second volume of Sumner's Tracts, by Scott; and in Howell's Familiar Letters. See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 76-113; Hackett's Life of William; Heylin's Life of Laud; and Saunderson's James I. Mr. D'Israeli's "Secret History of the Spanish Match" is very pleasant and ingenious. See, also, Roger Coke's "Detection," a very honest book, if we set aside its plagiarisms.

subjected himself to the derision of Europe,\* and to the self-reproach (if he were able to have felt it) of having sacrificed the noblest opportunity of making himself popular in his own nation, and honoured everywhere as the asserter of civil and religious liberty. But he was bound in the fetters of Spain, and had set his foolish heart on a match for the prince with the infanta. This was a politic bait thrown out by that wily country, and greedily seized by the king. It was intended as a means of dragging the pusillanimous James into the league with the house of Austria for oppressing the Protestants and invading the liberties of Germany. It succeeded. The people of England saw their brother Protestants abroad hunted down by tyrants; they saw the Evangelical League broken and discomfited by the Roman Catholic Union; themselves made parties to the wrong which they abhorred, and enemies to that holy cause of freedom and of conscience on which, at home, they had staked all. Discontent rose to a frightful pitch, and the person of the king was even threatened.† At this moment the tide of affairs was suddenly turned, and the man who had resisted the outcries of an insulted nation yielded to the peevish complaints of a haughty and offended minion.

Jealousy of Bristol's negotiations had resolved Buckingham to carry the prince to Spain; jealousy of the wily Archbishop Williams now induced him to wish for home. Moreover, he had been neglected in that stately country, not to say insulted, for his levity and profligate bearing. A deadly jealousy had also risen between him and the Spanish minister, Olivarez; and he began to feel that, in proportion as the edifice of his power was lofty, it was unstable. He saw an expedient for securing it on a wider and more solid basis, and straightway seized it. He effected a rupture, and hurried the prince home, whither the welcome news of this new policy had travelled before, securing them an enthusiastic welcome. The unaccustomed acclamations wafted a new sense into the all-grasping soul of Buckingham; and, resolving to try the game of patriotism, he forced the king to summon a Parliament. He threw himself into the arms of the (deceived) popular party, and drove the unhappy James from his boasted "kingcraft" into a declaration of war against Spain.‡

The Parliament assembled with hopes never before entertained. The dissolution of the Spanish treaty was justly considered a great

national deliverance; and the favourite of James, who had disrobed him of his inglorious mantle of peace, was now the favourite of the nation. At this extraordinary juncture Eliot took his seat in the House of Commons. It has been asserted, by Wood\* and others, that he sat in the previous Parliament; but this is certainly a mistake. He was returned now for the first time, with Mr. Richard Estcourt, for the borough of Newport in Cornwall.

And now, from the first moment of his public life, his patriotism began—not from pique, or a spirit of opposition, for as yet he had no opponents save those of his religion and his country; for be it ever remembered that in that day politics were necessarily and intimately connected with religious doctrine. The Romanish cause was the cause of the oppressor, while the Protestant was that of the oppressed; and the English constitutional party saw no chance for good government save in a root-and-branch opposition to the Roman Catholic faith. Their cause of freedom at home was weakened by the success of popish tyranny abroad; and the great struggle going on between the Protestant patriots of Bohemia and the various Roman Catholic powers leagued in extensive confederacy against them seemed a not improbable shadowing forth of the future destiny of the popular party in England. So thought the leaders of this Parliament, "the greatest and the knowingest auditory," as a political adversary called them, "that this kingdom, or, perhaps, the world, afforded;"† and so they acted, confirming that great reputation.

Eliot at once distinguished himself, and was received as a leader of the country party. I have been at some pains to trace his conduct through this Parliament, for it has not been mentioned by any historian, while advantage has been taken of the silence to bear out the assertion of his having been, at this period, a mere undistinguished subserver to the Duke of Buckingham. We shall see how far this is just.

The Parliament met on the 12th of February, 1623. It was adjourned, however, until the 19th, when the speech was delivered, and the House farther adjourned until the 23d. The three following days were occupied in arranging conferences with the lords respecting the duke's intended "Narrative." On the 27th Eliot arose. It was the earliest day of the session, and it was his first appearance in the House. He declared at once the cause he had entered to sustain; and putting aside, as subordinate, even the all-engrossing question of the war, raised his voice for certain ancient privileges of the nation.‡ On the 1st of March he spoke on the question of the Spanish treaties in the high strain of popular feeling. He alluded to war as that "which alone will secure and repair us," and recommended the setting out of a fleet "by those penalties the papists and recusants have already incurred"—§—means which would have been especially odious to

\* From a curious volume, entitled "Truth brought to Light," we learn that in Flanders they presented in their comedies messengers bringing news that England was ready to send a hundred thousand ambassadors to the assistance of the palatinate. "And they pictured the king in one place with a scabbard without a sword; in another place, with a sword that nobody could draw, though divers persons stood pulling at it. In Brussels they painted him with his pockets hanging out, and never a penny in them, and his purse turned upside down. In Antwerp they pictured the Queen of Bohemia like a poor Irish mantler, with her hair hanging about her ears, and her child at her back, with the king, her father, carrying the cradle after her."—*Truth brought to Light*. Introduction.

† See a curious tract, "Tom Tell Truth," in the second volume of Somers's Collection.

‡ The keenest dissection, as it appears to me, of the conduct of Buckingham and the prince, throughout the whole of this Spanish affair, will be found in a work very recently published in the present series—*History of England*, vol. iv., continued from Sir James Mackintosh.

\* Wood is seldom to be relied on in any date except those which are furnished by the Oxford books: Lord Nugent has inaccurately adopted his statement that Eliot sat in the Parliament of 1621.

† Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 170.

‡ Commons' Journals, Feb. 27, 1623.

§ Journals of that date.

the court. But Eliot never waited to trim his propositions by the court fashion, even in its popular days, and we never discern in him the bated breath or the whispering humbleness. On that occasion, also, he seems to have resented the long and vacillating negotiations of the king and his secretaries. "Fitter for us to do than to speak," he said, and most justly said, at that crisis. On the 8th of the same month he opposed a hasty decision with respect to the king's answer at Theobald's.\* It was not satisfactory, owing to the immediateness of its demand for supplies. He had been appointed one of the deputation; and, alluding to "many strange reports" since their return, he moves "to have some time each to take copies, and then to deliberate and advise."† This he carried. On the 11th he went up to the Lords on this same subject, with some of the great leaders of the House—Philips, Selden, Coke, Rudyard, Saville, Stroude—"to confer with them about his majesty's estate."‡ This conference elicited an assurance from the treasurer, the following day, of "his majesty's resolution to call Parliament oft, to make good laws, and redress public grievances." From this may be well inferred the nature of the previous day's remonstrance from Eliot and his friends. Nor did this plausible assurance put those faithful men off their guard. They answered the treasurer, "that we had no doubt here yesterday, as among the lords. We fittest to relieve the king's particular wants, when we have enabled the subjects to do it by removing their grievances."§ An explanation of the disputed passages in the answer was subsequently given, such as satisfied the House.

In the same spirit were all Eliot's speeches in the matter of this Spanish war. He never supported it but for the promotion of the popular cause, and always accompanied his approbation of the measure with an avowal of those greater ulterior objects which he felt it ought to accomplish. I need not go through the numerous minutes of the journals in which his name appears at this time. His attention to the business of debate, as to the committees, must have been most arduous, since it was unremitting. Besides the great number of private bills in the management of which his name appears, he took part in all public questions, lent his aid to the best legal reforms, and generally formed one in the more learned committees appointed to consider disputed questions on the privileges of the universities.|| He opposed always with watchful jealousy any attempt to move from the constitutional usages of the House; and when the ministers proposed, through Sir Guy Palmer, to have a committee to draw a bill for the continuance of all bills the next session in *statu quo*, that they might so "husband time," the name of Eliot was found successfully opposed to this, in connexion with his friends, Philips, Coke, and Digges.¶ He

was unceasing in his exertions against monopolies,\* and in reminding the House of the petitions—those "stinging petitions," as the king used bitterly to call them—"not to be forgotten against recusants;"† but, when duty to the cause permitted it, he never pressed the letter of offence against any offender. Humanity came in rescue of the strictness of his judgments. When some of the popular party pushed hard against the under-sheriff of Cambridge, for a misdemeanor at the election, Eliot humanely interceded. He suggested that the custody the sheriff had already undergone, and the expenses he had been put to, were surely sufficient punishment, and recommended his immediate dismissal. The ever true and able Sir Robert Philips seconded the suggestion. In no single respect can the enemies of Eliot taunt him with his conduct in this session; nor will they dare hereafter to use their equally dangerous weapon, the imputation of his silence, to prove that his patriotism was sluggish or inactive, or moving only at the will of others.

After the most anxious search, I can find no allusion from Eliot respecting Buckingham which indicates a feeling of any sort. His silence on this head is indeed remarkable, as the lauded name of the duke was then most frequently on the lips of other popular members; and yet, that it did not proceed from any vindictive feeling at an abrupt cessation of intercourse, I think I am enabled to prove. From a minute of the journals of the House, it appears that, on one of the debates respecting the Spanish treaties, some private letters of the Duke of Buckingham were referred to, whereupon Eliot stated that he had that morning seen those letters. This is specially entered in the journals.‡ No other member makes the remotest allusion to having seen them. This appears to me to offer a fair presumption that Eliot still continued to meet Buckingham in private intercourse. If this is admitted, then the amiable theory of those writers who have concluded that the letter to the duke, previously quoted, was the last of a series of unanswered applications, and that, from the time of its date, a vindictive feeling had been awakened in the breast of the offended writer—that Eliot's patriotism, in fact, was altogether a personal pique at Buckingham—has received another blow, prostrate as it was before.

And another, should any one chance to think another necessary, remains to be inflicted. In this Parliament a question arose, on which I have discovered the note of a speech by Eliot, which could never have been delivered by him if his character had not rested clearly free from all imputations of personal dependance or political subserviency. It occurred in a debate "at the close of 1623," the very period fixed by our modern commentators from which to

\* See the Answer, Parl. Hist., vol. vi., p. 92, edit. 1763.

† Commons' Journals, March 8, 1623.

‡ Ibid., March 11, 1623.

§ Ibid., *passim*. He was also very active in endeavouring to get the grants of crown lands on a better footing. Many instances will be found of his exertions in respect to the universities; as in the case of the Wadham and Magdalen Colleges; and he is often associated with Coke, Philips, and Gyles, in the forwarding of Cornish private bills.

¶ Commons' Journals, April 30, 1624.

\* Commons' Journals, April 7, 1624.

† Ibid., April 8, 1624.

‡ Commons' Journals, April 1, 1624. In no other place do I find the smallest allusion to Buckingham, not even at the close of the Spanish business, when thanks were moved by Eliot to "the prince, the king, and to God" for the result of the deliberations. Commons' Journals, April 24, 1624.

§ Mr. D'Israeli (*passim*); whose suggestions on this subject have been lately adopted by a distinguished writer.—See *Quarterly Review*, No. 94, p. 471.



date their obstinate accusations. At that period several committees were sitting on the various courts of justice to investigate complaints against their mal-administration. Among many petitions presented to the House in consequence of these committees, was one from the wife of a person named Grys, complaining of wrongs she had suffered from the court of chancery, and appealing against the long delays of that court. To this petition Sir Edward Coke objected. The lawyer stood in the way of the redresser of grievances. He told the House that the woman was half distracted; that the wrong she complained of occurred in "Egerton's time;" that he was now gone; and that it was a most unusual thing to complain against the dead. After some discussion, it was at last resolved that the grievance in question, with others, should be argued by counsel before a sub-committee. This sub-committee was then about to be chosen, when Sir John Eliot rose. He spoke, as was his custom ever, in concern for the wrongs of the oppressed. He warned the House to be careful in their choice, for he knew of what vast importance it was that the "cries of the vexed subject" should be heard by unbiased men. He implored them to "have a special care" that its members should "have no dependance upon men in place;" he suggested that it would be better to have no lawyers upon it; that it were more just to "have countrymen that have no dependance."\* There are few who will disagree with me in thinking that these are not the words of a follower of Buckingham. That they should have been spoken by one who laboured under the very odium of what he so earnestly condemned is, to a monstrous degree, improbable. Not on that occasion, nor on any other, did his opponents in the House dare to hint such a charge. I find the patriotic old lawyer replying to this earnest appeal, with a statement of "great inconveniences in having such a sub-committee," and an entreaty to "have it well considered of;" but not a word of reproach on the motives of Eliot.

It is necessary that I should now advert to the terms on which Eliot and his friends in this Parliament consented to furnish supplies for the Spanish war. On the gross abuse of these supplies their subsequent bitter opposition was most justly founded.

Their earnest desire to see James's mean subserviency to Spain at once destroyed, never for an instant blinded them to the serious consequence of pressing the people by heavy subsidies. Nine hundred thousand pounds had been demanded. They granted three hundred thousand; promising more if, in the right prosecution of the contest, more should become necessary. Over and over again they distinctly stated that the country was not in a condition to hazard a general war; and, by many sharp stipulations, they restricted hostilities to one object, specific and defined. They seem, indeed, to have had some reason, before the final arrangement, to suspect the gross duplicity† which had been practised on them by Buckingham, and to have resolved to defend their own policy at all events. They declared that

their object, in so earnestly promoting war, was the recovery of the Palatinate, and that alone: that hostilities with Spain, therefore, were to be entered into only in so far as that branch of the house of Austria was expected to assist the others in retaining the territory of the elector palatine. Nothing could be more distinct than their stipulations on this point. They were recognised before the death of James. No war with Spain was proclaimed, though correspondence with its court was broken; and when Mansfield received his commission, with twelve regiments, for the service of the Palatinate, he was required "not to make any invasion, or do any act of war against the country or dominion" of the King of Spain.\* How far this first condition was preserved, we shall shortly have occasion to see. Another condition there was, proposed by the king himself, that, in order to ensure the application of the grant to the purposes sought to be attained, it should be paid into the hands of commissioners, appointed by the House, who should expend the money upon that business alone for which it was granted.† The rupture of peace was no headlong enterprise, plunged into by the parliamentary leaders, without regard to the issue, or the means of its attainment.‡

Meanwhile, during these negotiations, no popular grievance was lost sight of. Up to this period, a couplet familiar in the common mouth had imbodyed the history of parliaments:

"Many faults complained of, few things mended,  
A subsidy granted, the Parliament ended."

With the exception of the subsidy bill of 1621, no bill had been allowed to pass for the space of thirteen years. Legislation was now at last resumed. Measures were passed to reform many grievances in the law, and in prevention of vexatious prosecutions. "Their long counsels, which had been weather-bound, came to a quiet road, and their vessel was lighted of statutes which are of immortal memory."§ The greatest of all these was that which abolished monopolies for the sale of merchandises, or for using any trade. It was nobly drawn up by Coke, Eliot, Philips, and other members, as a

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 153, 154.

† Hume calls this "unprecedented in an English monarch." (Vol. v., p. 98.) But though the practice had certainly then become unusual, it was common at a former period of English history.—See Brodie's *Hist. of British Empire*, vol. ii., p. 39. That the king proposed this, however, under compulsion by his new tyrant Buckingham, and as a mere trick to deceive the Commons, was soon evident. To the astonishment of all, on accepting the subsidies, he used this language: "I desire you to understand that I must have a faithful secret council of war, which must not be ordered by a multitude, for so my designs may be discovered before hand. One penny of this money shall not be bestowed but in sight of your committees; but whether I shall send £200,000 or £10,000, whether by sea or by land, east or west, by diversion or otherwise, by invasion upon the Havarrian or the emperor, you must leave that to your king." An ingenious method of rendering the check he had before submitted to, for the purpose of procuring a liberal grant, void and effectless.

‡ Commons' Journals, and *Parl. Hist.*, *passim*.

§ Hackitt's *Scrinia Roseana* (Life of Williams), part i., p. 201. He goes on, in his fashion, to say, "The voices all went one way, as a field of wheat is bended that's blown with a gentle gale, one and all," which proves that quaint old gentleman to have been a reader of Beaumont and Fletcher—

\* \* \* "And the people,  
Against their nature, are all bent for him,  
And like a field of standing corn, that's moved  
With a stiff gale, their heads bow all one way."  
*Philaster*.

\* Commons' Journals, March 17, 1623.

† This will be alluded to shortly.

mere declaratory statute, reciting that such monopolies were already contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm. "It was there supposed," says Hume, "that every subject of England had entire power to dispose of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow-subjects; and that no prerogative of the king, no power of any magistrate, nothing but the authority alone of laws, could restrain that unlimited freedom."\* Following upon this measure, and of an importance no less great, came the impeachment of the Lord-treasurer Middlesex. For two centuries—with the single exception of the case of Bacon, too feeble to fix, with any certainty, the precedent—that grand constitutional right had lain dormant. It was now asserted with eagerness by the Commons, and promoted hotly by Buckingham, who had long hated the growing independence of the power of Middlesex, and as his caprice had raised him from obscurity, now turned to hunt him to disgrace. In vain the shrewdness of James remonstrated—"By God, Stenny, you are a fool, and will shortly repent this folly; and will find that, in this fit of popularity, you are making a rod with which your own breech will be scourged." In vain he turned to the prince, and, with a bitterness of prophecy, like that of Bacon to Middlesex ("Remember that a Parliament will come!"), told him that he would live "to have his belly full of parliamentary impeachments."† The Commons were suffered to proceed. They proved the guilt of the lord-treasurer;‡ and rescued from the disuse of centuries, and beyond the chance of recall, a vital parliamentary right against future ministers of the crown.

James never forgave this. Hacket tells us that, in reference to the matter, "he was quipped every day with ignominious taunts, that the kind correspondences between him and the Parliament began to have a cloud over them."§ There were other causes besides this. Farther grievances remained to be discussed, and the House had entered upon them with unwearying zeal. The king then gave them to understand that, though they were to apply redress to some known grievances, they were not to go on seeking after more; and shortly afterward, in discontent, prorogued them.|| He had failed in the object of his concessions. He fancied they would have put him in possession of more money and more power. "He let fall some flowers of his crown," says the quaint Hacket, "that they might gather them up; which, in-

deed, was no more than *defluvium pennarum*, the moulting of some feathers, after which the eagle would fly the better."\* Much to the astonishment and disgust of the eagle in question, however, measures which had for their object the clipping of his wings, the effectual marring of his royal flights, had appeared to be ripening daily. Under these circumstances, on the 29th of October, 1624, the day to which the Parliament had been prorogued, the Parliament was finally dissolved.

The death of James, sudden and mysterious, followed close upon this event; and the House of Commons was almost instantly challenged to a contest by his ill-advised successor. They had prepared themselves for it by their exertions of the last five-and-twenty years. They had obtained little, it might be said, in respect of distinct enactments; but they had fenced themselves round with privileges, never to be questioned more, by favourites or by monarchs. "They had rescued from disuse their ancient right of impeachment; they had placed on record a protestation of their claim to debate all matters of public concern; they had remonstrated against the usurped prerogatives of binding the subject by proclamation, and of levying customs at the outposts; they had secured beyond controversy their exclusive privilege of determining contested elections of their members."† Vast rights remained yet to be asserted, oppressive wrongs to be redressed; but an increasing energy in the nation gave new confidence and strength to its representatives; and they assembled at the summons of the new monarch, immediately after his accession, more than ever proudly watchful of privilege, and more than ever sternly resolved on good government. In this Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 18th of June, 1625, Eliot was again at his post. He took his seat with a new colleague, Mr. Ralph Specot, for the same borough as before—that of Newport.

It may be well, before we listen to the comments of Mr. D'Israeli, and of others from whom a more liberal consideration was to be expected, as to the severe conduct of this Parliament to their young sovereign, to ask whether any reasonable foundation of confidence had been laid between them before their meeting this day! Had any symptoms of a new and better administration appeared in any quarter of the government? Did favouritism, intrigue, or corruption seem to have abated a jot of their all-governing influence at court? Had oppression and injustice, even for the few little weeks of the new reign, ceased to harass the nation? But for so short a time had the doctrine and the practice of absolute power and monarchy imprescriptable, been veiled before the presence of the people, as their new inheritor, with admirable hypocrisy, veiled his crown before that people's representatives, on this day of their assembling!‡

The answer which history gives to these questions is a just warrant for the murmurs of distrust which, in his progress to his first Par-

\* History, vol. v., p. 98, 99. See also, Lord Coke on the subject of this great act, 3 Inst., 181.

† Clarendon, Hist., p. 30.

‡ See the proceedings in the Parl. Hist. Carte thought him clearly guilty, p. 116. It appears also that Nicholas Ferrar, a most conscientious person, was one of his four ardent accusers. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. iv. See also, Hallam, vol. i., p. 508. Clarendon, Hacket, and others consider him to have been used as a sacrifice to Buckingham's resentment. Eliot acted on all the committees of this impeachment, with Sandys, Digges, Phillips, Wentworth, Pym, &c. See Journals, April 12, 1624, &c., &c.

§ Life of Williams, part i., p. 189, 190.

|| See Parl. Hist., vol. vi., p. 128, &c. Intimation having then gone abroad of the new treaty of marriage carrying on at Paris, the Commons had sent up what the king called a "stinging petition" against the papists. See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 150, *et seq.*; also Roger Coke's Detection, vol. i., p. 185. Nothing could exceed the present duplicity of the king and his successor on this subject.

\* Life of Williams, vol. i., p. 186.

† Hallam, vol. i., p. 509.

‡ Charles, on the day of this Parliament's meeting, wore his crown, veiling it at the opening and the close of his speech, with a solemn and unusual deference.

liament, already sounded in the ears of the monarch, which scattered the seeds of disaffection in all directions, and planted bitter thorns in the young crown, as yet scarcely settled on the temples of its wearer.

To the amazement of all, the statement made to James's last Parliament by Buckingham, and corroborated by Charles, had been discovered to be one tissue of gross falsehoods. On that statement, it has been seen, the war with Spain was undertaken. We have Clarendon's authority for asserting that they knew it to be untrue.\* "But yet," says Rushworth, "the prince not only gave the testimony of his silence to these untruths, but, on its being reported to the House the same day, approved thereof there also."† The inevitable discovery of the truth, therefore, by the arrival of Bristol, now completely shattered all the popularity which Charles and Buckingham had acquired in the last reign from the breach of the Spanish treaties. But it did more. It inflamed displeasure by the shame of imposition, and poisoned at once those fresh springs of public confidence which a new king has, as it were, a right to claim as his own. Nor was this all. With an almost indecent haste, the king had entered into a marriage with a daughter of Roman Catholic France; had consented to certain secret articles in the settlement of the marriage in favour of her religion; had agreed to a suspension of the penal laws against the Catholics; and, as an earnest of his promised indulgences, had already granted to several Romish priests a special pardon, without the formality even of a conviction, of all offences committed by them against the penal laws. In fact, of his own inconsiderate will, he had provoked in the English nation that precise shame of religious subjection, to avoid which they had been anxious to rush into a war with Spain. Nor was this the only religious wrong. Symptoms had shown themselves of an unholy *bellum episcopale* at home. Laud's celebrated schedule of ecclesiastics, branded with the letters O and P, as they happened to be orthodox, or suspected Puritan, had already been discussed in the ministerial councils, and had been felt also in portentous signs of that exclusive system of church patronage, the subsequent effects of which were so terrible.‡

This Parliament, therefore, shaped their determinations accordingly. Their first efforts were directed to secure the future safety of the people by an enlargement of the basis of popular representation.§ On a repetition of the king's demand for supplies, Eliot and his friends went up to him with an address, respectfully and cautiously worded, promising supplies, but claiming the redress of grievances. The intemperate and threatening answer of the king had no effect on the steady purposes of these great

men. They voted tonnage and poundage for one year. The House of Lords, disdainingly to accept it with such a limitation, rashly rejected the bill. Still, the Commons were not alarmed. They pursued their own course calmly; granted the king readily, as they had promised, two subsidies, and were proceeding to votes of inquiry and censure into various wrongs and grievances, when the plague suddenly broke out in London. The major part of the members objected to continue at their post. "While we are now speaking," said one, "the bell is tolling every minute."¶ An adjournment to Oxford was consequently proposed, and, after a vast deal of squabbling between the king and his two rival ministers, granted. Williams and Buckingham, now coming fast to an open rupture, could not but illustrate the truth of the old saying.‡ Just as the House was adjourning to Oxford, however, Sir John Eliot, with characteristic spirit, rose and made the following motion: "An order that, within three days after our next meeting, the House shall then be called, and the censure of the House to pass upon all such as shall then be absent." Ever true and sincere himself, he would consent to no adjournment which had not some chance, in the sincerity of others, of answering the end proposed.‡

In the course of the proceedings before this adjournment, I should mention that I have observed a circumstance which seems likely to have been the origin of Sir Thomas Wentworth's dislike of Eliot. A feeling of bitterness unquestionably existed between them during the greater part of their parliamentary career.¶ Mr. D'Israeli does not fail to suggest, that Wentworth might have "disdained the violence and turbulence of Eliot;"|| and he goes on to state all the malicious motives that have been suggested on both sides by Hacket and his hero. Even Mr. Hallam is betrayed, I think, on this point, into an unworthy admission. "Always jealous," he says, speaking of Wentworth, "of a rival, he contracted a dislike for Sir John Eliot, and might suspect that he was likely to be anticipated by that more distinguished patriot in royal favours."¶¶ Such a supposition on

\* Rushworth, Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 173.

† A lively account (though sometimes over ingenious) of this notorious quarrel will be found in Mr. D'Israeli's secret history of the king's first ministers, "Commentaries," vol. i., p. 249-272. It was a Peacham and Lockitt affair. "Never trust," says that excellent moralist, Jonathan Wild, "never trust the man who has reason to suspect you know he has injured you." The archbishop and the duke acted with decision on this maxim. While the worthy prelate was intriguing deeply for the duke's impeachment, the no less worthy peer was engaged in a similar plan for the ruin of the bishop. See Brodie's Hist. of Brit. Emp., vol. ii., p. 81. Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 139. Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata*, part xi., p. 16, 17, 18. Rushworth, vol. i. In all their disputes, however, I think Williams has the decided advantage; and he must have startled Buckingham not a little when he suddenly whispered in his grace's ear the memorable words, "*Ne quis that is wise will show himself angry with the people of England.*"

‡ Commons' Journals, July 11.

§ One of Hacket's elegant sentences runs thus: "Sir John Eliot of the West, and Sir Thomas Wentworth of the North (the northern cock, as he afterward calls him), both in the prime of their age and wits, both conspicuous for able speakers, clashed so often in the House, and caddled one another with such strong contradictions, that it grew from an emulation between them to an enmity."—*Scrinia Reserata*.

|| Commentaries, vol. ii., p. 272.

¶¶ Constitutional History, vol. ii., p. 57.

\* Clarendon, Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i., p. 19, folio ed. A reference to the proceedings on the mutual charges of Buckingham and Bristol, in Rushworth's first volume, or in the sixth and seventh volumes of the "Parliamentary History," will supply very satisfactory means of judgment on this and other important points connected with the Spanish business. Nothing, as Mr. Hallam remarks (vol. i., Const. Hist., p. 590), can be more gratuitous, or indeed impossible, than many of Mr. Hume's assertions relating to them.

† Rushworth, Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 76, et seq., ed. 1698.

‡ Ibid., vol. i., p. 167, 168. See, also, Laud's Diary.

§ See Glasville's Reports.

Wentworth's part supposes a possibility of its truth on Eliot's. I believe the dislike to have originated in no such matter, but, on the contrary, in Eliot's keen penetration and unswerving sense of justice. I find that, shortly after this first Parliament assembled, a dispute upon the validity of Sir Thomas Wentworth's return for the county of York came before the House. Sir John Saville claimed a new election. This was opposed by the court party, who, for reasons best known to themselves and the intriguing Archbishop Williams, supported Wentworth.\* Eliot, on the other hand, supported the claims of Saville, and impressed their justice so forcibly on the popular side of the House, that the election of Wentworth was declared void.† From this I date the hatred of the future Earl of Strafford towards one whom no court intrigue could influence, whom no friendship could persuade to desert the great principles of public justice. Wentworth was again returned; thenceforward opposed Eliot whenever he was able; and, when that great statesman had perished in the cause so basely forsaken by himself, he sneered at him as a "fantastic apparition," and never ceased to spit forth venom to the creature Laud against his memory and glory.

Sir John Eliot, however, was on the eve of illustrating, by a more striking example, this great feature in his character. Though he still held the office of Vice-admiral of Devonshire,‡ he felt that the time had at last arrived which left him no alternative of choice with reference to the lord high admiral. Up to this period he had sustained, as is all but certain from the proofs I have alleged, a personal intercourse with that nobleman, and was certainly still connected with him in office. His duty now required that this should cease. His youthful companion had long been lost in the pampered minister of kings, his superior in office was beneath him in public honesty. Both were abandoned. Sir John Eliot now saw, in the speedy destruction of Buckingham, the only destruc-

tion of that power behind the throne which was greater than the throne itself, and was daily becoming more and more fatal to the people.\* He had at last concentrated in his own person, and in those of his servile adherents, the most considerable offices of the crown, and in his single existence seemed to be content to involve the question of the privileges of the nation. Eliot, contented also with that issue, buckled himself to the destruction of the minister with terrible earnestness.

It is a striking tribute to the honesty of Eliot that the dishonest men of all parties declared themselves, in turn, against him. Archbishop Williams, in his abject paper of apology to the king, to disclaim all connexion "with any of the stirring men," declared that about this time "Sir John Eliot, the only member that began to thrust in a complaint against me, was never out of my lord duke's chamber and bosom."† This, one of the cringing falsehoods of that learned divine, simply proves that Eliot hated sycophancy in every shape, whether popular or aristocratic, and was equally opposed to the duke and to Williams, the duke's mortal enemy. At the very moment when the lie was so hardly asserted, he had been appointed one of the secret managers to prepare an impeachment against Buckingham.

This charge is yet scarcely so preposterous as one of a similar character, belonging also to this period, gravely brought forward by Mr. D'Israeli. "That Sir John Eliot," says that writer, "was well known to the king, and often in the royal circle, appears by Sir John's complaint in the Parliament at Oxford in 1625, of six Romish priests being lately pardoned, which the duke had prevailed upon the king to be done in his presence at Hampton Court." Whereupon Mr. D'Israeli concludes that "Eliot, like Sir Dudley Digges, was, in fact, a great servant of the duke's."‡ This is an oddly emphatic instance of perverse misrepresentation, or I would scarcely hazard the reproach of tediousness in refuting it. Archdeacon Echard is Mr. D'Israeli's authority.§ Roger Coke I discover to have been the only authority for Archdeacon Echard. I quote the original passage. "When the Parliament met at Oxford," says Coke, plagiarizing a previous statement by Hacket, "the speaker had no sooner taken his chair but a western knight enlarges the sense of his sorrow that he had seen a pardon for six priests bearing test July 12; whereas but the day before it, when they were to part from Westminster, the lord keeper had promised in the king's name, before them all, that the rigour against the priests should not be deluded."|| Oldmixon, quoting this account, makes the western knight Sir Robert Philips of Somers-

\* I shall have occasion to allude to these more specifically in the biography of Strafford. Eliot is never understood to have been in any way connected with Saville, whose character was not of that stamp to command either his public or private sympathy. His keen penetration had already pointed to the future Earl of Strafford as a patriot who "rather looked to be won than cared to be obdurate;" and it is very certain that he looked upon the meagre Lord Saville as a future (the period of whose elevation, by-the-by, is singularly misstated by Hume) with a still more contemptuous scorn. But the present case was simply one of justice. What its precise merits were, I am unable to state; but that Wentworth was capable of resorting to the most unscrupulous and disgraceful expedients in furtherance of his own aims, is evident from what we know of his conduct at a former contest with Saville: I allude to the election for York in 1621. The candidates were Wentworth, Saville, and Calvert, the secretary of state. Wentworth, having secured his own return, zealously laboured to provoke the freeholders against Saville, and, still apprehensive of Calvert's failure, from his knowledge of the extensive influence of his opponent, wrote to the secretary in these words: "I have heard that when Sir Francis Darcy opposed Sir Thomas Luke, in a matter of like nature, the lords of the council writ to Sir Francis to desist. I know my lord-chancellor is very sensible of you in this business; a word to him, and such a letter would make an end of all." — *Strafford's State Papers*, vol. i., p. 10.

† *Commons' Journals*, July 4. The motion of "Mr. Solicitor" for removal for Wentworth was defeated by a majority of thirty-nine. Wentworth, at a new election, was again returned.

‡ Harl. MSS., 300. Letter of Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated Feb. 25.

\* "The whole power of the kingdom was grasped by his insatiable hand; while he both engrossed the entire confidence of his master, and held, invested in his single person, the most considerable offices of the crown."—Hume's History, vol. v., p. 137. "Who he will advance, shall be advanced; and who he doth but frown upon, must be thrown down."—*Strafford's Papers*, vol. i., p. 28.

† *Scrinia Reserata*, part i. This would have been better guessed, as I shall have occasion to show, of Wentworth. Still, it would have been incorrect.

‡ *Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 372.

§ Echard's History, folio ed., p. 422.

|| Roger Coke's Detection, vol. i., p. 232, ed. 1694. But see, also, *Scrinia Reserata*, part i.

setshire, and quotes it correctly enough.\* The archdeacon, on the other hand, takes for granted that the western knight must have been Sir John Eliot of Cornwall; and, with his usual incorrectness, coupling the passage with a few words that go before it, stating that the king had signed the pardon in the presence and by the influence of Buckingham, tortures it into what Mr. D'Israeli has adopted. And Mr. D'Israeli consummates the series of misrepresentations by supporting upon their authority a charge of sycophancy against Eliot! I have now to state that, whatever demerit attaches to the circumstance must be removed from Eliot, and from Phillips also; for that the "western knight" who "enlarged the sense of his sorrow" was Sir Edward Gyles, one of the Cornish members.†

Eliot had more stirring game in hand. Scarcely had the Parliament reassembled at Oxford when secret intelligence reached him that the loan of ships which had been promised to the King of France, at the close of the late reign, for the purpose of employment against the Spanish interest in Italy and the Valtoline, had been perverted, by the deliberate treachery of Buckingham and his minion the king, to the use of the French Catholics against the Huguenots of Rochelle.‡ He saw and seized his opportunity. He hurried down to the House, and implored them to grant no farther supplies, for that there were heavy grievances to be considered. Charles having heard this, summoned the Houses to meet him at the great hall in Christ Church, to "convince them of the necessity of considering his business first." Under his direction, his ministers then detailed his wants; and to prevent the effect, so much

dreaded, of the disclosure of the affair at Rochelle, Secretary Coke told the Commons, with a cool and deliberate hypocrisy, that "the French king chose to sheath his sword in the bowels of his own subjects rather than declare war against the Catholics."\*\* After the conclusion of this conference, the members of the Commons returned to their House, and Sir John Eliot rose. He implored them to pause before they yielded up their only irresistible arguments for good government. "It is not usual," he said, "to grant subsidies upon subsidies in one Parliament and no grievances redressed." He then boldly stated that the treasury had been misemployed, that evil counsels guided the king's designs, that the necessities of the nation had arisen through improvidence, and that they had need to petition the king for a strait hand and a better counsel to manage his affairs.† Next, he "desired there might an account be given for all the moneys given in Parliament since the 12th of King James, with some invectives against the commissioners, whom he called the pretending sparers of the king's purse, laying to their charge the loss of thousands of men's lives in our late expeditions by land and sea."‡ He reserved his heaviest blow for the last, aiming it with a deadly effect against Buckingham. "I desire to know," said Eliot, "whether the money designed for the Palatinate did not maintain the ships sent against Rochelle!"§ The Commons, inflamed by this address, threw out intelligible hints of impeaching Buckingham. The king, exasperated in the extreme, threatened a dissolution, while he urged once more his necessities. Cold and resolute was the answer of the Commons. "Necessity is a dangerous counsellor, and is a continual argument of supplies in all Parliaments. Those who have put the king and kingdom into such a necessity and hazard ought to answer for it, whosoever they be."|| This ominous allusion more nearly alarmed the king, and an abrupt dissolution followed. Parliament was dismissed on the 12th of August.¶

It was speedily re-summoned; but disgraceful scenes had intervened. The king, under the advice of Buckingham, had openly dispensed with the laws. Letters had been issued by order of council, under the privy seal, forcing loans from private persons,\*\* generally

\* Oldmixon's History, p. 78, ed. 1730.

† Commons' Journals, 1st of August. Brodie gives the name correctly, vol. ii., p. 73. Mrs. Macaulay is also correct, vol. i., p. 276. I was somewhat surprised to find, from the preface to Monsieur Guizot's vivid "Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre," that the work by that lady was published in France in 1791, with the name of Mirabeau as its author! (Hist. par Guizot, vol. i., préface, p. xvii.) It is singularly honourable, I may add, to the French nation, that M. Guizot has found encouragement enough to make it worth his while to publish, for the use of his countrymen, a series of translations of original memoirs of the times of the two great English revolutions (*Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Révolution d'Angleterre, accompagnée de Notices et d'Éclaircissements Historiques*), amounting to twenty-eight octavo volumes! Such a collection would be invaluable to the historical inquirer in our own country; but where is the public patronage that would bear out any English bookseller or English man of letters in such an undertaking?

‡ Lord Nugent discovered, among the Earl St. Germain's papers, a copy of the high-minded protest by Admiral Pennington, together with the original orders from Buckingham, and from Charles himself, relating to this disgraceful business. These I take to have been forwarded secretly by Pennington to Sir John Eliot, in the way of self-vindication. His, as Lord Nugent truly observes, was a hard position. He commanded the ship, and led the fleet, of his sovereign. But he had been sent forth, amid the acclamations of his country, to give effect to a generous treaty with the oppressed and the besieged. He had no sooner arrived at his destination than he found himself under secret orders to put himself under a foreign command, in a murderous warfare against the English honour and the Protestant religion.—See Nugent's Memorials, vol. i., p. 100, and Appendix A. Lord Nugent has omitted to state a singular circumstance in connexion with this business, which renders my suggestion still more probable. On the eve of the meeting of the Oxford Parliament, Pennington was hastening to lay before that assembly an account of the proceedings, when, to prevent the effect of such a disclosure, he was concealed by the interference of the court till the dissolution, which quickly followed.—See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 176. Brodie, Brit. Emp., vol. ii., p. 72.

\* Rushworth, Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 178.

† See Oldmixon's History, p. 79. See, also, Rushworth, vol. i., p. 180.

‡ Harleian MSS., 300. Letter of Mead to Stuteville.

§ See Oldmixon, p. 79, and Rushworth, vol. i., p. 180.

|| Rushworth, vol. i., p. 190.

¶ Mr. Hume, in one of the early passages of his history (which remains unequalled for its beauty of style and philosophical remark, though it is utterly worthless as a book of authority), describes this Parliament with a strange mixture of truth and error. "It was necessary to fix a choice: either to abandon entirely the privileges of the people, or to secure them by firmer and more precise barriers than the Constitution had hitherto provided for them. In this dilemma, men of such aspiring genius and such independent fortunes could not long deliberate; they boldly embraced the side of freedom, and resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince without extorting concessions in favour of civil liberty. The end they esteemed beneficial and noble; the means regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the Commons." See the whole passage, vol. v., p. 138, quarto edit., 1763. See, also, Clarendon, vol. i., p. 6, folio edit.

\*\* Lord Nugent found one of these requisitions in the MS. collection at Stowe. It is addressed to Sir William Andrews, of Lathbury, in Buckinghamshire, then a tenant of John Hamplon's, and afterward one of the deputy lieut-

those who were connected with the popular party, for the mad purpose of carrying on the Spanish war; and the Spanish war was carried on, up to the disastrous, ill-concerted, and most wretchedly conducted expedition to Cadiz. Parliament could then be warded off no longer, hated as was even its name. Buckingham, with an ominous foreboding of the future, strove to disqualify the leading men, by getting them pricked as sheriffs of their respective counties. Eliot, it is said, was the chief object of his anxiety on this head;\* but, in Eliot's case, he found it impracticable. I think it probable, however, that the duke prevented his election for Newport. Here was only a means of greater triumph. He presented himself to his native county of Cornwall, and was instantly returned by the electors.† It was an age when the middle and lower ranks of the people shared a common enthusiasm, and were inaccessible alike to fear or to favour. It is striking, and even affecting, to mark the quiet calmness with which Eliot now sought to provide that the risk and danger, to which he knew his conduct in the coming Parliament must expose himself, might not fall heavily on his children. He assigned over every portion of his most extensive estates in trust to relatives for the benefit of his family.‡ Having done this, he repaired to his place in the House of Commons, resolved, at whatever hazard, to strike down the great traitor who had imperilled the liberty and the property of the kingdom.

At Westminster, on the 6th of February, 1626, this "great, warm, and ruffling"§ Parliament assembled. Eliot had scarcely taken his seat, before his vehement eloquence, overflowing with imbibed invective, was heard thundering against the doomed minister. In his style of oratory, a singular power of severity and keenness united itself with the clearest facility of detail, was adorned with the most pleasing classical allusion, and was directed against its object with such warmth and earnestness of passion as it is always most difficult to resist. The case of the chaplain Montagu was abandoned for the higher quarry: searching committees were appointed, and the defeats and disgraces of the nation were traced home to Buckingham. The rage of the king exceeded all bounds, and, under its influence, he sent an insolent message to the House. "I must let you know that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned among you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me. \* \* I see you especially aim at the Duke of Buckingham. \* \* I would you would hasten for my supply, or else it will be worse

for yourselves; for if any evil happen, I think I shall be the last that shall feel it."\* Eliot smiled at this impotent rage. "We have had a representation of great fear," he said; "but I hope that shall not darken our understandings. Our wills and affections were never more clear," he continued, "more ready, as to his majesty; but we are balked and checked in our forwardness by those the king intrusts with the affairs of the kingdom." Again he inflamed the House by comments on the Spanish expedition. "The last action was the king's first action; and in this the king and kingdom have suffered dishonour. We are weakened in our strength and safety; our men and ships are lost." Then followed a bitter taunt against even the personal courage of Buckingham, who, it will be recollected, had left the command of the expedition to Sir Edward Cecil. "The great general had the whole command, both by sea and land; and could the great general think it sufficient to put in his deputy and stay at home!" The orator next, taking advantage of the excitement of his hearers, thundered forth questions of a more fatal meaning. "Are not honours now sold, and made despicable? Are not judicial places sold? And do not they then sell justice again? *Vendere jure potest—emerat ille prius.*" After some well-employed classical allusions, Eliot proceeded thus: "I shall to our present case cite two precedents. The first was in the eleventh year of Henry III. The treasure was then much exhausted; many disorders complained of; the king wronged by ministers. Many subsidies were demanded in Parliament, but they were denied; and the Lords and Commons joined to desire the king to resume lands which had been improvidently granted, and to examine his great officers, and the causes of those evils which the people then suffered. This was yielded unto by the king; and Hugh de Burgo was found faulty, and was displaced; and then the Commons, in the same Parliament, gave supply. The second precedent was in the tenth year of Richard II. Then the times were such, and places so changeable, that any great officer could hardly sit to be warmed in his place. Supply was at that Parliament required: the Commons denied supply, and complained that their moneys were misemployed; that the Earl of Suffolk (Michael de la Pole) then overruled all; and so their answer was, '*they could not give*;' and they petitioned the king that a commission might be granted, and the Earl of Suffolk might be examined. A commission," Eliot continued, reserving himself for a closing sarcasm at Buckingham, "at their request was awarded; and that commission recites all the evil then complained of; and that the king, upon the petition of the Lords and Commons, had granted that examination should be taken of the crown lands which were sold, of the ordering of his household, and the disposition of the jewels of his grandfather and father. *I hear nothing said in this house of our jewels, nor will I speak of them; but I could wish they were within these walls!*"† The effect of this speech was

tenants for that county under the Parliament. It appears that for these contributions, exacted with the utmost severity and injustice, collectors were appointed, whose acquittance should be a sufficient warrant for repayment in eighteen months. "Put not your faith in princes!" Sir William Andrews' acquittance, remains appended to the requisition.

\* Echar's History, p. 426. D'Irasci's Commentaries, vol. i., p. 296.

† Parliamentary History and Commons' Journals. § Harleian MSS. No. 7000. Letter of Pory to Buckingham. See, also, D'Irasci's Commentaries, vol. iv., p. 510. I shall have to advert to this hereafter.

‡ Whitelocke's Memorials of the English Affairs, p. 7, edit. 1652.

† I shall have occasion to allude to this case in the biography of Pym

\* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 3.

† Buckingham had raised money upon the crown jewels and plate, by the king's order, at the Hague.—Stratford, State Papers, vol. i., p. 28. Ingram to Wentworth. Owing

complete, and, in the midst of the general indignation excited, Dr. Turner's resolutions, that "common fame" was a good ground of accusation against Buckingham, were passed; and notice was sent to the duke of the proceedings against him. At the same time, in illustration of the good faith with which they acted, they announced that the king's immediate necessities should be relieved while his minister was brought to trial; and they redeemed this pledge by a vote for the grant of three subsidies and three fifteenths.\* The king now felt more strongly than ever the imminent danger of his favourite. Again he interfered, and again his interference was defeated by the boldness of Eliot. "Remember," he said, "that Parliaments are altogether in my power for their calling, sitting, and dissolution; therefore, as I find the fruits of them good or evil, they are to continue or not to be."† The Commons retired to deliberate this with locked doors, and the key placed in the hands of the speaker. What passed in that memorable sitting did not publicly transpire; but I can supply some portion of it at least from a manuscript letter of the time. "Sir John Eliot rose up and made a resolute (I doubt whether a timely)‡ speech, the sum whereof was, that they came not thither either to do what the king should command them, or to abstain where he forbade them; and therefore they should continue constant to maintain their privileges, and not do either more or less for what had been said unto them."§ This ominous meeting with locked doors alarmed the king; negotiations were opened, explanations offered, every possible resource of avoidance attempted, but in vain. It was too late to dispute the right of impeachment after the precedents of Bacon and Middlesex; and the Commons, after addressing the king in decorous language, impeached Buckingham on twelve articles.||

Eight chief managers were appointed. To Pym, Herbert, Selden, Glanville, Sherland, and

Wandesford was intrusted the duty of dilating upon the facts of the impeachment; to Sir Dudley Digges the task of opening the proceedings in a "prologue" was committed; and for Sir John Eliot the arduous duty was reserved of winding up the whole proceedings by one of his impressive perorations, that should serve as an "epilogue" to this mighty drama. They did not over estimate the value of his eloquence.\*

The speech delivered by him on this great occasion is an important chapter in his history. Sir Dudley Digges, a courtly patriot, had spoken the "prologue" in the highest prevailing style of ornate circumlocution and quaintly elevated metaphor. Professing to deliver himself in "plain country language, setting by all rhetorical affectations," the monarchy he compared to the creation, the Commons to the earth, the Lords to the planets, the king to the glorious sun, the clergy to the fire, the judges and magistrates to the air, and the Duke of Buckingham to a comet, "a prodigious comet." All this was only a striking foil to the nervous and daring invective, the clear and gorgeous declamation of Eliot. The proud minister, who had kept his seat during the harangue of Digges, innocently braving his accuser, and jeering his quaint expressions, was observed to leave the house when Eliot, on the following day, arose.† It was well for himself that he had done so. Never was an attack made, in that or any succeeding time, so eloquent, so bitter, so earnest, so diadainful. The orator excelled himself. He had summoned to his service all his literary accomplishments, and he closely environed his argument with a passion that was absolutely terrible.

He began by describing the ambition of "this man," as he disdainfully termed the duke, impeaching it by "the common sense of the miseries and misfortunes which the people suffer," and protesting in eloquent phrase against those high misdemeanors which "have lost us the regality of our narrow seas, the ancient inheritance of our princes." He then exposed, as "full of collusion and deceit," the "inward character" of the mind of Buckingham. "I can express it," said Eliot, bitterly, "no better than by the beast called by the ancients *stalionatus*; a beast so blurred, so spotted, so full of foul lines that they knew not what to make of it." He next presented to their lordships "the duke's high oppression" in all its strange extent, "not to men alone, but to laws and statutes, to acts of council, to pleas and decrees of court, to the pleasures of his majesty."

to a singular omission of the editors of the last great parliamentary history, we look vainly among the debates they have collected for this very remarkable speech. It is in Rushworth, however (vol. i., p. 230), and in the Old Parliamentary History, vol. vi., p. 441, edit. 1763.

\* Rushworth's Hist. Coll., vol. i., p. 231. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 2.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 225. Whitelocke, p. 4.

‡ Here the timid writer alludes to what was frequently urged against Eliot, the severe and unsparing character of his speeches. Clarendon was accustomed to the House of Commons, and speaks differently. "Modesty and moderation in words," says that noble writer, "never was, nor never will be observed in popular councils whose foundation is liberty of speech."—*Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. I., p. 7, folio edit.

§ Harleian MSS. Letter of Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated April 8. In a subsequent letter of the same correspondent in this collection (dated April 26), I find the first shadowing forth of the iniquitous dispersion of Sir Robert Cotton's library—an event which that learned antiquary was unable to survive. "Sir Robert Cotton's books are threatened to be taken away, because he is accused to impart ancient precedents to the Lower House."

|| The duke's obsequious and fawning answer had simply the effect of adding another charge to the impeachment. I must refer the reader to the various histories for an ample exposure of the disgraceful practices resorted to by the king to rescue his favourite from the powerful opposition of the Earl of Bristol and Arundel in the Upper House. Brodie's Hist. of the British Empire, vol. ii., p. 105, et seq. Lingard's History, vol. ix., p. 244, et seq. The History, from Sir James Mackintosh, in Lardner's Cyclopedia, vol. v., p. 27-28.

\* For the history of this impeachment, and reports of the various speeches, see Rushworth, vol. i., p. 202, et seq.; Parliamentary History, vol. vi. and vii.; History from Hackintosh, vols. v., p. 40, et seq. The thirteen articles of the impeachment were arranged under the following heads: Plurality of offices; buying the place of high admiral; buying the wardenship of the cinque ports; not guarding the narrow seas; unlawfully and corruptly staying a French ship; extorting £10,000 from the East India merchants; putting English ships in the hands of the French, to be employed against the Protestants of Rochelle (this embraced two articles); compelling Lord Roberts to buy his postrage; selling places of judicature; procuring honours for his poor kindred; malversation of the king's revenue; giving physic to the late king.

† The duke's absence is marked by a letter in the Harl. MS., 262. See, also, Rushworth. In Eliot's Original Letters, vol. iii., p. 236 (second edit.), an account will be found of the duke's "jeering and scoffing insolence," and the spirited rebuke it at last provoked.

ty." The orator afterward, having indulged some quiet sarcasms at Buckingham, his victims, and his extortions, "mathematically observed and exquisitely expressed," advanced to the most serious imputations, which he handled with a fearful severity. "That which was wont to be the crown of virtue and merit is now become a merchandise for the greatness of this man, and even justice is made his prey! The most deserving offices that require abilities to discharge them are fixed upon the duke, his allies, and kindred. He hath drawn to him and his the power of justice, the power of honour, and the power of command—in effect, the whole power of the kingdom, both for peace and war!" Eliot then painted a mournful picture of the result of the favourite's extortions in the present state of the kingdom, the "revenues destroyed, the fountain of supply exhausted, the nerves of the land relaxed," placing beside it, in vivid and indignant contrast, the gorgeousness of Buckingham's possessions. "He intercepts; consumes, and exhausts the revenues of the crown, not only to satisfy his own lustful desires, but the luxury of others; and, by emptying the veins the blood should run in, he hath cast the body of the kingdom into a high consumption. Infinite sums of money, and mass of land exceeding the value of money, nay, even contributions in Parliament, have been heaped upon him; and how have they been employed! Upon costly furniture, sumptuous feasting, and magnificent building, the visible evidences of the express exhausting of the state! And yet his ambition," proceeded Eliot, alluding darkly to more dreadful charges, "which is boundless, resteth not here, but, like a violent flame, bursteth forth and getteth farther scope. Not satisfied with injuries and injustice, and dishonouring of religion, his attempts go higher—to the prejudice of his sovereign. The effects I fear to speak, and fear to think.\* I end this passage, as Cicero did in a like case, *ne gravioribus ular verbis quam rei natura fert, aut levioribus quam causa necessitas postulat*."

The closing passage of Eliot's speech was tremendous, and must have electrified the house.

"Your lordships have an idea of the man, what he is in himself, what in his affections! You have seen his power, and some, I fear, have felt it! You have known his practice, and have heard the effects. It rests, then, to be considered what, being such, he is in reference to the king and state—how compatible or incompatible with either! In reference to the king, he must be styled the canker in his treasure; in reference to the state, the moth of all goodness. What future hopes are to be expected, your lordships may draw out of his actions and affections. In all precedents I can hardly find him a match or parallel. None so like him as Sejanus, thus described by Tacitus: *Audax sui obsequens, in alios criminator, juxta adulator et superbus*. My lords, for his pride and flattery it was noted of Sejanus that he did *clientes suos provinciis adornare*. Doth not this

\* We feel with Eliot on this point. The reader is referred to a forcible passage in Mr. Brodie's History of the British Empire, vol. ii., p. 43, 44. I have satisfied myself respecting Mr. Brodie's proof, by referring to the MS. in the Ayscough Collection of the Brit. Museum, No. 4901, p. 308.

man the like? Ask England, Scotland, and Ireland, and they will tell you! Sejanus's pride was so excessive, Tacitus saith, that he neglected all counsel, mixed his business and service with the prince, seemed to confound their actions, and was often styled *imperatoris laborum socius*. How lately, and how often, hath this man commixed his actions, in discourse, with actions of the king! My lords, I have done. You see the man! By him came all these evils; in him we find the cause; on him we expect the remedies; and to this we met your lordships in conference."

The rage of the king, when told of Eliot's speech, betrayed him. In a manuscript letter of the time the writer alludes to the unseemly anger displayed as "private news which I desire you to keep to yourself as your own, by separating this half sheet, and burning it or concealing it." The allusion to the death of his father, and to Sejanus, had strangely affected Charles. "Implicitly," he exclaimed, "he must intend me for Tiberius!"\* and he hurried to the House of Lords to complain of Sir John Eliot. Then began those cruel persecutions which Eliot had foreseen, and prepared himself for, and which were only exhausted at last in the death of their illustrious object. He was that day committed close prisoner to the Tower; and, by an odd kind of chance, which may be worth noting for some of my readers, was flung into the dungeon which, after a few short months, received Felton, Buckingham's assassin.† Digges was also committed. The House of Commons, on hearing of this gross breach of privilege (the first of that series of open and undisguised outrages which brought Charles to the scaffold), broke up instantly, notwithstanding a very heavy press of business before them; and, after dinner, many members met in Westminster Hall, "sadly communicating their minds to one another."‡ The follow-

\* Harleian MSS., 393. Letter of Mead, dated May 11. The writer subsequently says that Sir Robert Cotton had told him that the king's affection towards the duke "was very admirable—no whit lessened." When Charles, indeed, came in his barge from Whitehall to order Eliot to the Tower, Buckingham sat by his side! MS. letter to Mead.

† "As Felton the last weeke passed through Kingston-upon-Thames, an old woman bestowed this salutation upon him: 'Now God bless thee, little David,' quoth she; meaning he had killed Goliath. He hath hitherto (saith my author) been fairly used in the Tower, being put into the same lodging where Sir John Eliot lay, and allowed two dishes of meat every meal." Harleian MSS., 390. Felton was a miserable enthusiast, who revenged upon Buckingham only a private wrong. But his name deserves honour for the memory of one striking incident at the close of his unhappy life. I quote it from Ellis's Original Letters, vol. iii., p. 367, second edit. "Another friend told me that on Tuesday morning, some of the lords being with him, my Lord of Dorset told him, 'Mr. Felton, it is the king's pleasure you should be put to torture, to make you confesse your complices; and therefore prepare yourself for the rack.' To whom Felton: 'I do not believe, my lord, that it is the king's pleasure; for he is a just and a gracious prince, and will not have his subjects to be tortured against law. I do again affirm, upon my salvation, that my purpose was known to no man living; and more than I have said before I cannot. But if it be his majesty's pleasure, I am ready to suffer whatever his majesty will have inflicted upon me. Yet this I must tell you by-the-way, that if I be put upon the rack I will accuse you, my Lord of Dorset, and none but yourself.' So they left him there without bringing him to the rack." The letter writer might have gone farther, for this was not all. To excuse themselves from the possible supposition that they could have been influenced in this case by terror, the judges were ordered to deliver a decision that "no such punishment as the rack is known or allowed by our law." We owe this to Felton.

‡ Harleian MSS., 393. Letter to Mead, dated May 12.



ing morning they met in the House; but when the speaker reminded them of the business of the day, "Sit down! sit down!" was the general cry: "no business till we are righted in our liberties!"\* A sullen silence succeeded, which was broken by the memorable expostulation of Sir Dudley Carleton, the king's vice-chamberlain. Unadvisedly he let the court secret out! After complaining of the violent and contemptuous expressions resorted to by Eliot and Digges, he blurted forth as follows: "I beseech you, gentlemen, move not his majesty with trenching on his prerogative, lest you bring him out of love with Parliaments. In his messages he hath told you that, if there were not correspondence between him and you, he should be enforced to use *new counsels*. Now, I pray you to consider what these new counsels are, and may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all Christian kingdoms you know that parliaments were in use anciently, until the monarchs began to know their own strength; and, seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand upon their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the parliaments throughout Christendom, except here only with us. And, indeed, you would count it a great misery, if you knew the subjects in foreign countries as well as myself, to see them look not like our nation, with store of flesh on their backs, but like so many ghosts, and not men, being nothing but skin and bones, with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing only wooden shoes on their feet; so that they cannot eat meat or wear good clothes, but they must pay and be taxed unto the king for it. This is a misery beyond expression, and that which yet we are free from."† Poor Sir Dudley had scarcely delivered himself of this when his ears were saluted with loud and unwelcome shouts, "To the bar! to the bar!" He narrowly escaped the necessity of apologizing at the bar on his knees.

Ultimately Digges, coy patriot, having consented to retract certain expressions complained of, was released. Eliot, on the other hand, coldly and sternly refused to listen to any proposals; and the king, unable to keep up the struggle, was obliged, after the expiration of eight days, to sign a warrant for his release. On his reappearance in the House, the vice-chamberlain, by his master's command, repeated the charge of intemperate language; upon which Sir John, instead of denying anything he had said, or meanly endeavouring to explain away the harshness of the terms he had made use of, in a remarkably eloquent and sarcastic speech avowed and defended every name he had applied to Buckingham.‡ The spirit of this

great man communicated itself to the House, and by a unanimous vote, refusing even to order him to withdraw,\* they cleared him from every imputation.

Charles, nothing taught by this egregious failure, continued to play the minion to Buckingham, who had now resolved, by another dissolution, to throw for his only chance of safety. This was, indeed, a desperate step, and so Charles would seem to have considered it; but his fears, his consciousness of the injuries he was committing on his subjects, everything sank before the influence of the favourite. "The duke being in the audience chamber, privato with the king, his majesty was overheard (as they talk) to use these words: 'What can I do more? I have engaged mine honour to mine uncle of Denmark and other princes. I have, in a manner, lost the love of my subjects. What wouldst thou have me do?' Whence some think the duke moved the king to dissolve the Parliament."† Or, it may have been, the duke moved the king to get himself promoted to the chancellorship of Cambridge. Monstrous as it appears, a royal message was sent forthwith to the convocation, on the present occurrence of the vacancy, ordering them to elect the duke! Vain was every entreaty to postpone the election; at least until after the event of the impeachment were known. It was carried,‡ and received the formal and elaborate approval of the king. The Commons, then, after a stormy debate, in which Eliot took his usual warm and vigorous part,§ sent to crave audience of his majesty "about serious business concerning all the Commons of the land." The king returned answer that they should hear from him the next day. They did hear from him: the next day they were dissolved;|| and the rash monarch proceeded to try the effect of those "new counsels" which he and his servants had so often threatened.

These "new counsels" appeared in the shape of a naked despotism. Everything short of the absolute surrender of the subject to the muskets of the soldiery was resorted to; and

deavoured, and ever did in that House, to avoid passion; and only desired to do his duty."

\* The entry in the Journals is remarkable: "Sir John Eliot of himself withdrew; the House refusing to order his withdrawing."

† A letter in the Harleian MSS. Mead to Stuteville, dated May 13.

‡ By means the most disgraceful, which, after all, only secured Buckingham a majority of three votes over Lord Andover, hastily set up by the Commons. In Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. iii., p. 231, we have a curious account of the contest. "My lord bishop labours; Mr. Mason visits for his lord, Mr. Cosens for the most true patron of the clergy and of scholars. Masters belabour their fellows. Dr. Maw sends for his, one by one, to persuade them; some twice over. . . . Divers in town got hackneys, and fled to avoid importunity. Very many—some whole colleges—were gotten by their fearful masters, the bishop, and others, to suspend, who otherwise were resolved against the duke, and kept away with much indignation: and yet for all this stirre the duke carried it but by three votes from my Lord Andover, whom we voluntarily set up against him, without motion on his behalf, yes, without his knowledge. . . . We had but one doctor in the whole towne durst (for so I dare speak) give with us against the duke; and that was Dr. Porter or Queen's."

§ It was he who proposed, and had the chief hand in framing, the celebrated remonstrance (Rushworth, vol. i., p. 400), which every member of the House held in his possession on the day of the dissolution of this Parliament. A proclamation was subsequently issued against it by the king. See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 411.

|| See, also, Sanderson's account in his *Life of Charles*, p. 50; and Rushworth, vol. i., p. 398.

\* Harleian MSS., 363. Letter to Mead, dated May 12. See, also, Rushworth, vol. i., p. 358, and *Parliamentary History*, vol. vii., p. 159, for other accounts of this scene.

† Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 6. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 259. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 159.

‡ Hatsell's *Precedents*. For a report of Sir John's speech, see Rushworth, vol. i., p. 362; and *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 165. The latter is more full and correct. I quote a striking passage: "For the words, *the man*, he said *he spoke not by the book*, but suddenly. For brevity's sake he used the words, *The man*. He thought it not fit at all times to reiterate his titles; and yet thinketh him not to be a god." In conclusion, Eliot touched with a modest and manly forbearance on the old charge against him. "For the manner of his speech, as having too much vigour and strength, he said he could not excuse his natural defects; but he then en-

we learn, from a remarkable passage in Hume's history, good reason why the new counsels fell short of that. "Had he possessed any military force," says the philosophical apologist of Charles, "on which he could depend, 'tis not improbable that he had at once *taken off the mask*, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges. \* \* \* But his army was new levied, ill paid, and worse disciplined; no-wise superior to the militia, who were much more numerous, and who were, in a great measure, under the influence of the country gentlemen."\* As it was, the mask was very clumsily kept on. The first thing attempted under it was to cover, by a bungling imposition, an outrageous stretch of power. The people were instructed by the agents of government that, as subsidies had been voted in the last House of Commons, they could not legally refuse to pay them, though Parliament had been dissolved before the bill embodying them had passed; and they were levied accordingly! A commission to improve the revenues of crown lands went forth next on a mission of the grossest tyranny; and, following this, a commission to force the most enormous penalties against religious recusants. Privy seals for the loan of money were at the same time issued, in all directions, to men of reputed property, and an immediate advance of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds was insolently demanded from the city of London. Lastly, a levy of ships was ordered from the port towns and counties adjoining—a forecast of the memorable tax of ship money.† As men grieved and wondered at these things, the news arrived of the defeat of the King of Denmark at the bloody battle of Lutter; and Charles seized the advantages of this disaster to his ally to execute a measure he had long meditated, and of which all these oppressions we have named were but even the feeble foreshadowing. He sent commissioners into every quarter of the kingdom, with the most frightfully inquisitorial powers, to execute a GENERAL FORCED LOAN.‡ He issu-

\* History, vol. v., p. 151. Clarendon's account may be subjoined to this: "Upon every dissolution, such as had given any offence were imprisoned or disgraced; new projects were every day set on foot for money, which served only to offend and increase the people, and brought little supplies to the king's occasions; yet raised a great stock for expostulation, murmur, and complaint, to be exposed when other supplies should be required. And many persons of the best quality and condition under the peerage were committed to several prisons, with circumstances unusual and unheard of, for refusing to pay money required by these extraordinary ways."—*Hist. of Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 22.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 411-472. Rymer, xiii., p. 730-342. Whitelocke, p. 7-9. In these authorities ample information will be found. See, also, *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 230-235. In connexion with these accounts it may be amusing to quote an anecdote from the office book of the master of the revels, "here entered," as he observes, "for ever, to be remembered by my son, and those who cast their eyes on it, in honour of King Charles my master." The king, reading a manuscript play of Massinger's, had stumbled on the following:

"Money! we'll raise supplies what ways we please,  
And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which  
We'll mulet you as we shall think fit. The Caesars  
In Rome were wise, acknowledging no laws  
But what their swords did ratify."

and, in the disgust of the moment, wrote a halting line against it:

"This is too insolent, and to be changed!"

Truly, nothing should be so disgusting to us as a hideous likeness of ourselves!

‡ It is worth while giving an extract from the private instructions of these commissioners. They were "to treat

ed an elaborate proclamation at the same time excusing these new counsels by the exigence of the moment; and, in private instructions to the clergy, ordered them to use the pulpit in advancement of his monstrous projects.\* Reverend doctors, with an obedient start, straightway preached illimitable obedience on pain of eternal damnation.† Imprisonment of various sorts compensated for the inefficacy of religious anathemas. The poor, who could not, or would not pay, were pressed into the army or the navy; substantial tradesmen were dragged from their families; men of rank, even, were ordered into the palatinate;‡ large batches of country gentlemen were lodged in custody;§ and, as a punishment to some, more ag-

apart with every one of those who are to lend, and not in the presence or hearing of any other, unless they see cause to the contrary; and, if any shall refuse to lend, and shall make delay or excuse, and persist in their obstinacy, that they examine such persons upon oath, whether they have been dealt withal to deny, or refuse to lend, or make an excuse for not lending; who hath dealt so with them, or what speeches or persuasions he or they have used to him tending to that purpose? And that they shall also charge every such person, in his majesty's name, upon his allegiance, not to declare to any other what his answer was."—*Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 419.

\* Laud, now bishop of Bath and Wells, drew these instructions up in the name of the king. (See Heylin's *Life*, p. 161, *et seq.*; and Laud's *Diary*.) "The dexterous performance of which service," says Heylin, "as it raised Laud higher in his majesty's good opinion of him, so it was recompensed with a place of greater nearness to him than before he had."

† Sibthorp, vicar of Brackley, in Northamptonshire, and Mainwaring, a king's chaplain and Vicar of St. Giles's, made themselves most notorious in this slavish and criminal service. Extracts from the sermons of these men, of the most atrocious description, will be found in *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 422, 423. They had excellent imitators. I find among the Sloane MSS., a letter descriptive of a sermon preached by the Dean of Canterbury, from which the reader may take an extract: "It was the speech of a man renowned for wisdom in our age, that if he was commanded to put forth to sea in a ship that had neither mast nor tackling, he would do it. And being asked what wisdom that were, replied, the wisdom must be in him that hath power to command, not in him that conscience binds to obey." The question of the licensing these sermons for publication led to the suspension of Abbot from the See of Canterbury. Abbot, however, was no better than his brother Laud, probably a little wiser, since the conduct of the former was at least intelligible. See *History*, from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 70. The archbishop's Narrative in *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 434-457. Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, art. Northampton, note by Park. Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 570, note.

‡ There is something so extremely natural and forcible in Sir Peter Hayman's sturdy account of his experience in this particular, that I cannot forbear quoting it. After Parliament had assembled, a debate arose on "Designation to Foreign Employment," whereupon Sir Peter Hayman got upon his legs: "I have not forgot my employment into the palatinate. I was called before the lords of the council: for what I knew not, but I heard it was for not lending on a privy seal. I told them, if they will take my estate, let them; I would give it up; lend I would not. When I was before the lords of the council, they laid to my charge my unwillingness to serve the king. I said, I had my life and my estate to serve my country and my religion. They told me, that if I did not pay I should be put upon an employment of service. I was willing. After ten weeks' waiting, they told me I was to go with a lord into the palatinate, and that I should have employment there, and means befitting. I told them I was a subject, and desired means. Some put on very eagerly, some dealt nobly. They said I must go on my own purse. I told them *nemo militat suis expensis*. Some told me, I must go. I began to think, what, must I? None were ever sent out in that way. Lawyers told me I could not be so sent. Having this assurance, I demanded means, and was resolved not to stir but upon those terms; and, in silence and duty, I denied. Upon this, having given me a command to go, after twelve days they told me they would not send me as a soldier, but to attend on an ambassador. I knew that stone would hit me, therefore I settled my troubled estate, and addressed myself to that service." Eliot's comments on this usage were appropriately bitter. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 403.

§ Some were brought up to London, and committed to

gravated and horrible, probably, than any we have named, the remains of the disgraced and infamous troops that had survived the affair at Cadix were quartered upon their houses, in the midst of their wives and children! \* And as these crimes had been sanctioned by the ministers of religion, so the vile slaves who sat in the seats of justice were ordered to confirm them by law. A voice or two that had hinted from the bench a feeble utterance of opposition were instantly stifled, and the conclave of judges remanded five recusants, who had brought their habeas corpus. †

rigorous confinement in the Fleet, the Gatehouse, the Marshalsea, and the New Prison. Eliot was one of these. The rest, as Sir Thomas Wentworth and others, were subjected to confinement, strict, but much less rigorous, in various counties. Hampden had been thrown into the Gatehouse at first, but was afterward released and sent into Hampshire. One anecdote will illustrate the numberless instances of quiet and forbearing fortitude, practised by men recollected no longer, but who at this time shed lustre on the English character. George Catesby, of Northamptonshire, being committed to the Gatehouse as a recusant, alleged, among other reasons for his non-compliance, that he considered "that this loan might become a precedent; and that every precedent, he was told by the lord president, was a flower of the prerogative." The lord president told him that "he lied!" Catesby merely shook his head, observing, "I come not here to contend with your lordship, but to suffer." Lord Suffolk then interposed to entreat the lord president not too far to urge his kinsman, Mr. Catesby. The latter, however, waived any kindness he might owe to kindred, declaring that "he would remain master of his own purse."—*D'Israeli's Commentaries*, vol. ii., p. 9.

\* See a letter in *Stratford's State Papers*, vol. i., p. 40; and *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 418-420. "There were frequent robberies," says the collector, "burglaries, rapes, rapines, murders, and barbarous cruelties. Unto some places they were sent as a punishment, and wherever they came, there was a general outcry." From his place in Parliament, Sir Thomas Wentworth afterward denounced this: "They have sent from us the light of our eyes; enforced companies of guests worse than the ordinances of France; vitiated our wives and daughters before our faces; brought the crown no greater want than ever it was, by anticipating the revenue! And can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the flock not be scattered?"—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 370.

† The case of Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveringham, and Sir Everard Hampden, which is reported at great length in the *State Trials*, is an admirable illustration, among other things, of the character of the crown lawyers and judges of the time. There is an abridgment of the proceedings in *Rushworth*, p. 456-462. Sir Randolph Crew, immediately before this case was argued, having, as *Rushworth* expresses it, "showed no zeal" (i., 420), was removed to make room for Sir Nicholas Hyde; and it is quite clear that two of the judges (Jones and Doddridge) who sat with the latter, having shown a decided leaning towards the prisoners during the argument, were brought to a better understanding with Sir Nicholas before the decision. When the case was afterward sent before the House of Lords, and the judges were, so to speak, put upon their trial, Judge Whitelock betrayed the secret. "The Commons," he said, "do not know what letters and commands we receive." Beyond all praise was the conduct of the counsel employed for the prisoners on this occasion. The most undaunted courage exalted the profoundest knowledge. The sober grandeur of Selden, and the rough energy of Noy, must have struck with an ominous effect on the court counsels. It was here that Selden threw out, in a parenthesis, those remarkable words, which, it has been judiciously observed (*History*, from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 77), are applicable to periods much later and of more pretension to liberty than that of Charles. They are yet, in fact, to be expounded. "If *Magna Charta* were fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he doth." In connexion with this remarkable case, too, Sir Edward Coke (who argued it before the lords) presented, for the first time, to his astonished profession, the highest vigour of a noble and liberal thought, issuing, as it were, even out of the most formidable technicalities of law. "Shall I have an estate for lives or for years in England, and be tenant at will for my liberty? A freeman to be tenant at will for his freedom! There is no such tenure in all Littleton!" The excited state of the public mind during the arguments on this question is vividly conveyed in a letter I have found among the Harleian MSS. "The gentleman's counsel for habeas corpus, Mr. Selden, Mr. Noy,

Sir John Eliot at this moment lay a prisoner in the Gatehouse. He had been foremost to refuse the loan, was arrested in Cornwall, brought before the council table, and thence committed to prison. In prison, and before the council table, as in his place in the House of Commons, Eliot had the unfailing resource of fearlessness and a composed vigour. Wherever circumstances placed him, he knew that, so long as they left him life, they left him able to perform its duties. From the Gatehouse he forwarded to the king an able argument against the loan, which he concluded by a request, urged with a humble but brave simplicity, for his own immediate release. This document has been preserved. It commences with a protest against the supposition that "stubbornness and will" have been the motives of the writer's recent recusancy. "With a sad, yet a faithful heart," Eliot continues, "he now presumes to offer up the reasons that induced him. The rule of justice he takes to be the law; impartial arbiter of government and obedience; the support and strength of majesty; the observation of that justice by which subjection is commanded." Through a series of illustrious examples the writer then advances to his position of strict obedience to the laws, in the duty of resisting their outrage. "He could not, as he feared, without pressure to these immunities, become an actor in this loan, which by imprisonment and restraint was urged, contrary to the grants of the great charter, by so many glorious and victorious kings so many times confirmed. Though he was well assured by your majesty's promise that it should not become a precedent during the happiness of your reign, yet he conceived from thence a fear that succeeding ages might thereby take occasion for posterity to strike at the property of their goods." He concludes by assuring the king that he will never consent to "inconveniences in reason," or to the dispensation, violation, or impeachment of the laws. "No factious humour, nor disaffection led on by stubbornness and will, hath herein stirred or moved him, but the just obligation of his conscience, which binds him to the service of your majesty, in the observance of your laws; and he is hopeful that your majesty will be pleased to restore him to your favour, and his liberty, and to afford him the benefit of those laws which, in all humility, he craves." \* Eliot probably never expected that this petition would be granted. Its publication effected his purpose in strengthening the resolutions of the people; and he quietly waited in his prison for the day of a new Parliament.

This was precipitated by the insolent fury of Buckingham, who had consummated the desperate condition of affairs by a new and unprovoked war with France. At the suggestion of the duke's outraged vanity, † Charles

Sergeant Bramston, and Mr. Colthorp, pleaded yesterday with wonderful applause, even of shouting and clapping of hands: which is unusual in that place."

\* *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 429. Whitelocke says, that "Sir John Eliot took this way to inform the king what his council did not."—*Memorials*, p. 8. Anthony Wood oddly converts this into a statement that Eliot was obliged to write in this way to the king, because his (Eliot's) "counsel would not assist him otherwise."

† Clarendon distinctly assigns this as the motive: "In his embassy in France, where his person and presence was

had dismissed the French servants of his young queen; she herself had been insulted;\* the remonstrances of the French court answered by a seizure of French ships; and an expedition for the relief of Rochelle undertaken by the very court whose treachery had so lately assisted to reduce it. Recollecting the bitter sarcasm of Eliot,† Buckingham undertook the command of the present expedition in person; and, having concerted measures so wretchedly as to be obliged to disembark on the adjacent Isle of Rhé he there suffered his army to be baffled by an inferior force, and to be at length overtaken in a situation where valour was of no avail, and where death destroyed them dreadfully, without even the agency of an enemy.‡ The result of this was in all respects frightful; mutiny proved the least of the dangers that followed; and the financial difficulties of the court became so urgent that the last desperate and dreaded resource forced itself upon the king.§ The loan recusants were set

wonderfully admired and esteemed (and, in truth, it was a wonder in the eyes of all men), and in which he appeared with all the lustre the wealth of England could adorn him with, and obtained all the bravery that court could dress itself in, and over-acted the whole nation in their own most peculiar vanities, he had the ambition to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, a lady of a very sublime quality." But I will cut short the reader's impatience, and this interminable sentence, by saying at once that Buckingham fell violently in love with the young Queen of France, Anne of Austria, declared his passion, and was listened to with anything but resentment. With what success the duke might ultimately have urged his suit, it would be impossible to say, since great authorities differ; but it is certain that his purpose was abruptly foiled by the interference of Cardinal Richelieu, in whom he suddenly discovered a formidable rival. The mad desire to foil this great statesman and most absurd lover, and to be able to return to Anne of Austria in all the triumphs of a conqueror, now urged him to these extremities against France. The thing is scarcely credible, but so it certainly appears to have been. What is to be said of the wretched weakness of Charles! See *Mémoires inédits du Comte de Brienne*, i., *Reinscriptions*. Madame de Motteville, *Mémoires d'Anne d'Autriche*. Aikin's *Court of Charles*, vol. i., p. 67. Brodie's *Hist. of British Empire*, vol. ii., p. 139. Lingard's *History*, vol. ix., p. 361. Clarendon, vol. i., p. 31. Carte (vol. iv., p. 138) has attempted to throw discredit on it by the production of dates from the *Mercurius Gallicus*, but unsuccessfully.

\* This is not an occasion to notice the personal disputes of the king and queen, nor the way in which, for his own purposes, they were secretly inflamed by Buckingham. Charles, like most unfaithful and decorous husbands, suspected his wife; and his wife, a woman of energy and spirited sense, despised him. Buckingham's insults to the queen are described by Clarendon, vol. i., p. 31, and other writers. See *History*, from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 62. I may add, that the account of the young queen's reception of the news of the dismissal of her servants, as given in a letter of the day, is extremely characteristic of a quick temper redeemed by a ready self-command. "It is said, also, the queen, when she understood the design, grew very impatient, and broke the glass windows with her little fist; but since I hear her rage is appeased, and the king and she, since they went together to Nonsuche, have been very joyous together."—*Earl MSS.*, 383. Ellis's *Original Letters*, vol. iii., p. 236.

† See a letter of Denzil Hollis to Wentworth. *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 42. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 465. Carte, vol. iv., p. 176, *et seq.* Many curious particulars, and especially the letters of Charles to Buckingham, connected with this affair, will be found in Hardwicke's *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 13, *et seq.* I shall have to advert to it again in noticing one of Eliot's speeches.

‡ Sir Robert Cotton was consulted by the lords of the council, and his advice is said to have determined the matter. It is melancholy to see, however, that this great scholar was tempted on this occasion (see his *Paper in Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 467) into concessions extremely unworthy of him. It is probable that a rumour of this, coupled with his silence on the affair of the loan, led to his defeat at the Westminster election. Eliot was warmly attached to him. It was at the meetings held at his house, where all the em-

at liberty, and writs for a new Parliament were issued.

Unprecedented excitement prevailed at the elections.\* Sir John Eliot was triumphantly returned for Cornwall, and every country gentleman that had refused the loan was sent to the House of Commons. "We are, without question, undone!" exclaimed a court prophet; and the king, agitated by fear and rage, prepared himself to "lift the mask." Secret orders were transmitted to the Low Countries for the levy of 1000 German horse, and the purchase of 10,000 stand of arms, immediately to be conveyed to England.†

This famous third Parliament was opened by the king at Westminster, on the 17th of March, 1628, in a speech of insolent menace. If they did not do their duty, he told them, "I must use those other means which God hath put into my hands, to save that which the follies of other men may otherwise hazard to lose. Take not this as threatening; I scorn to threaten any but my equals."‡ Wonderful was the temper and decorum with which the great leaders of that powerful house listened to this pitiful display. The imagination rises in the contemplation of the profound statesmanship which distinguished every movement of these men, and it is difficult to describe it in terms of appropriate praise. Conscious of the rigour of the duties they had to perform, for these they reserved their strength. Not a word was wasted before the time of action came—not an energy fell to the ground as too great for the occasion. A resolved composure, a quiet confidence steadily shone from their slightest preparation; and the court, who had looked to

inert men of the day assembled, that Eliot's intimate friendship with Selden must probably commenced. See the *Cottonian MSS.*, fol. C., lii.

\* An extract from a manuscript letter, dated March 8, 1627, will present a lively notion of this excitement. It has quite a modern air: "There was a turbulent election of burgesses at Westminster, whereof the duke (Buckingham), being steward, made account he should, by his authority and vicinity, have put in Sir Robert Fye. It continued three days, and when Sir Robert Fye's party cried 'A Fye! a Fye! a Fye!' the adverse party would cry 'A pudding! a pudding! a pudding!' and others, 'A lie! a lie! a lie!' In fine, Bradshaw, a brewer, and Maurice, a grocer, carried it from him by about a thousand voices, they passing by also Sir Robert Cotton, besides our man and Mr. Hayward, who were their last burgesses, because, as it is said, they had discontented their neighbours in urging the payment of the loan. It is feared (saith mine author), because such patriots are chosen everywhere, the Parliament will not last above eight days. You hear of our famous election in Essex, where Sir Francis Barrington and Sir Harbottle Grimston had all the voices of 16,500 men."—*Sloane MSS.*

† There is no doubt of this. The pretence afterward assigned was to defend the kingdom from invasion (Carte, iv., p. 183); but the real object was to overawe the House of Commons. See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 474. A commission was issued at the same time (concurrent with the issuing of the election writs) to certain privy councillors, to consider of raising money by impositions, or otherwise, "wherein form and circumstances must be dispensed with, rather than the substance be lost." These schemes were all defeated, but their discovery necessarily exasperated the Commons.—*Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 614.

‡ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 477. The men to whom this foolish impertinence was addressed are thus described in a manuscript letter of the time by a very moderate politician: "The House of Commons was both yesterday and to-day as full as one could sit by another; and they say it is the most noble and magnanimous assembly that ever these walls contained. And I heard a lord intimate they were able to buy the Upper House (his majesty only excepted) thrice over, notwithstanding there be of lords temporal to the number of 118. And what lord in England would be followed by so many freeholders as some of these are?"—*Letter*, dated March 31, 1628, in *Sloane's MSS.*

strengthen themselves by the provocation of outrage, were lost in a mixed feeling of wonder and doubt, perhaps of even hope. "Was it possible that the 'new counsels' had cooled the fire of patriotism?" Finch, a man known to be favourably affected to the court, was chosen speaker. "Was the expediency of some compromise recognised at last?" A resolution was passed to grant a supply, no less than five subsidies, and to be paid within twelve months! "Was all this possible?" "Were these the men who had been sent from every quarter of the country to oppose the court, to resent the wrongs of their constituents, and to avenge their own?" Old Secretary Cooke hurried down with feeble haste to grasp at the subsidies. He was then quietly told that they could not be paid; that the bill for collecting them, indeed, should not be framed until certain necessary securities were given by the king for the future enjoyment of liberty and property among the subjects of the kingdom. The crest-fallen ministers resorted to their hypocritical arts of evasion and refusal; the patriot leaders prepared for action. The consummate policy we have described had resolved the dispute into the clearest elements of right and wrong; and the position of the Commons against the court was firmly and immovably determined.\* What they had resolved to do could now be done; and, the court policy once openly betrayed, the passionate eloquence of Eliot was heard, opening up to the public abhorrence the wounds that had lately been inflicted upon the liberties and laws.†

\* I refer the reader, for the only exact account of the proceedings of this Parliament, to the journals and debates. Dr. Lingard has described the conduct of the leaders of the country party very faithfully. "They advanced step by step; first resolving to grant a supply, then fixing it at the tempting amount of five subsidies, and, lastly, agreeing that the whole should be paid within the short space of twelve months. But no art, no entreaty could prevail on them to pass their resolution in the shape of a bill. It was held out as a lure to the king; it was gradually brought nearer and nearer to his grasp, but they still refused to surrender their hold; they required, as a previous condition, that he should give his assent to those liberties which they claimed as the birthright of Englishmen."—*History*, vol. ix., p. 379. See, also, Hume, vol. v., p. 160.

† "Sir John Eliot," says the writer of the *Ephemeris Parliamentaria*, "did passionately and rhetorically set forth our late grievances; he misliked much the violating of our laws." This speech is, unfortunately, lost. "What pity it is," observes Mr. Brodie, "that no copy has been preserved of Sir John Eliot's speech upon the grievances! He appears to have been the most eloquent man of his time." Echoing his regret, I am surprised that Mr. Brodie should have passed without mention a most remarkable speech of Eliot, which I shall have immediate occasion to allude to, delivered by him on the same subject in the present session, and admirably handed down to us from the MSS. of Napier. He had noble secondors on the occasion referred to in the text. "I read of a custom," said Sir Robert Philips (rising after Eliot had ceased), "among the old Romans, that once every year they held a solemn feast for their slaves, at which they had liberty, without exception, to speak what they would, thereby to ease their afflicted minds; which being finished, they severally returned to their former servitude. This may, with some resemblance and distinction, well set forth our present state; when now, after the revolution of some time, and grievous suffering of many violent oppressions, we have, as those slaves had, a day of liberty of speech; but shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves, for we are free. Yet what new illegal proceedings our states and persons have suffered under, my heart yearns to think, my tongue falters to utter! I can live," passionately Philips continued, "although another, who has no right, be put to live with me; nay, I can live although I pay exactions and impositions more than I do. But to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from me by power; and to have my body pent up in a jail, without remedy by law, and to be so adjudged! O improv-

The result, after many committees on the liberty of the subject, was a resolution to prepare the memorable petition of right.\* Sir John Eliot took part in all the debates; lifted them to the most vigorous and passionately determined tone; and now acted in all respects as the great leader of the House.

Charles's attempts to get hold of the subsidies continued to be unceasing, and every art was resorted to by his ministers. Buckingham, meanwhile, covered with his recent failures and disgraces, had hitherto kept himself out of view; and it is another proof of the noble policy we have characterized in every movement of the popular leaders at this time, that, intent upon their grander objects, they passed the subdued favourite, so long as he was not intruded before them, in contemptuous silence. The court party, however, rarely failed to misconstrue conduct of this sort; and now, with a fatal precipitancy, presumed upon this silence. Cooke, the king's secretary, by way of an inducement to suffer him to touch the subsidies, assured the House that the king was very grateful for their vote, and, moreover, that Buckingham had implored his majesty to grant all the popular desires.† An extract from a manuscript letter of the time will convey the most lively notion of what followed. "Sir John Eliot instantly leaped up, and taxed the secretary for intermingling a subject's speech with the king's message. It could not become any subject to bear himself in such a fashion, as if no grace ought to descend from the king to the people, nor any loyalty ascend from the people to the king, but through him only. Whereunto many in the House made an exclamation, 'Well spoken, Sir John Eliot!'"‡ From a more detailed report, I will give an extract of this speech, happily characteristic of Eliot's style, of the dignified phrase, not unmingled with a composed sarcasm, with which, in the present instance, the sharpness of his re-

ident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our laws, and the liberties of Parliament, and to neglect our persons and bodies, and to let them lie in prison, and that, *durante brevecapito*, remediless! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties! Why do we trouble ourselves with a dispute about law, franchises, property of goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?" Sir Benjamin Rudyard followed. "This is the crisis of Parliaments," he said; "by this we shall know whether Parliaments will live or die!" To him succeeded the dark and doubtful energy of Wentworth, and the undimmed clearness of the venerable Sir Edward Coke. "I'll begin," said the latter, after approving the proposed supplies, "with a noble record. It cheers me to think of it! It is worthy to be written in letters of gold! Loans against the will of the subject are against reason and the franchises of the land, and they desire restitution. Franchise! What a word is that 'franchise'?"—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 363, *et seq.* These men were indeed capable of the great duties that fell to them. [Such specimens of eloquence as these go far to illustrate the opinion of the great orator of our country, that the finest bursts of parliamentary eloquence on record are to be found in the debates of the Parliaments in the reign of Charles I.—C.]

\* The grievances detailed before these committees were reduced to six heads: attendance at the council board, imprisonment, confinement, designation to foreign employment, martial law, undue proceedings in matters of judicature. These were severally debated, and Eliot spoke upon all of them with characteristic energy. The portions that remain of his speeches are sufficient to indicate this—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 399–405, &c.

† *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 431.

‡ Sloane MSS., 4177. Letter from Mr. Pory. Another account will be found among these manuscripts, in a letter from Mr. Mead, dated April 12, 1628.

buke was tempered: "My joy at this message is not without trouble, which must likewise be declared. I must disburden this affliction, or I cannot, otherwise, so lively and so faithfully express my devotion to the service of this House as I had resolved. I know not by what fatality or infortunity it has crept in, but I observe, in the close of the secretary's relation, mention made of another in addition to his majesty; and that which hath been formerly a matter of complaint I find here still—a mixture with his majesty, not only in his business, but in name. Is it that any man conceives the mention of others, of what quality soever, can add encouragement or affection to us, in our duties and loyalties towards his majesty, or give them greater latitude or extent than naturally they have? Or is it supposed that the power or interest of any man can add more readiness to his majesty, in his gracious inclination towards us, than his own goodness gives him? I cannot believe it! But, sir, I am sorry there is occasion that these things should be argued; or that this mixture, which was formerly condemned, should appear again. I beseech you, sir, let it not be hereafter; let no man take this boldness within these walls, to introduce it! It is contrary to the custom of our fathers, and the honour of our times. I desire that such interposition may be let alone, and that all his majesty's regards and goodness towards this House may spring alone from his confidence of our loyalty and affections."\* The secretary remained silent, but the court remembered that rebuke bitterly.

Equally firm, however, against its threatening and cajoling, the Commons persisted in their great purpose. Resolutions were passed declaratory of the rights of the people, and a conference appointed with the Lords, that they might concur in a petition to the throne, founded upon Magna Charta and other statutes; directed to the security of the person, as the foremost of all securities; strengthened on that point by twelve direct and thirty-one indirect precedents; completed by certain resolutions of their own, reducing those precedents to a distinct unity of purpose;† and to be called a petition of right, because requiring nothing save the recognition and direction of violated laws. The Lords and Commons met, and the constitutional lawyers stated their case with a startling clearness. "It lies not under Mr.

Attorney's cap," exclaimed Sir Edward Coke, "to answer any one of our arguments." "With my own hand," said Selden, "I have written out all the records from the Tower, the Exchequer, and the King's Bench, and I will engage my head Mr. Attorney shall not find in all these archives a single precedent omitted."\* The close of the conference elicited from the Lords a series of counter-resolutions, which were immediately rejected by Eliot and his friends, as nothing more than an ingenious subterfuge. These resolutions, in point of fact, if agreed to, would, after recognising the legality of the precedents urged, have left the matter precisely where it was. The king's word was to be the chief security.†

The Lords, in truth, had been tampered with; and the court heedlessly betrayed this by proposing, a few days after, in a royal message, precisely the same security, with the addition of a piece of advice that one regrets to see so evidently wasted. It would have been hailed with nods of such profuse delight by a parcel of Chinese mandarins. "The wrath of a king is like the roaring of a lion; and all laws, with his wrath, are of no effect; but the king's favour is like the dew upon the grass; there all will prosper!"‡ Undoubtedly this was lost upon the present audience. Eliot, who was well read in literature, might, probably, have reminded Philips or Selden of the leonine propensities of the Athenian weaver, who aggravated his voice, however, to such an extent, in roaring, that at last he came to roar as gently as a dove or a nightingale. Certainly no other notice was taken. The Commons returned to their house, and quietly, and without a single dissentient, ordered their lawyers to throw the matter of their petition into the shape of a bill, that the responsibility of openly rejecting it might fall on the Lords and the king.

Message succeeded message, but still the

\* *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 433. In this speech, also, Eliot, referring to the king's thankful recognition of the vote of subsidies, and the honeyed words he had addressed to them through Cooke, expressive of his sense of their claims, threw out a remark in which there appears an ominous union of sarcasm and sternness. "I presume we have all received great satisfaction from his majesty in his present gracious answer and resolution for the business of this House; in his answer to our petition for religion, so particularly made; in his resolution in that other consideration concerning the point, ALREADY SETTLED HERE, in declaration of our liberties; and for the Parliament in general."

† These resolutions were four in number, and had for their object the security of the subject from those infamous pretences of the court lawyers and court judges, which had been so remarkably exhibited in the case of the five members. See them in *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 513. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 467. The profound skill and judgment of the leaders of the Commons, by sealing down the old statutes thus, at once shut out every possible plea of silence or evasion from the corrupt judges, and struck from under them their old resource to antagonist enactments, judicial precedents, and exercises of prerogative.

\* See the reports of the conference in the *Journals*. *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 527, *et seq.*; and *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 409, *et seq.* The legal research and vast ability displayed by the popular leaders in this conference determined the Lords to hear counsel for the crown. One of these, however, Sergeant Ashley, having argued in behalf of the prerogative in the high tone of the last reign, was ordered into custody by their lordships, who at the same time assured the Commons that he had no authority from them for what he had said. (See *Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 47 for the offensive argument; and afterward, p. 53 and p. 66.) This was a somewhat strong step to take against a king's counsel, employed at a free conference; and Mr. Hellam urges it (*Const. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 533) as a "remarkable proof of the rapid growth of popular principles." It is a compliment to the growing influence of the Lower House, but certainly no proof of the popular principles of a body of men who, the very moment after they had thus seemed to condemn arbitrary doctrines, proposed to grant to the king in extraordinary cases, the necessity of which he was to determine, a power of commitment without showing cause! This was robbing Peter to pay Paul with a vengeance! See their five propositions in *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 546. An anecdote of one of their lordships which occurred at this time is worth subjoining. As the Earl of Suffolk was passing from the conference into the committee chamber of the House, he insolently swore at one of the members of the Commons, and said Mr. Selden deserved to be hanged, for that he had raised a record. This was immediately noised about, and came to the ears of Eliot. He took up the matter with great warmth, in vindication of his regard for Selden, had the circumstances investigated by a committee, and proposed some stringent resolutions against the earl, "which were agreed unto by the whole House." See *Commons' Journals*, April 17, 1628; and *Parl. Hist.*, vol. vii., p. 452.

† See *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 546.

‡ See *Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 81. *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 551. Aikin's *Court of Charles*, vol. i., p. 206.

Commons proceeded. Briefly and peremptorily, at last, Charles desired, through his secretary, to know decidedly whether the House would or would not rest upon his royal word. "Upon this there was silence for a good space."\* Pym was the first to break it; and Eliot hastened to relieve Pym from the personal dilemma in which his fearless acuteness threatened to place him. "I move," said he, "that this proposition be put to the question, because they that would have it do urge us to that point."† The question was rejected. Charles instantly sent down another message, peremptorily warning them not "to encroach on that sovereignty or prerogative which God hath put into our hands," and threatening to end the session on Tuesday sennight at the farthest. "Whereupon," say the Journals, "Sir John Eliot rose and spoke." He complained bitterly of the proposed shortness of the session. "Look," he exclaimed, "how many messages we have! Interruptions, misreports, and misrepresentations produce these messages. I fear," continued Eliot, "his majesty yet knows not what we go about. Let us make some enlargement, and put it again before him."‡ An address for this purpose was instantly agreed to by the House, was presented by the speaker, and again the king found himself completely baffled. It would be too painful to follow his windings and doublings through their long and mean course, but that at every turn some new evidence arrests us of the brilliant powers and resources of the great statesman whose character we seek to illustrate.

So clear and decisive was the last statement of the Commons, that Charles fancied he had no resource now but to intimate his assent to the proposed bill; yet, even in doing this, he sought, by an insidious restriction, to withhold from the old statutes and precedents that unity and directness of purpose which the cementing resolutions of the House were, for the first time, about to give to them. "We vindicate," Wentworth had said, "what? new things? No! our ancient, legal, and vital liberties—by

re-enforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors, by setting *such a seal* upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them!" "I assent," said Charles, unworthily at the same moment seeking to evade this seal, "but so as that Magna Charta and the other six statutes alluded to may be without additions, paraphrases, or explanations."\*\* The Commons had not had time to spurn the proffered deceit, when, with a childish imbecility, the king sent down another message, desiring that they should take his word.† The House was at this moment sitting in committee. Secretary Cooke, who brought the message, concluded with an earnest desire that "the debate upon it should be done before the House, and not before the committee." He had good reasons for this; for he knew what arguments might possibly be urged, and that the court had at least one security against them, in the secret commands which the king had already placed upon the timid speaker.‡ Sir John Eliot, conscious of the weakness of Finch, saw through the secretary's purpose, and effectually foiled it. With great energy he urged proceeding in committee as more likely to be honourable and advantageous. "That way," he said, "leads most to truth. It is a more open way. Every man may there add his reasons, and make answer upon the hearing of other men's reasons and arguments."§ The House assented; the debate proceeded with closed doors; and the result was a plain and determined resolution by the Commons that they could only take the king's word in a parliamentary way. They passed their bill, and sent it up to the Lords.||

To the Lords the king now addressed a letter, stating that he could not, without the overthrow of his sovereignty, part with the power of committing the subject, but promising, in all ordinary cases, to obey Magna Charta, and not to imprison, for the future, "any man for refusing a loan, nor for any cause which, in his judgment and conscience, he did not conceive necessary for the public good."¶ This letter was instantly sent to the Lower House, and all the notice we find of it in their journals is given in four words—"They laid it aside."\*\* Not so the Lords, who, with customary pliancy, founded upon it a saving clause to reserve his

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 553. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 95.

† There is no mention of this in the debates, but I have it on the authority of a manuscript letter in the collection of Dr. Birch. I may take this opportunity of stating that that learned person had with his own hand transcribed for publication, from the Harleian and various other collections, a vast number of letters, illustrative of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; but which remain to this day on the shelves of the Sloane collection as the transcriber left them. Their arrangement and publication would confer a valuable service on history, yet I fear there is no prevailing encouragement for undertakings of this sort. It is to be regretted.

‡ Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 99. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 565. In the address which was voted in consequence of Eliot's proposition, the king is advised distinctly of the nature of the resolutions they had passed, as I have above explained them. "They have not the least thought of straining or enlarging the former laws; the bounds of their desires extend no farther than to some necessary explanation of that which is truly comprehended within the just sense and meaning of those laws, with some moderate provision for execution and performance."—*Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 102. Sir Benjamin Rudyard expressed the matter, in the course of the debate on this address, in a more homely way. "For my own part," he said, "I should be very glad to see that good, old, decrepit law of Magna Charta, which hath been so long kept in—lain bedrid, as it were—I should be glad, I say, to see it walk abroad again, with new vigour and lustre." The conclusion of his speech was a covered rebuke to Charles. "No man is bound to be rich or great—no, nor to be wise: but every man is bound to be honest."

\* Speech of the lord-keeper. Parl. Hist., vol. liii., p. 98. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 557. The miserable fatuity of consenting thus to their proceeding by bill, while he robs them of all the advantages they sought to achieve by that mode of procedure, is too apparent.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 557. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 103. The secretary's wriggling method of delivering this message was curious and instructive.

‡ Finch had already commenced his bargain for promotion by promising the king to discountenance, as much as possible, any aspersion of his ministers, and, more especially, of Buckingham. I have already suggested this man as their speaker. They appear to have desired to impress the court, on their first meeting, with a sense of how little they were disposed to be actuated in their duties by any violent temper, or the resentment of individual wrongs. They committed an error, but a generous one.

§ Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 104.

|| In the interval between this and the first assent of Charles, the affair of Dr. Mainwaring was brought before the House. I shall have to allude to it in the biography of Pym.

¶ The Lords' Journals, May 12. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 560. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 110.

\*\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 561. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 112.

majesty's "sovereign power," and, so weakened, sent down the bill. "Let us take heed," said Coke, on hearing the addition, "what we yield unto; Magna Charta is such a fellow that he will have no sovereign." Selden followed with a singular warning and precedent;\* the clause was generally condemned; and, after a conference, the Lords consented to abandon it. The petition of right, adopted by both Houses, was now presented to the throne.

Charles, for two long months, had, by every sort of subterfuge, struggled to avoid this crisis. It had arrived, notwithstanding. On the one hand, want awaited him; on the other, the surrender of his darling power. Incapable of either, he sought a passage of escape through one perfidy more, and in this he might have succeeded but for Eliot. He sent for the judges, and, with the most solemn injunctions to secrecy, put three questions to them respecting the proposed petition of rights: "Whether the king may commit without showing a cause?" "Whether the judges ought to deliver on habeas corpus a person committed?" "Whether he should not deprive himself of such power of commitment by granting the petition of right?" The judges answered to the first and second questions, that the general rule of law was against him, but exceptive cases might arise; and to the third they said, that it must be left to the courts of justice in each particular case.† Consoling himself

\* The debate on this question was one of the most remarkable, for a display of ready knowledge and acute judgment. See, especially, Selden's speech, and that delivered by Glanville before the Lords. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 568-570. A precedent had been urged by the opposite party, from a petition in the reign of Edward I. Selden's all-wonderful learning never failed him. "That clause of 29th Edward I.," he said, at once silencing his opponents, "was not in the petition, but in the king's answer." Then mark how triumphantly he turned the tables on them; the passage is, in all respects, remarkable. "In 29th Edward I., the Commons, by petition or bill, did obtain the liberties and articles at the end of the Parliament; they were extracted out of the roll, and proclaimed abroad. The addition was added in the proclamation; but in the bill there was no 'savant,' yet afterward it was put in; and, to prove this, though it is true there is no Parliament-roll of that year, yet we have histories of that time. In the library at Oxford there is a journal of a Parliament of that very year which mentions so much; as, also, in the public library at Cambridge there is in a MS. that belonged to an abbey. It was of the same year, 29th Edward I., and it mentions the Parliament, and the petitions, and 'articles que petierunt sic confirmavit rex, ut in fine adderet, salvo jure coronæ regis,' and they came in by proclamation. But, in London, when the people heard of this clause being added in the end, they fell into execration for that addition; and the great earls that went away satisfied from the Parliament, hearing of this, went to the king, and afterward it was cleared at the next Parliament. Now there is no Parliament-roll of this of that time; only in the end of Edward III. there is one roll that recites it." So closed the debate on "sovereign power." I may add that, upon this proposed addition, that notably bungling intriguer, Bishop Williams, eminently distinguished himself. He professed to be an ardent promoter of the petition of right, yet he stood up mightily for the clause. The consequence was a meeting between himself and Becketingham, a perfect reconciliation, and, as we are told, "his grace had the bishop's consent, with a little asking, that he would be his grace's faithful servant in the next session of Parliament; and was allowed to hold up a seeming enmity, and his own popular estimation, that he might the sooner do the work." Such were the public men with whom Eliot had to deal, and upon the faith of such as these have attempts been made upon his character. See Hackett's *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 77, *et seq.*

† The questions and answers were discovered, at length, in the Hargrave MSS., xxiii., 97. Hallam's *Constitutional History*, vol. i., p. 533. Elliot's *Original Letters*, new series, vol. iii., p. 250. *History*, from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 92. Much unnecessary trouble, on the part of the king, ap-

pears through all these proceedings; for he afterward proved himself quite as capable of openly violating a statute enacted in the regular manner, as of playing the game of evasion with his duty and his conscience. But wounded vanity had clearly much to do with it.

with these assurances, he went to the House of Lords in a sort of secret triumph, resolved to assent to the bill, yet in such terms as might still leave its construction to his convenient parasites on the bench. The Commons hurried up to their lordships' bar. "Gentlemen," he said, with a sullen abruptness, "I am come hither to perform my duty. I think no man can think it long, since I have not taken so many days in answering the petition as ye spent weeks in framing it; and I am come hither to show you that, as well in formal things as in essential, I desire to give you as much content as in me lies." He then, to the surprise of his hearers, instead of the ordinary *soit droit fait comme il est désiré*, delivered the following by way of royal assent: "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions, contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged as of his own prerogative."\*

The next meeting of the House of Commons was a very momentous one. The singular treachery of the king had struck with a paralyzing effect upon many of the members; it seemed hopeless to struggle with it farther; it had continued proof against every effort; all the constitutional usages of Parliament had fallen exhausted from the unequal contest; and already the House saw itself dissolved, without the achievement of a single guarantee for the liberty and property of the kingdom. The best and the bravest began to despair.

But then the genius of Eliot rose to the grandeur of that occasion; and, by its wonderful command over every meaner passion, by its great disregard of every personal danger, wrested the very sense of hopeless discomfiture to the achievement of a noble security. Knowing more thoroughly than others the character of the king, he knew that he was yet assailable. His conduct at this awful crisis has seemed to me to embody a perfect union of profound sagacity and fearless magnanimity, unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, in the history of the most illustrious statesmen.

"On Tuesday, the 3d of June," says Rushworth, "the king's answer to the petition of right was read in the House of Commons, and seemed too scant. Whereupon Sir John Eliot stood up and made a long speech, wherein he gave forth so full and lively a representation of all grievances, both general and particular, as if they had never before been mentioned."\* But observe with what consummate policy. It was not a representation of the grievances alone, such as had been urged some months before:

pears through all these proceedings; for he afterward proved himself quite as capable of openly violating a statute enacted in the regular manner, as of playing the game of evasion with his duty and his conscience. But wounded vanity had clearly much to do with it.

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 588. *Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 148.  
† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 591. The indefatigable collector, however, only gives a brief outline of the speech. It may be worth notice also, that, owing to some confusion in his papers, a portion of this outline was printed in the wrong place, and still stands as a separate speech both in his work and the *Parliamentary History*. See the latter, vol. vii., p. 399; and Rushworth, vol. i., p. 530.



it was a pursuit of them to their poisonous spring and source; it was an exhibition beside them of their hideous origin; it was a direction of the wrath of the people against one oppressor, whose rank was not beyond its reach; it was, in one word, a fatal blow at Charles through that quarter where alone he seemed to be vulnerable—it was, in its aim and result, a philippic against the Duke of Buckingham. Demosthenes never delivered one more clear, plain, convincing, irresistible. It calls to mind that greatest of orators. Eliot's general style was more immediately cast in the manner of Cicero, but here he rose beyond it, into the piercing region of the Greek. Demosthenic strength and closeness of reasoning, clearness of detail, and appalling earnestness of style, are all observable in the naked outline I now present. What may have been the grandeur and the strength of its complete proportions? I recollect a remark of Mr. Hazlitt's, that the author of this speech might have originated the "dogged style" of one of our celebrated political writers. "There is no affectation of wit in it," he continued, "no studied ornament, no display of fancied superiority. The speaker's whole heart and soul are in his subject; he is full of it; his mind seems, as it were, to surround and penetrate every part of it;" nothing diverts him from his purpose, or interrupts the course of his reasoning for a moment. No thought of the personal loss, then frightfully incurred, no fear of the dangers that were sure to follow. His argument rose paramount, for it was the life of the nation's liberties.\*

"Mr. Speaker," Eliot began, "we sit here as the great council of the king, and, in that capacity, it is our duty to take into consideration the present state and affairs of the kingdom. In this consideration, I confess, many a sad thought hath affrighted me; and that not only in respect of our dangers from abroad, which yet I know are great, as they have been often in this place pressed and dilated to us, but in respect of our disorders here at home, which do enforce those dangers, and by which they are occasioned. For, I believe, I shall make it clear unto you that, as at first the cause of these dangers were our disorders, so our disorders now are yet our greatest dangers. It is not so much the potency of our enemies as the weakness of ourselves that threatens us. That saying of the father may be assumed by us: *Non tam potentia sua, quam negligentia nostra*. Our want of true devotion to Heaven, our insincerity and doubling in religion, our want of councils, our precipitate actions, the insufficiency or unfaithfulness of our generals abroad, the ignorance or corruptions of our ministers at home, the impoverishing of the sovereign,

the oppression and depression of the subject, the exhausting of our treasures, the waste of our provisions, consumption of our ships, destruction of our men—these make the advantage to our enemies, not the reputation of their arms. And if in these there be not reformation, we need no foes abroad. Time itself will ruin us!"

A slight interruption from the ministers here appears to have given Eliot a moment's pause. With admirable address he appealed to the House. "You will all hold it necessary that what I am about to urge seems not an aspersion on the state, or imputation on the government, as I have known such motions misinterpreted. Far is this from me to propose, who have none but clear thoughts of the excellency of the king, nor can have other ends than the advancement of his majesty's glory. I shall desire," he continued, "a little of your patience extraordinary to open the particulars, which I shall do with what brevity I may answerable to the importance of the cause and the necessity now upon us, yet with such respect and observation to the time as I hope it shall not be thought troublesome."

He then proceeded to open up the question of "insincerity and doubling in religion." He pursued it through many strong and terrible examples. "Will you have authority of books?" he asked, furnishing them with a series of the most striking passages from the recent collections of the committee that had been sitting on religious affairs. "Will you have proofs of men?" he continued. "Witness the hopes, witness the presumptions, witness the reports of all the papists generally. Observe the dispositions of commanders, the trust of officers, the confidence in secretaries to employments in this kingdom, in Ireland, and elsewhere! These all will show it hath too great a certainty; and to this add but the incontrovertible evidence of that all-powerful hand which we have felt so sorely. For if the heavens oppose themselves to us for our impiety, it is we that first opposed the heavens."

Eliot next handled the "want of councils." "This," he said, "is that great disorder in a state with which there cannot be stability. If effects may show their causes, as they are often a perfect demonstration of them, our misfortunes, our disasters, serve to prove it, and the consequences they draw with them. If reason be allowed in this dark age, the judgment of dependencies and foresight of contingencies in affairs do confirm it. For, if we view ourselves at home, are we in strength, are we in reputation equal to our ancestors? If we view ourselves abroad, are our friends as many, are our enemies no more? Do our friends retain their safety and possessions? Do not our enemies enlarge themselves, and gain from them and us? To what counsel owe we the loss of the Palatinate, where we sacrificed both our honour and our men—obstructing those greater powers appointed for that service by which it might have been defensible? What counsel gave direction to the late action, whose wounds are yet bleeding—I mean the expedition to Rhée, of which there is yet so sad a memory in all men? What design for us, or advantage to our state, could that im-

\* It is a saying of May, the historian, in reference to this and other speeches, that "the freedom that Sir John Eliot used in Parliament was by the people applauded, though much taxed by the courtiers, and censured by some of a more political reserve (considering the times) among his own party, in that kind that Tacitus censures Thraseas Patua, as thinking such freedom a needless, and therefore a foolish thing, where no cure could be hoped by it. *Sibi periculum, nec alius libertatem*." This is the old reproach of the timid and indifferent. I am about to show, in the present instance, that he incurred the danger, which soon after fell upon his life, in no spirit of idle forwardness, but for the achievement of a great practical purpose, which he did achieve.

port! You know the wisdom of our ancestors, and the practice of their times; how *they* preserved their safeties! We all know, and have as much cause to doubt as they had, the greatness and ambition of that kingdom which *THE OLD WORLD COULD NOT SATISFY*.\* Against this greatness and ambition we likewise know the proceedings of that princess, that never-to-be-forgotten, excellent queen, Elizabeth, whose name, without admiration, falls not into mention even with her enemies! You know how she advanced herself, and how she advanced this nation in glory and in state; how she depressed her enemies, and how she upheld her friends; how she enjoyed a full security, and made them then our scorn who now are made our terror!"

The principles of that policy by which Elizabeth had effected all this, Eliot now developed to the House, exhibiting beside them the singularly opposite and pitiful contrast of the prevailing policy. The passage is remarkable for its subtlety, no less than for its exactest truth. "Some of the principles she built on were these; and, if I mistake, let reason and our statesmen contradict me. First, to maintain, in what she might, a unity in France, that that kingdom, being at peace within itself, might be a bulwark to keep back the power of Spain by land. Next, to preserve an amity and league between that state and us, that so we might come in aid of the Low Countries, and by that means receive their ships and help them by sea. This *TREBLE CORD*, so working between France, the States, and England, might enable us, as occasion should require, to give assistance unto others. It was by this means, the experience of that time doth tell us, that we were not only free from those fears that now possess and trouble us, but our names were also fearful to our enemies. See now what correspondency *our* actions have with this; square them by these rules. They have induced, as a necessary consequence, a division in France between the Protestants and their king, of which we have had too woful and lamentable experience. They have made an absolute breach between that state and us, and so entertain us against France, and France in preparation against us, that we have nothing to promise to our neighbours—hardly to ourselves! Nay, observe the time in which they were attempted, and you shall find it not only varying from those principles, but directly contrary and opposite, *ex diametro*, to those ends! and such as, from the issue and success, rather might be thought a conception of Spain than begotten here with us!"

Every word was now falling with tremendous effect upon Buckingham, and the ministers could endure it no longer. Sir Humphry May, the chancellor of the duchy, and one of the privy council, started from his seat, "expressing," as Rushworth states it, "a dislike. But the House ordered Sir John Eliot to go on. Whereupon he proceeded thus: 'Mr. Speaker, I am sorry for this interruption, but much more sorry if there hath been occasion—wherein, as I shall submit myself wholly to your judgment, to receive what censure you should give me,

if I have offended; so, in the integrity of my intentions and clearness of my thoughts, I must still retain this confidence; that no greatness shall deter me from the duties which I owe to the service of my king and country, but that, with a true English heart, I shall discharge myself as faithfully, and as really to the extent of my poor power, as any man whose honours or whose offices most strictly oblige him.'"

With admirable self-possession, Eliot then resumed his speech at the very point of interruption, and continued to urge the madness of breaking peace with France at a time so emphatically unfortunate. "You know," he said, "the dangers Denmark was in, and how much they concerned us; what in respect of our alliance and the country, what in the importance of the Sound (what an advantage to our enemies the gain thereof would be!). What loss, then, what prejudice to us, by this disunion! we breaking upon France, France enraged by us, and the Netherlands at amazement between both! no longer could we intend to aid that luckless king, whose loss is our disaster."\* Here Eliot having, as it appears to me, reduced the matter *ad absurdum*, suddenly turned round to the ministerial bench. "Can those, now, that express their troubles at the hearing of these things, and have so often told us, in this place, of their knowledge in the conjunctures and disjunctures of affairs, *say they advised in this!* Was this an act of council, Mr. Speaker! *I have more charity than to think it; and, unless they make a confession of themselves, I cannot believe it.*"

The orator now, under cover of a discussion of a third division of his argument, "the insufficiency and unfaithfulness of our generals," dragged Buckingham personally upon the scene. For a moment, however, before doing this, he paused. "What shall I say! I wish there were not cause to mention it; and, but out of apprehension of the danger that is to come, if the like choice hereafter be not prevented, I could willingly be silent. But my duty to my sovereign, my service to this House, and the safety and honour of my country, are above all respects; and what so nearly trenches to the prejudice of this, must not, shall not be borne."

Then followed this bitter and searching exposure of the incapacity of Buckingham in his various actions. How much its effect is increased by the ominous omission of his name!

"At Cadiz, then, in that first expedition we made, when we arrived and found a conquest ready—the Spanish ships, I mean, which were fit for the satisfaction of a voyage; and of which some of the chieftest then there themselves, have since assured me that the satisfaction would have been sufficient, either in point of honour or in point of profit)—why was it neglected! why was it not achieved! it being of all hands granted, how feasible it was!

\* The entire range of English oratory furnishes nothing finer in expression and purpose than this allusion to Spain.

\* It would be easy to dilate this speech into a volume, so pregnant is every word with meaning, so condensed are its views, yet so exact and forcible. The reader who is best acquainted with the general history of the time will appreciate it best. The present is an allusion to the disastrous defeat of the King of Denmark by Count Tilly. The King of England had precipitated the quarrel by his weak importunities, and then, by this outrageous war with France, utterly disabled his own power of assistance.

"After, when with the destruction of some of our men, and with the exposition of some others, who (though their fortunes since have not been such) by chance came off—when, I say, with the loss of our serviceable men, that unserviceable fort was gained, and the whole army landed—why was there nothing done? why was there nothing attempted? If nothing was intended, wherefore did they land? If there was a service, wherefore were they shipped again?"

"Mr. Speaker, it satisfies me too much in this—when I think of their dry and hungry march into that drunken quarter (for so the soldiers termed it), where was the period of their journey—that *divers of our men, being left as a sacrifice to the enemy, the general's labour was at an end!*"

"For the next undertaking at Rhé I will not trouble you much—only this, in short. Was not that whole action carried against the judgment and opinion of those officers that were of the council? Was not the first, was not the last, was not all, in the landing, in the intrenching, in the continuance there, in the assault, in the retreat, *without their assent?* Did any advice take place of such as were of the council? If there should be made a particular inquisition thereof, these things will be manifest, *and more!* I will not instance the manifesto that was made for the reason of these arms; nor by whom, nor in what manner, nor on what grounds it was published; nor what effects it hath wrought, drawing, as it were, almost the whole world into league against us; nor will I mention the leaving of the wines, nor the leaving of the salt, which were in our possession, and of a value, as it is said, to answer much of our expense; *nor that great wonder which no Alexander or Cæsar ever did, the enriching of the enemy by courtesies when our soldiers wanted help;*" nor the private intercourses and parleys with the fort which continually were held; what all these intended may be read in the success, and, upon due examination thereof, they would not want *their proofs!*"

Eliot passed to the consideration of "the ignorance and corruption of our ministers. Where," he asked, "can you miss of instances? If you survey the court, if you survey the country; if the Church, if the city be examined; if you observe the bar, if the bench; if the ports, if the shipping; if the land, if the seas—all these will render you variety of proofs, and that in such measure and proportion as shows the greatness of our disease to

\* The affected gallantries and courtesies practised by Buckingham to the enemy, during this expedition, were ridiculous in the extreme. When Toiras sent a trumpet to request a passport to convey some wounded officers to the coast, Buckingham sent them his grand chaloupe, or yacht, furnished with every elegant convenience, and lined with *tres belle escarlette rouge*; while his musicians, with all the varieties of their instruments, solaced and charmed the wounded enemy in crossing the arm of the sea. Toiras once inquiring "whether they had saved any melons in the island?" was the next day presented, in the duke's name, with a dozen. The bearer received twenty golden crowns; and Toiras despatching six bottles of orange flower water, and a dozen jars of cyprus powder, the duke presented the bearer with twenty Jacobuses! After a sharp action, when Toiras sent one of his pages with a trumpet, to request leave to bury some noblemen, the duke received the messenger with terms of condolence. See an amusing account in *D'Alezi's Commentaires*, vol. ii., p. 48.

be such that, if there be not some speedy application for remedy, our case is almost desperate."

Eliot here paused for a few moments. "Mr. Speaker," he said, "I fear I have been too long in these particulars that are passed, and am unwilling to offend you; therefore, in the rest I shall be shorter." As he condenses his statements, it will be seen he becomes more terrible.

"In that which concerns the impoverishing of the king, no other arguments will I use than such as all men grant. The Exchequer, you know, is empty, and the reputation thereof gone; the ancient lands are sold; the jewels pawned; the plate engaged; the debt still great; almost all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, borne up by projects. What poverty can be greater! What necessity so great! What perfect English heart is not almost dissolved into sorrow for this truth!"

"For the oppression of the subject, which, as I remember, is the next particular I proposed, it needs no demonstration: the whole kingdom is a proof. And for the exhausting of our treasury, that very oppression speaks it. What waste of our provisions, what consumption of our ships, what destruction of our men have been! Witness that journey to Argiers. Witness that with Mansfield. Witness that to Cadiz. Witness the next. Witness that to Rhé. Witness the last (I pray God we may never have more such witnesses!). Witness, likewise, the Palatinate. Witness Denmark. Witness the Turks. Witness the Dunkirkers. Witness all! What losses we have sustained! how we are impaired in munition, in ships, in men! It is beyond contradiction, that we were never so much weakened, nor ever had less hope how to be restored."

Eliot concluded thus, with a proposition for a remonstrance to the king.

"These, Mr. Speaker, are our dangers; these are they which do threaten us, and they are like the Trojan horse, brought in cunningly to surprise us. In these do lurk the strongest of our enemies, ready to issue on us; and if we do not speedily expel them, these are the signs—these the invitations to others. These will so prepare *their* entrance, that we shall have no means left of refuge or defence. For if we have these enemies at home, how can we strive with those that are abroad! If we be free from these, no other can impeach us! Our ancient English virtue, like the old Spartan valour, cleared from these disorders—a return to sincerity in religion, once more friends with heaven, having maturity of councils, sufficiency of generals, incorruption of officers, opulency in the king, liberty in the people, repletion in treasure, plenty of provisions, reparation of ships, preservation of men—our ancient English virtue, I say, thus rectified, will secure us; but unless there be a speedy reformation in these, I know not what hopes or expectations we can have.

"These are the things, sir, I shall desire to have taken into consideration; that, as we are the great council of the kingdom, and have the apprehension of these dangers, we may truly represent them unto the king: whereto, I conceive, we are bound by a treble obligation—of duty to God, of duty to his majesty, and of duty to our country.

"And therefore I wish it may so stand with the wisdom and judgment of the House, that they may be drawn into the body of a remonstrance, and in all humility expressed; with a prayer unto his majesty, that, for the safety of himself, for the safety of the kingdom, and for the safety of religion, he will be pleased to give us time to make perfect inquisition thereof; or to take them into his own wisdom, and there give them such timely reformation as the necessity and justice of the case doth import.

"And thus, sir, with a large affection and loyalty to his majesty, and with a firm duty and service to my country, I have suddenly (and it may be with some disorder) expressed the weak apprehensions I have; wherein, if I have erred, I humbly crave your pardon, and so submit myself to the censure of the House."

Eliot's purpose was already accomplished! Scarcely had he resumed his seat, when the effects he had laboured to produce broke forth. "Disaffection!" cried Sir Henry Martin and others of the court party; "and there wanted not some who said that speech was made out of some distrust of his majesty's answer to the petition."† From the popular side, on the other hand, some stern and significant words were heard about the necessity of a remonstrance. The crisis had unquestionably come. The courtiers went off to tell their news at the council table; the patriots "turned themselves into a grand committee touching the danger and means of safety of king and kingdom."

The newsmongers discharged their duty faithfully. The next day a royal message came to the House, acquainting them that within six days the session would close, and desiring them not to touch upon any new matter, but to conclude the necessary business.‡ The day following that brought another message, "commanding the speaker to let them know that he will certainly hold that day prefixed without alteration; and he requires them that they enter not into, or proceed with, any new business which may spend greater time, or which may lay any scandal or aspersion upon the state, government, or ministers thereof."§ The scene that ensued was in all respects extraordinary. Sir Robert Philips was the first to rise. "I consider my own infirmities," said Philips, "and if ever my passions were wrought upon, now this message stirs me up especially. What shall we do, since our humble purposes

are thus prevented!"\* Eliot here suddenly started up, and spoke with more than ordinary vehemence. "Ye all know," he said, "with what affection and integrity we have proceeded hitherto to have gained his majesty's heart. It was out of the necessity of our duty we were brought to that course we were in. I doubt a misrepresentation to his majesty hath drawn this mark of his displeasure upon us! I observe in the message, among other sad particulars, it is conceived that we were about to lay some aspersions on the government. Give me leave to protest, sir, that so clear were our intentions, that we desire only to vindicate those dishonours to our king and country! It is said also, as if we cast some aspersions on his majesty's ministers! I am confident no minister, how dear soever, *can*—" A strange interruption stopped him. "Here," says the account in the Napier MSS., "the speaker started up from the chair, and, apprehending Sir John Eliot intended to fall upon the duke, said, *with tears in his eyes*, 'There is a command laid upon me to interrupt any that should go about to lay an aspersion on the ministers of the state.'"<sup>†</sup> Eliot sat down in silence.

Events—for passions include events—now crowded together to work their own good work; and the great statesman, the author, as it were, of that awful scene, may be conceived to have been the only one who beheld it from the vantage ground of a sober consciousness and control. Into that moment his genius had thrown a forecast of the future. The after terrors he did not live to see, but now concentrated in the present spot were all their intense and ferocious elements. They struggled in their birth with tears. I do not know whether it may not be thought indecorous and unseemly now for statesmen to shed tears, but I consider the weeping of that memorable day, that "black and doleful Thursday,"<sup>‡</sup> to have been the precursor of an awful resolve. Had these great men entertained a less severe sense of their coming duty, no such present weakness had been shown. The monarchy, and its cherished associations of centuries, now trembled in the balance. "Sir Robert Philips spoke," says a member of the House, writing to his friend the day after, "and mingled his words with weeping. Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation that was like to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, through the abundance of tears; yea, the speaker in his speech could not refrain from weeping and shedding of tears, besides a great many whose great griefs made them dumb and silent."<sup>§</sup>

A deep silence succeeded this storm, and the

\* This speech was preserved in Sir John Napier's manuscripts, and will be found in the Old Parliamentary History, vol. viii., p. 153.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 502. Eliot is said to have remarked on this, that he had for some time "had a resolution to open these last-mentioned grievances, to satisfy his majesty herein, only he had stayed for an opportunity." This reads like a caricature. Be that as it may, it is remarkable that Wentworth, upon this, is described to have stepped forward and "asserted that avowment," saying that he had heard such to have been the determination of Eliot. This is the only appearance of courtesy, or, indeed, of any other feeling than a violent dislike, which it is possible to trace in the conduct of Wentworth to Eliot. And it might have been meant in the way of "damned good-natured friendship." On the whole, however, I suspect it to have been simply another flip to the warring negotiations of the court, which Wentworth was now waiting the issue of. Many communications had already passed through the medium of the speaker and Weston. See Strafford's State Papers, vol. i., p. 45.

‡ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 502. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 167.

§ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 505. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 168.

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 606.

† Ibid., vol. i., p. 606. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 191.

‡ This expression is used in a manuscript letter of the day.

§ This interesting letter will be found in Rushworth, vol. i., p. 609. It will be seen that, in the commencement of it, the writer, Mr. Alured, distinctly conveys the impression that this extraordinary scene had been caused by Eliot's great speech of two days before. He gives a sketch of the speech, and afterward describes the interference of the ministers. "As he was enumerating which, the chancellor of the duchy said, 'it was a strange language;' yet the House commanded Sir John Eliot to go on. Then the chancellor desired, if he went on, that himself might go out. Whereupon they all bade him begone, yet he stayed and heard him out."

few words that broke the silence startled the House into its accustomed attitude of resolution and composure. "It is the speech lately spoken by Sir John Eliot which has given offence, as we fear, to his majesty."\* The irresolute men who hazarded these words at such a time little anticipated their immediate result. "Hereupon," says Rushworth, "the House declared 'that every member of the House is free from any undutiful speech, from the beginning of the Parliament to that day,' and ordered 'that the House be turned into a committee to consider what is fit to be done for the safety of the kingdom; and that no man go out upon pain of being sent to the Tower.'"<sup>†</sup> The time for action had arrived. The speaker, in abject terror, "humbly and earnestly besought the House to give him leave to absent himself for half an hour, presuming they did not think he did it for any ill intention; which was instantly granted him."<sup>‡</sup> He went to the king. In the interval of his absence cheerful acclamations resounded once more through the House, for again Buckingham was fearlessly named as the "grievance of grievances;" and "as when one good hound," observes a member who was present, "recovers the scent, the rest come in with a full cry, so they pursued it, and every one came on home, and laid the blame where they thought the fault was, and were voting it to the question, 'that the Duke of Buckingham shall be instanced to be the chief and principal cause of all those evils,' when the speaker, having been three hours absent and with the king, brought this message, 'that his majesty commands, for the present, they adjourn the House till to-morrow morning, and that all committees cease in the mean time.' What we shall expect this morning God of heaven knows."<sup>§</sup>

The king, it is evident, now shook with alarm. The clouds were gathering over his favourite thicker and blacker than ever. That morning, however, with a last vague hope, he sent a cozening message, and a wish for a "sweet parting."<sup>¶</sup> The only notice taken of it by the Commons was the forwarding of a petition "for a clear and satisfactory answer in full Parliament to the petition of rights,"<sup>||</sup> and the stern opening of an investigation into several high grievances, more especially the charge I have before mentioned of a design for introducing foreign troops into the kingdom.<sup>¶¶</sup> No alternative was left to Charles, and the Commons were summoned the next day to meet him in the Upper House.

"To avoid all ambiguous interpretations, and to show you there is no doubtfulness in my mean-

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 606, 607. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 192.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 609. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 196.

‡ "So for this time," ran the close of the message, "let all Christendom take notice of a sweet parting between him and his people: which, if it fall out, his majesty will not be long from another meeting; when such grievances, if there be any, at their leisure and convenience may be considered." Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 197. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 610.

§ Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 301. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 612.

¶ Briemach, a naturalized Dutch merchant, was examined, and admitted that he had received £30,000 from the treasury, for the raising of German horse, which he had disbursed accordingly. He farther admitted that 1000 horse had been levied in consequence, and arms provided for them in Holland, but that "he heard they were lately countermanded." Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 300. And see Rushworth, vol. i., p. 612.

ing, I am willing to pleasure you as well in words as in substance. Read your petition, and you shall have an answer that, I am sure, will please you."\* Such was Charles's speech to the members of the House of Commons who crowded that day round their lordships' bar. The petition was read accordingly, and the usual answer was returned: *Soit droit fait comme il est désiré*. "At the end of the king's first speech," says a memorandum on the Lords' journals, "at the answer to the petition, and on the conclusion of the whole, the Commons gave a great and joyful applause."

Charles the First, after he left the House of Lords that day, stood in a different relation to the people from that he had occupied before. It is impossible to deny this fact.<sup>†</sup> The Commons had asserted it in cleaving so strongly to their resolutions, the king himself in striving so desperately to evade them. A certainty of direction and operation had been given to the old laws. Charles appeared, indeed, to sanction the notion of a great and vital change by the first step he took. He sent a message to the Commons, desiring "that the petition of rights, with his assent thereunto, should not only be recorded in both Houses, and in the courts of Westminster, but that it be put in print, for his honour and the content and satisfaction of his people."<sup>‡</sup>

The Commons, according to Rushworth, "returned to their own house with unspeakable joy, and resolved so to proceed as to express their thankfulness. Now frequent mention was made of proceeding with the bill of subsidies, of sending the bills which were ready to the Lords, and of perfecting the bill of tonnage and poundage. Sir John Strange-waies expressed his joy at the answer, and farther added, 'Let us perfect our remonstrance.'"<sup>§</sup> And such was their exact mode of procedure. The largest supplies that had been voted for years were at once presented to the king. The king's commission of excise was demanded to be cancelled under the new act of right. The bill for the granting of tonnage and poundage, which was already far advanced, was passed, but a protest voted at the same time, on the ground of its inconsistency with the new act, against Charles's old course of levying this imposition without consent of Parliament.<sup>||</sup> A remonstrance was also voted

\* Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 302. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 613.

† Hume observes, "It may be affirmed, without any exaggeration, that the king's assent to the petition of rights produced such a change in the government as was almost equivalent to a revolution; and by circumscribing in so many articles the royal prerogative, gave additional security to the liberties of the subject." Without going so far as this, it is quite certain that it materially altered Charles's position in a moral as well as legal sense. The petition of rights (it is given at length in Hume's History, vol. v., p. 171) affirmed and confirmed expressly the enactments of the 9 Hen. III., chap. 29 (Magna Charta), that no freeman be deprived of his liberty or his property except by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land; of the 25 Edw. III., chap. 33, that no man, of whatever estate or condition, should be taken, imprisoned, disseized, dishonored, or put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law; and of the 25, 37, 38, 42 Edw. III., with the 17 Rich. II., to the same intent. But it did even more than this, by its imbediment of the supplementary resolutions of the Commons, which, as I have already observed, bound the judges to a strict letter of construction, and deprived them of the plea of antagonist enactments.

‡ Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 303.

§ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 613.

|| The only plea advanced by the court lawyers against

and presented to the king against certain proceedings of Buckingham.\* These measures were not only in conformity with the petition, but were positively required to give it efficacy and completeness. No opportunity of concession or concord was withheld from Charles, but no distinct right was forborne. The grand committees that were then sitting, on the various heads of religion, trade, grievances, and courts of justice, were ordered to sit no longer.† Every appearance of unnecessary opposition was carefully avoided.

But suddenly, in the midst of these measures, the Commons were summoned by the king to the House of Lords. After a long interview with the speaker, Charles had hurried there to close the session. "It may seem strange," he said, when they appeared at the bar, "that I come so suddenly to end this session before I give my assent to the bills. I will tell you the cause, though I must avow that I owe the account of my actions to God alone." This was a very proper commencement to his speech; for, after peevishly complaining of the remonstrance against Buckingham, he went on to inform them that he would have no interference with his rights over tonnage and poundage; and, farther, that they had altogether misunderstood the petition of rights. "I have granted no new, but only confirmed the ancient liberties of my subjects." His concluding words were very remarkable. "As for tonnage and poundage, it is a thing I cannot want, and was never intended by you to ask, nor meant by me, I am sure, to grant. To conclude, I command you all that are here to take notice of what I have spoken at this time to be the true intent and meaning of what I granted you in your petition; but especially you, my lords, the judges, for to you only, under me, belongs the interpretation of laws."‡ Parliament was then prorogued to the 20th of the following October.

The patriot leaders separated, it may be supposed, with many gloomy forebodings. New miseries and oppressions were about to visit the people. Yet had this immortal session strengthened the people's hearts for endurance, no less than it had sharpened their powers for resistance. The patriots had no cause to separate with any distrust of each other.

Eliot went immediately into Cornwall. I am fortunately enabled to follow him there. Among the manuscripts of Sir Robert Cotton I have found a letter written to that learned antiquary some few days after his arrival. It

is, in many points of view, interesting. It is a happy specimen of Eliot's style; and it proves, if such proof were wanting, that this great statesman had embraced the public cause with the deep fervour of a private passion.

"How acceptable your letters are," he writes, "and with what advantage they now come, I need not tell you; when, besides the memorie of my owne losses (which can have no reparation like the assurance of your favour), I but acknowledge the ignorance of these partes, almoste as much divided from reason and intelligence as our island from the world. That the session is ended we are gladd, because to our understandings it implies a concurrence in the generall, and intimates a contynuanee of the Parliament—having not the notion of particulars by which we mighte compose ourselves to better judgment. The souldier, the mariner, the shippe, the seas, the horse, the foot, are to us no more than the stories of the poetts, either as thinges fabulous or unnecessarie, entertained now only for discourse or wonder, not with the apprehension of the least feare or doubt! Denmarke and the Sound are taken rather for wordes than meaninges; and the greatnesse and ambition of Austria or Spain are to us a mere chimera. Rochell and Dunkirk are all one. What friends we have lost or what enemies we have gained (*more than that enemy which we have bredd ourselves*) is not soe much to us as the night shewer or sunneshine! nor can we thinke of anie thinge that is not present with us. What they doe in Suffolk with their sojourners we care not, while there are none billeted on us; and it is indifferent to our reasons, in the contestations which they have, whether the stranger or the countryman prevaile. Onlie one thing gives us some remembrance of our neighbours, which is the greates resort of Irish dailie comminge over, whoo, though they begg of us, wee doubt maie take from others, and in the end give us an ill recompense for our charitie. This is a bad character, I confesse, which I give you of my country, but such as it deserves. You onlie have power to make it appeare better, by the honor of your letters, which come nowhere without happinesse, and are a satisfaction for all wantes to me. Your affectionate servant, John Eliot."\*

Stirring events, however, soon reached Eliot in his retirement, such as must have moved even those stagnant waters, which he describes so well. The "self-bred" enemy of England was no more—Buckingham had fallen by the hand of an assassin.† But the service of de-

the conduct of the Commons in this matter worthy of notice was founded on the iniquitous judgment of the Court of Exchequer in Bates's case during the last reign. But this plea had surely been barred by the resolutions I have so often named. Supposing it to be urged that the language of the petition was not sufficiently general to comprehend duties charged on merchandize at the outports, as well as internal taxes and exactions—an opinion which was strongly contested by Eliot—it is quite certain that the iniquitous application of the statutes in Bates's case, that grossest of instances of "judge-made law," was distinctly foreclosed. Tonnage and poundage, like other subsidies, could thereafter only spring from the free grant of the people.

\* This remonstrance, drawn up by Selden and Eliot, is extremely able. It is impossible, after reading it, to question its necessity. See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 619.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 613.

‡ The reader, coupling this with Charles's previous consultation with the judges, will readily understand its significance.

\* Cottonian MSS., c. iii., p. 174.

† Very interesting notices of this event, and the circumstances which followed it, will be found in the third volume of Eliot's Original Letters, p. 256-258, second edition. The funeral of the so brilliant duke was the most melancholy winding up of all. The king had designed a very grand one; "Nevertheless," says Mead to Stateville, "the last night, at ten of the clock, his funeral was solemnised in as poor and confused a manner as hath been seen, marching from Wallingford House, over against Whitehall, to Westminster Abbey; there being not much above 100 mourners, who attended upon an empty coffin, borne upon six men's shoulders; the duke's corpse itself being there interred yesterday, as if it had been doubtful the people in their madness might have surprised it. But, to prevent all disorder, the train bands kept a guard on both sides of the way, all along from Wallingford House to Westminster Church, beating up their drums loud, and carrying their pikes and

potism which the king had lost promised to be replaced by a more dangerous, because a more able, counsellor. Wentworth had gone over to the court.\* Weston, a creature of the late duke's, had been created lord-treasurer. Other changes followed. Laud was made Bishop of London, and, with Laud's elevation, Arminianism reared its head formidably.† Arminian prelates were the favourites of the court; the royal favour shone exclusively on Arminian clergymen; and Montague, obnoxious as he had proved himself by the Arminian tendency of his works, was raised to the bishopric of Chester. On this subject Eliot felt strongly. He had already, from his place in the House of Commons, denounced the tendency of those Arminian doctrines, whose essential principle he had justly described to be that of claiming for the king, as absolute head of the Church, a power resembling the pope's infallibility—an independent state supremacy—a power over the liberty and property of the subject. His acute perception had already detected in Laud that resolution towards new ceremonies in the Protestant Church which should raise her out of the apostolic simplicity to a worldly equality with the Church of Rome; and in Laud's fervid sincerity on this point he saw the deepest source of danger. It was even now, indeed, in action, for farther news soon arrived that Charles, as supreme governor of the Church, had published an authorized edition of the articles containing the objectionable clause ("the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and hath authority in matters of faith"), and with an order that no doctrine should be taught that differed from those articles, that all controversies respecting outward policy should be decided by the convocation, and that no man should presume to explain the article respecting justification contrary to its plain meaning, or to take it in any other than the literal and grammatical sense.‡ Nor was this all. The terrors of the Star Chamber and High Commission had followed close upon Laud's new powers; and the cases of Burton, Prynne, and Gill, their zeal and their frightful sufferings, afflicted the country. The political application of these doctrines had received, at the same time, a fatal illustration in various flagrant violations of the petition of rights. A copy of the statute itself reached Cornwall, printed by the king's order (a shameless attempt at imposture, which is scarcely to be credited!), with the addition of his first and rejected answer. Tonnage and poundage had been recklessly levied. Richard Chambers, Samuel Vassal, and John Rolles,

three distinguished merchants, the last named of whom was a member of the House of Commons, had submitted to a seizure of their goods, rather than become parties to a violation of the public liberties; and the judges had refused them protection.\* Such was the news that travelled day by day to the seat of Sir John Eliot. To crown the whole, Richelieu, laying aside his hat for a helmet, had, by his personal appearance at Rochelle, finally reduced that ill-fated place and driven back the disgraced English fleet.†

But now, bad news having spent itself, the time fixed for the Parliament approached. Eliot left his home, to which he was never to return, and hurried up to London.

Parliament met, having suffered an intermediate prorogation, on the 20th of January, 1629. The spirit with which they reassembled was evidenced by their very first movement. They revived every committee of grievance. Sir John Eliot then moved a call of the House for the 27th, when vital matters, he said, would be brought into discussion. It was farther ordered on his motion, that "Mr. Selden should see if the petition of rights, and his majesty's answer thereunto, were enrolled in the Parliament rolls and courts at Westminster, and in what manner." Selden having reported, almost immediately after, the gross fraud that had been practised, Pym rose and moved an adjournment of the debate "by reason of the fewness of the House, many being not then come up." Sir John Eliot's conduct was characteristic. "Since this matter," he said, "is now raised, it concerns the honour of the House, and the liberties of the kingdom. It is true, it deserves to be deferred till a fuller House, but it is good to prepare things, for I find this to be a point of great consequence. I desire, therefore, that a select committee may both enter into consideration of this, and also how other liberties of this kingdom have been invaded. I found, in the country, the *petition of rights* printed indeed, but with an answer that never gave any satisfaction. I desire a committee may consider thereof, and present it to the House, and that the printer may be sent for to be examined about it, and to declare by what warrant it was printed." Eliot's influence with the House was paramount; what he proposed was instantly ordered, and the disgrace of the attempted imposition indelibly fixed upon the king.‡

Eliot followed up this blow. The seizure of the goods of Mr. Rolles came into question; some attempt was made to narrow the inquiry, and Sir Robert Philips proposed to refer the matter to a committee. Sir John rose sharply. "Three things, sir," he said, "are involved in this complaint: first, the right of the particular gentleman; secondly, the right of the subject;

muskets upon their shoulders, as in a march; not trailing them at their heels, as is usual at a mourning. As soon as the coffin was entered the church, they came all away without giving any volley of shot at all. And this was the obscure catastrophe of that great man."—*Herl. MSS.*, 390.

\* Eliot, it may be presumed, was perfectly prepared for this event. The expression I have elsewhere used of Wentworth's having "basely abandoned" the popular cause is somewhat hasty. I think I shall be able to show that he never, in reality, was attached to it. Pym appears to have thought so, but Eliot had watched more closely.

† The memoir of Pym will be a more proper occasion than this for a detailed expression of the exact state of opinions in religion, and the nature of their influence on political questions.

‡ *Bibliotheca Regia*, 212. See Lingard's History, vol. ix., p. 460.

\* The conduct of the judges in this case showed how carefully they had attended to the significant suggestions of the king. "Vassal pleaded to the information the statute *de tallagio non concedendo*. The Court of Exchequer overruled his plea, and would not hear his counsel. Chambers sued out a replevin to recover possession of his goods, on the ground that a seizure for tonnage and poundage, without grant of Parliament, was against law; but the writ was superseded by the Court of Exchequer."

† See History from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 110.

\* See Parliamentary Hist., vol. viii., p. 245, 246. The proceedings of this session are but imperfectly reported in Rushworth's Collections.

thirdly, the right and privilege of the House. Let the committee consider the two former, but, for the violation of the liberties of this House, let us not do less than our forefathers. Was ever the information of a member committed to a committee? *Let us send for the parties.* Is there not here a flat denial of the restitution of the goods? Was it not also said that if all the Parliament were contained in him, they would do as they did? *Let them be sent for.*\* The Sheriff of London, Acton, who seized the goods, was in consequence sent for, appeared at the bar on his knees, and was ordered to the Tower. The officers of the customs were, at the same time, punished.†

The fiery decision of Eliot had its usual effect upon the court. The king sent a message to the House to desire them to forbear all farther proceedings until he should have addressed both houses next day at Whitehall as he purposed. His speech was an entreaty that they should not be jealous of him, and an endeavour to impose upon them a self-evident absurdity—that he took tonnage and poundage as a “gift of the people,” but as a gift, forsooth, for his life, according to the custom of his predecessors, which he desired them, therefore, to embody in a bill, since they had no discretion to withhold it.‡ This speech was not noticed by the Commons.

The 27th of January, the day fixed for the call of the House on Eliot's motion, arrived. The House was in debate on religious grievances. I have already alluded to the encouragement given to Arminianism by the court, and to the justifiable alarm it had been viewed with by the popular party. Sir John Eliot's present purpose was to break the power of Laud, and to this full house he now presented himself in all the confidence of an eloquence which worked its greatest influence on minds of the greatest order, which could sway them at will to high excitement or wrap them in deepest admiration. The reader will perceive with what a sober dignity the opening passages of this speech are conceived.

“Sir,” he began, taking advantage of a rest in the debate which had been caused by Mr. Coriton, “I have always observed, in the proceedings of this House, our best advantage is in order; and I was glad when that noble gentleman, my countryman, gave occasion to stay our proceedings, for I feared they would have carried us into a sea of confusion and disorder. And now, having occasion to present my thoughts to you in this great and weighty business of religion, I shall be bold to give a short expression of my own affection, and in that order that, I hope, will conduce best to the effecting of that work, and direct our labour to an end. To enter, sir, into a particular disquisition of the writings and opinions of divines, I fear it would involve us in a labyrinth that we shall hardly get out of, and, perchance, hinder that way, and darken that path, in which we must tread. Before we know, however, what other men have declared, it is necessary that we should presently ourselves lay down what is truth. I presume we came not hither to dispute of religion. Far be it from the

thoughts of that Church that hath so long time confessed it now to dispute it. Shall posterity think we have enjoyed our religion fourscore years almost, and are we now doubtful of the defence? God forbid. It may be, however, sir, and out of some things lately delivered I have not unnecessarily collected, that there is a jealousy conceived, as if we meant so to deal with matters of faith that did not perhaps belong unto us, as to dispute of matters of faith. It is our profession. They are not to be disputed. Neither will that truth be receded from, this long time held. Nor is that truth decayed. It is confirmed by Parliament, because it was truth. And this, sir, before I come to deliver myself more particularly, give me leave, that have not yet spoken in this great cause, to give some apprehension I have of fear, for it is not in the Parliament to make a new religion, neither, I hope, shall it be in any to alter the body of that truth which we now profess.”

Eliot now alluded to the declaration which I have already described as published in the king's name, but which had issued from the hand of Laud. “I must confess, sir, among all those fears we have contracted, there ariseth to me not one of the least dangers in the declaration, which is made and published in his majesty's name; and yet, sir, this conclusion exclusively let me state, that I may not be mistaken—whatever in this, or other things shall appear to make mention of his majesty, we have not the least suspicion of jealousy of him. I hope it is by those ministers about him which not only he, but all princes, are subject to.” The speaker then adduced various precedents which covertly aimed at Laud. “As it was in that,” he continued, “so it may be in this. I speak to this end to draw it to this conclusion, that if there be anything that carrieth the title of his majesty, it may be the fault of his ministers. Far be it from me to have suspicion of him. And now to that particular, in that declaration, wherein, I confess, with me, is an apprehension of more fear than I have of all the rest, for in the last particulars we heard what is said of popery and Arminianism. It is true our faith and religion have before been in danger; but it was by degrees. Here, sir, like an inundation, it doth break in at once. We are in danger at once to be ruined and overwhelmed; for, I beseech you mark, the ground of our religion is contained in these articles. If there be any difference of opinions concerning the sense and interpretation of them, the bishops and clergy in convocation have a power admitted to them here to do anything which shall concern the continuance and maintenance of the truth professed; which truth being contained in these articles, and these articles being different in the sense, if there be any dispute about that, it will be in them to order which way they please; and, for aught I know, popery and Arminianism may be a sense introduced by them, and then it must be received. Is this a slight thing, that the power of religion must be drawn to the persons of those men? I honour their profession and honour their persons; but, give me leave to say, the truth we profess is not men's, but God's; and God forbid that men should be made to judge of that truth!”

\* Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 255.

† Ibid., p. 267.

‡ Ibid., p. 266. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 644.



This passage wrought upon the House; and Eliot, throwing out a sarcasm with his usual skill and effect, thus continued: "I remember a character I have seen in a diary of Edward VI., that young prince of famous memory, wherein he doth express the condition of the bishops and clergy in his time, and saith, under his own handwriting, 'that some for sloth, some for ignorance, some for luxury, and some for popery, are unfit for discipline and government.' Sir, I hope it is not so with us! nay, give me leave to vindicate the honour of those men that openly show their hearts to the truth. There are among our bishops such as are fit to be made examples to all ages, who shine in virtue like those two faithful witnesses in heaven, of whom we may use that eulogy which Seneca did of Caius, that to their memories and merits, 'Nec hoc quidem obstat quod nostris temporibus nati sint;' and to whose memory and merit I may use the saying, that the others' faults are no prejudice to their virtues; who are so industrious in their works, that I hope posterity shall know there are men that are firm for the truth. But, sir, that all now are not so free, sound, and orthodox in religion as they should be, witness the men complained of—and you know what power they have. Witness those men nominated lately—Mr. Montague, for instance. I reverence the order; I honour not the man. Others may be named as bad. I apprehend such fear that, should it be in their power, we may be in danger to have our whole religion overthrown.

"But," Eliot exclaimed, as he saw the excitement rising in the House, "I give this for testimony, and thus far do express myself against all the power and opposition of these men! Whosoever any opposition shall be, I trust we shall maintain the religion we profess, for in that we have been born and bred—nay, sir, if cause be, in that I hope to die! Some of these, sir, you know, are *masters of ceremonies*, and they labour to introduce new ceremonies in the church. Some ceremonies are useful! Give me leave to join in one that I hold necessary and commendable, that at the repetition of the creed we should stand up to testify the resolution of our hearts, that we would defend that religion we profess. In some churches it is added, *that they did not only stand upright with their bodies, but with their swords drawn!* and if cause were, I hope, to defend our prince, country, and religion, we should draw our swords against all opposers!"\*

This speech, it has been remarked, was a light that fell into a well-laid train. Its result was a "vow," made on the journals, that "the Commons of England claimed, professed, and avowed for truth that sense of the articles of religion which were established in Parliament in the 13th year of Queen Elizabeth, which, by the public acts of the Church of England, and by the general and current exposition of the writers of that Church, had been declared unto them; and that they rejected the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and of all others, wherein they differed from it."† Eliot did not fail to

follow up this advantage. Some days afterward he fastened upon Laud by name. "In this Laud," he exclaimed, "is contracted all the danger that we fear! and I doubt not but that his majesty, being informed thereof, will leave him to the justice of this House."‡ His majesty, meanwhile, was sending message after message to hasten the tonnage and poundage bill, every one of which, with admirable skill, was foiled by Eliot and his friends.† In vain the king continued his messages. Those were commands, they replied, and commands were inconsistent with their privileges. "The heart-blood of the commonwealth," added Eliot, "receiveth life from the privileges of this House."‡

The question of religion surrendered to a sub-committee—the popular leaders had engaged themselves in a conclusion of the inquiry into the seizure of merchants' goods, with a view to the prevention of such future wrongs, by the infliction of some stringent punishment on the delinquents concerned in the present. The chancellor of the duchy threatened the displeasure of the king, and a close to the Parliament. Eliot, cutting short his threat, quietly observed, "The question, sir, is, whether we shall first go to the restitution, or to the point of delinquency. Some now raise up difficulties in opposition to the point of delinquency, and talk of breach of parliaments. And other fears I met with, both in this and elsewhere. Take heed you fall not on a rock. I am confident to avoid this would be somewhat difficult, were it not for the goodness and justice of the king. But let us do that which is just, and his goodness will be so clear that we need not mistrust. Let those terrors that are threatened us light on them that make them. Why should we fear the justice of a king when we do that which is just? Let there be no more memory or fear of breaches; and let us now go to the delinquency of those men. That is the only way to procure satisfaction."§ Upon this the king sent word that *he* was the delinquent, for that what the accused did "was by his own direct orders and command."|| This brought matters to a crisis, and the House adjourned itself for two days.

On the 25th of February, when they reassembled, the committee of religion had concluded its report, and a long list of formidable charges, levelled against Laud, was agreed to be presented to the king. The question of the king's offence against the privileges of the House, in the seizure he had avowed, was thus judiciously avoided, yet an opportunity given to Charles, by *some* redemption of the recently violated liberties, of receiving from the patriot leaders, without betrayal of their trust, a power of raising new subsidies. The king showed his appreciation of this conduct by sending an instant command to both Houses to adjourn to Monday, the 2d of March.¶

Latin edition of that year contained the clause respecting the authority of the ministers of the church.

\* Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 268.

† Rushworth, vol. i., p. 649; Journals, Jan. 29. The 13th of Elizabeth was selected, because the Legislature had then ordered the clergy to subscribe the articles, and to read them in the churches, yet neither the English nor the

‡ Evidences of this will be found throughout the debates. On one occasion, poor old Secretary Cooke fell under a sharp rebuke from Eliot, and narrowly escaped a heavier censure. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 278.

§ Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 311.

|| Ibid., vol. viii., p. 317. ¶ Ibid., vol. viii., p. 318.

¶ Ibid., vol. viii., p. 285. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 660.

Eliot now saw what was intended, and prepared for it with a fearless composure. He drew up a remonstrance concerning tonnage and poundage. In this able document, nothing that is essential to a just opinion of the conduct of the Commons respecting the bill that had been proposed is omitted. The delay is shown to have been necessary, and the purposes of the leaders of the House are nobly vindicated. It concludes with a solemn statement, that "the Commons had so framed a grant of subsidy of tonnage and poundage to your majesty, that you might have been the better enabled for the defence of your realm, and your subjects, by being secured from all undue charges, be the more encouraged cheerfully to proceed in their course of trade; but, not being now able to accomplish this their desire, there is no course left unto them, without manifest breach of their duty both to your majesty and their country, save only to make this humble declaration, that the receiving of tonnage and poundage, and other impositions not granted by Parliament, is a breach of the fundamental liberties of this kingdom, and of your majesty's royal answer to the petition of rights."\* Eliot, at the same time, drew up three articles of protestation, which ran thus: "1. Whoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or by favour seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 2. Whosoever shall counsel or advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, or shall be an actor or instrument therein, shall be likewise reputed an innovator in the government, and a capital enemy to this kingdom and commonwealth. 3. If any merchant, or other person whatsoever, shall voluntarily yield or pay the said subsidies of tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberty of England, and an enemy to the same."†

With these documents Sir John Eliot entered the House of Commons on the morning of the 2d of March, 1629, for the last time.

He waited only till prayers had been said, and then arose. For the last time, on that fatal day, this great statesman struck, with daring eloquence, at a profligate courtier and a dishonest churchman. "Buckingham is dead," he said, "but he lives in the Bishop of Winchester and my Lord-treasurer Weston!" (Weston, it was understood, had been a party to the disastrous advice by which Eliot had anticipated too surely they were now about to be dissolved.) "In the person of the lord treasurer," the orator continued, amid the interruptions of some and the enthusiastic cheering of others, "in his person all evil is contracted, for the innovation of religion, and for the invasion of our liberties. He is the great enemy of the commonwealth. I have traced him in all his actions, and I find him building on those grounds aid by his master, the great duke. He secretly is moving for this interruption. From

fear, these men go about to break parliaments, lest parliaments should break them." Eliot concluded, as if by a forecast of the future, with these memorable words: "*I protest, as I am a gentleman, if my fortune be ever again to meet in this honourable assembly, where I now leave, I will begin again!*"\* Advancing to the speaker, Sir John Eliot then produced his remonstrance, and desired that he would read it. The speaker refused. He presented it to the clerk at the table. The clerk also refused. With fearless determination Eliot now read the remonstrance himself, and demanded of the speaker, as a right, that he should put it to the vote. Again the speaker refused. "He was commanded otherwise by the king." A severe reprimand followed from Selden, and the speaker rose to quit the chair. Denzil Hollis and Valentine dragged him back. Sir Thomas Edmonds, and other privy councillors, made an attempt to rescue him, but "with a strong hand" he was held down in the chair, and Hollis swore he should sit still till it pleased them to rise. The House was now in open and violent disorder. The speaker weepingly implored them to let him go; and Sir Peter Hayman in reply renounced him for his kinsman—as the disgrace of his country, the blot of a noble family, and a man whom posterity would remember with scorn and disdain. Every moment increased the disorder, till at last it threatened the most serious consequences. Some members involuntarily placed their hands upon their swords. Above the throng was again heard the voice of the steady and undaunted Eliot. "I shall then express by my tongue what that paper should have done!" He flung it down upon the floor, and placed the protestations I have described into the hands of Hollis. "It shall be declared by us," he exclaimed, "that all that we suffer is the effect of new counsels, to the ruin of the government of the state. Let us make a protestation against those men, whether greater or subordinate, that may hereafter persuade the king to take tonnage and poundage without grant of Parliament. We declare them capital enemies to the king and the kingdom! If any merchants shall willingly pay those duties, without consent of Parliament, they are declared accessories to the rest!" Hollis instantly read Eliot's paper, put it to the House in the character of speaker, and was answered by tremendous acclamations. During this, the king had sent the sergeant to bring away the mace, but he could not obtain admission; and the usher of the black rod had followed, with the same ill success. In an extremity of rage, Charles then sent for the captain of his guard to force an entrance. But a later and yet more disastrous day was reserved for that outrage; for, meanwhile, Eliot's resolutions having been passed, the doors were thrown open, and the members rushed out in a body, carrying a king's officer that was standing at the entrance "away before them in the crowd."† Such was the scene of

\* Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 326.

\* Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 327; and see the information sheward exhibited in the Star Chamber. Rushworth, ed. i., p. 665, 666. † Rushworth, vol. i., p. 660 and 666.

† I state this on the authority of a MS. letter in the Sloane collection (4178). The writer adds, "It is said that a Welsh page, hearing a great noise in the House, cried out, 'I pray you let hur in; let hur in; to give hur master his sword, for they are all a fighting.'" Letter to Paul D'Ewes, dated March 5, 1629.

Monday, the 2d of March, 1629, "the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England that had happened for 500 years."\*

The king instantly went down to the House of Lords, called the leaders of the Commons "vipers" who should have their rewards, and dissolved the Parliament.†

Two days afterward, Sir John Eliot received a summons to appear before the council table. This memorable scene closed his public life, and closed it worthily. He was asked "whether he had not spoken such and such words in the Lower House of Parliament, and showed unto the said House such and such a paper!" Keenly and resolutely he answered, "that whatsoever was said or done by him in that place, and at that time, was performed by him as a public man and a member of that House; and that he was, and always will be, ready to give an account of his sayings and doings in that place, whensoever he should be called unto it by that House, where, as he taketh it, it is only to be questioned; and, in the mean time, being now but a private man, he would not trouble himself to remember what he had either spoken or done in that place as a public man." He was instantly committed; his study was entered by the king's warrant, and his papers seized.‡

Much time elapsed before his case was finally adjudged. I will present, however, in as few words as possible, the course of the proceedings that were taken. I am able to illustrate it by the help of letters of the time.

Eliot sued for his habeas corpus. An answer was returned in the shape of a general warrant, under the king's sign manual. The insufficiency of this return was so clearly shown by Eliot's counsel in the course of the argument, that the judges, "timid and servile, yet desirous to keep some measures with their own consciences, or looking forward to the wrath of future parliaments," wrote what Whitelocke calls a "humble and stout letter"§ to the king, stating that they were bound to

bail Eliot, but requesting that he would send his directions to do so. This letter was not attended to; the judges in consequence deferred the time for judgment, and Eliot was continued in custody. When the day at last arrived that judgment could no longer be deferred, the body of Eliot was not forthcoming. In vain his counsel called for judgment; the judges, in the absence of the prisoner, declined. Eliot had been removed by the king's warrant, the evening before the meeting of the court, from the custody of the keeper to whom his writ had been addressed! Some days after, however, Charles consented that he should be brought up for admission to bail, on condition that he presented a petition declaring he was sorry he had offended. The condition was spurned at once. The offer was repeated by the judges, but Eliot "would do nothing, but resolutely move for his habeas corpus. Whereat one of the judges said, 'Comes he to outface the court!'" and the severity of his imprisonment was ordered to be increased.\* Some months passed away, and the question still remained unsettled. Charles then offered Eliot his privilege of bail if he would give sureties for good behaviour. Eliot at once declared in answer that he would never admit the possibility of offending the law by liberty of speech in Parliament. The judges are described upon this to have suggested to him the possibility of his remaining in prison even seven years longer.† He answered that he was quite prepared; his body would serve to fill up the breach that was made in the public liberties as well as any other. The king now showed himself equally resolute; and, refusing an enormous sum that had been offered for his bail,‡ ordered the attorney-general to drop the proceedings in the Star Chamber, and to exhibit an information against him in the King's Bench for words spoken in Parliament. As member of a superior court at the period of the alleged offence, he pleaded to the jurisdiction, and thus brought in issue the great question of the privilege of the House of Commons—the question, in point of fact, upon which the character of "the English Constitution" altogether depended. The battle was fought bravely by his counsel, but vainly. The court held that they had jurisdiction; Eliot refused to put in any other plea; and judgment was finally given that he "should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, should not be released without giving surety for good behaviour and making submission, and, as the greatest offender and ringleader in Parliament, should be fined £2000."§

This iniquitous judgment found Eliot cheerfully prepared. He immediately sent to the

\* MS. diary of Sir Symonds D'Ewes. For the various accounts of this remarkable scene, from which I have drawn the above description, see Rushworth, vol. i., p. 660; Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 320-333. See, also, the information lodged against Eliot in the Star Chamber (Rushworth, i., p. 665), and the proceedings on the subsequent information in the King's Bench; State Trials, vol. iii., or Rushworth, vol. i., p. 670-691. The examinations before the council table (Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 355) will be found highly interesting. Sir Miles Hobart said, "He would not stick to confess that it was he that shut the door that day: and when he had locked the door, put the key in his pocket (and he did it because the House demanded it)." Denzil Hollis, finding "his majesty was now offended with him, humbly desired that he might rather be the subject of his mercy than of his power." To which the lord treasurer answered, "You mean rather of his majesty's mercy than of his justice." Mr. Hollis replied, "I say of his majesty's power, my lord."

† Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 332; and see Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 13. "I must needs say," observed the king, "that they do mistake me wonderfully that think I lay the fault equally upon all the Lower House; for, as I know there are many as dutiful and loyal subjects as any are in the world, so I know that it was only some vipers among them that had cast this mist of difference before their eyes."

‡ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 661. The same was done with the studies of Selden and Hollis.

§ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 14. The conduct of the judges was execrable; and notwithstanding the efforts of Whitelocke to exculpate his father, Judge Whitelocke (in which he succeeded with the Long Parliament), it is impossible to discern a material difference between him and the rest.

\* Sloane MSS., 4178. Various striking accounts of the proceedings, as they affected all the prisoners, will be found in this volume—one of those transcribed by Dr. Birch—especially under dates June 10, June 25, June 28, and October 15, 1629. See, also, p. 92 of the same volume.

† Letter, dated 15th of October.

‡ It is said by Mr. D'Israeli, on a private authority, that £10,000 had been offered. This was vast indeed. Mr. D'Israeli doubts, however (Commentaries, vol. ii., p. 281), whether any bail could be tendered, since Eliot was condemned to be imprisoned at the king's pleasure. Mr. D'Israeli forgets that the bail was tendered during the proceedings, and not at their close.

§ The arguments will be found in the State Trials, vol. iii.; and in Rushworth, vol. i., p. 679-691. The judgment was reversed by the Long Parliament.

lieutenant of the Tower "to provide him a convenient lodging, that he might send his upholsterer to trim it up." On being told of the fine, he smiled, and said, "that he had two cloaks, two suits, two pairs of boots and galashes, and if they could pick £2000 out of that, much good might it do them." (I have already mentioned the course he had taken to provide for the worldly welfare of his sons. His extensive estates were at present held by relatives in trust for their use.\*) "When I was first committed close prisoner to the Tower," he added, "a commission was directed to the high sheriff of Cornwall, and five other commissioners, my capital enemies, to inquire into my lands and goods, and to seize upon them for the king; but they returned a nihil."† I could multiply the evidences of his easy, and even gay, humour at this moment. He is described, for instance, to have "laughed heartily" at receiving a message from the judges complaining of the "misbehaviour of his page and servant, who, with others, had been tossing dogs and cats in a blanket, in the open street of Southwark, near the King's Bench prison, saying, 'We are judges of these creatures, and why should not we take our pleasure upon them as well as other judges upon our master?'" After some short delays, he was conducted to the Tower, where he had twice before undergone imprisonment, and from which he never stirred again. A man named Dudson, the under-marshal of the King's Bench, who guarded him there, appears to have considered his person the peculiar property of a dungeon. "Mr. Lieutenant," he said, on delivering Eliot, "I have brought you this worthy knight, whom I borrowed of you some few months ago, and now do repay him again."‡

A "convenient lodging" had not been prepared. The only accommodation that could be had was "a darke and smoaky room." But he was not denied the use of books, and writing materials were, upon his earnest solicitation, granted to him. Some of the letters written at this period from his dungeon have, fortunately, been preserved.§ A great philosophical

work, on which he employed himself, has also come down to us.\* They present Sir John Eliot, in this last scene of all, not simply unshrinking in fortitude, true to himself, magnanimous, and patient. All this he was; but something yet greater than this. It would seem certain that, soon after his imprisonment, a secret feeling possessed him that his active life had closed. He did not acknowledge it to himself distinctly, but it is not the less apparent. Daily, under his confinement, his body was sinking. Daily, as his body sank, his soul asserted independent objects and uses. "Not alone," says the poet, whose genius has just risen among us,†

"Not alone when life flows still do truth  
And power emerge, but also when strange chance  
Affects its current; in unused conjuncture  
Where sickness breaks the body—hunger, watching,  
Excess, or languor—oftenest death's approach—  
Peril, deep joy, or wo."

And now, as death approached Eliot—for, from the first month of his present imprisonment, it approached with the steadiest and surest step—a new world revealed itself, to be rescued and regenerated by his virtue; a new tyranny to conquer, which needed not the physical aid that had deserted him in his struggle with the old; a new government to establish which was within the control and accomplishment of all—"the monarchy of man." He resolved to occupy the hours of his imprisonment with a work that should have for its object the establishment of the independence of man's mind; of its power over the passions and weaknesses of humanity, of its means of wresting these to the purposes of its own government—the illustration of the greatest good that could be achieved on earth, man's monarchy over himself, a perfect and steady self-control. Such a plan, while it embraced the lofty thoughts that now sought freedom from his over-informed and sinking body, would enable him also to vindicate the course he had pursued in his day of strength and vigour, and, in leaving to his countrymen, finally, an unyielded purpose, an unquailing endurance, a still unmitigated hatred of oppression, would teach them, at the same time, that these great qualities had victories of their own to achieve, in which no worldly power could foil them; and that, supposing the public struggles of the time attended with disastrous issue, it was not for man, with his inherent independence, to admit the possibility of despair. If greater virtue, and beauty, and general perfectness of character have, at any time, in any age or country been illustrated, I have yet to learn when and by whom.

These thoughts and purposes of Eliot soon broke upon his friends. Hampden was watching his imprisonment with the most anxious solicitude. It is one proof of the virtuous character of this great man having already dawned, that Eliot had intrusted to him the care of his two sons. Soon after the commencement of his imprisonment, Hampden, who discharged this duty with affectionate

\* Boscawen was one of the trustees. A letter to him, written by Eliot during his imprisonment, is preserved among the Eliot MSS. (fol. 56), and sets this beyond a doubt. "Having a great confidence in your worth, as I find you to have been selected by my father-in-law, I have presumed also for myself to name you in a trust for the management of that poor fortune which, through the disturbances of these times, I may not call my own. Your trouble will only be for the sealing of some leases, now and then, upon compositions of my tenants; for which, as there is occasion, I have appointed this bearer, my servant, Maurice Hill, to attend you, to whom your despatch in that behalf shall be a full satisfaction of the trust." Sir John continued, nevertheless, as this extract intimates, to manage his pecuniary affairs himself as long as he was able, and in the early part of his imprisonment he arranged with his own hand many of his tenants' leases. He was liberal in acts of kindness, and strict in matters of justice. He grants his eldest son £800 a year for the expenses of travelling abroad, a very large allowance; and writes back his opinion on a request from one of his tenants to have a wall rebuilt, to which he (Sir John) was not liable. "There would be more charity than wisdom in this." Maurice Hill was an invaluable servant to Sir John in these extremities, and deserved the kindness with which the latter often subscribes himself "your loving master." Mr. D'Israeli has given these interesting circumstances from Lord Eliot's admirable communication. See Commentaries, vol. iv., p. 507, *et seq.*

† I have derived the above from a letter in the Stowe collection. Mead to Stuteville, dated Feb. 27, 1629-30.

‡ Mead to Stuteville, March 13, 1629-30.

§ Among the Eliot family papers.

\* It may be seen in the Harleian collection, No. 2228.

† The author of *Paracelsus*, Mr. Robert Browning. There would be little danger in predicting that this writer will soon be acknowledged as a first-rate poet. He has already proved himself one.

zeal, received from Eliot a long letter of advice and counsel for them, which sufficiently indicated the studies that already engaged himself. The opening of it shows the last lingering of the struggle which was soon to settle to a perfect composure.\* "Sons," he begins, "if my desires had been valuable for one hour, I had long since written to you; which, in little, does deliver a large character of my fortune, that in nothing has allowed me to be master of myself. I have formerly been prevented by employment, which was so tyrannical on my time, as all minutes were anticipated; now my leisure contradicts me, and is soe violent on the contrary, soe great an enemy to all action, as it makes itself unuseful; both leisure and business have opposed me either in time or libertie, that I have had no means of expression but my prayers, in which I have never failed to make God the witness of my love, whose blessings I doubt not will deduce it in some evidence to you. And now having gotten a little opportunity (though by stealth), I cannot but give it some testimony from myself, and let you see my dearest expectation in your good." He goes on to say with what delight he will always hear "of the progress of your learning, of your aptness and diligence in that, of your careful attendance in all exercises of religion, and the instruction and improvements of your minds, which are foundations of a future building." Some of the philosophy of his own life he then presents to them. "It is a fine history, well studied—the observation of ourselves." He describes to them the many evils he has endured, the continuity of his sufferings, "of which there is yet no end. Should those evils," he continues, "be complained? Should I make lamentation of these crosses? Should I conceive the worse of my condition in the study of myself that my adversities oppose me! Noe! I may not—and yet I will not be so stoical as not to think them evils, I will not do that prejudice to virtue by detraction of her adversaries). They are evils, for I doe confess them, but of that nature and soe followed, soe neighbouring upon good, as they are noe cause of sorrow, but of joy; seeing whose enemies they make us—enemies of fortune, enemies of the world, enemies of their children; and knowing for whom we suffer—for him that is their enemy, for him that can command them whose agents only and instruments they are to work his trials on us, which may render us more perfect and acceptable to himself. Should these enforce a sorrow, which are the true touches of his favour, and not affect us rather with the higher apprehension of our happiness? Among my many obligations to my Creator, which prove the infinity of his mercies, that like a full stream have been always flowing on me, there is none concerning this life, wherein I have found more pleasure or advantage, than in these trials and afflictions (and I may not limit it soe narrowly within the confines of this life, which I hope shall extend much farther)—the operations they have had, the new effects they worke, the discoveries they make upon ourselves, upon others,

\* All the extracts from letters that follow, unless otherwise specified, are from the Eliot family papers, already referred to.

upon all." Nobly and beautifully he subjoins, "This happiness in all my trials has never parted from me. How great, then, is his favour by whose means I have enjoyed it! The days have all seemed pleasant, nor nights have ever been tedious, nor fears nor terrors have possessed me, but a constant peace and tranquillity of mind, whose agitation has been chiefly in thanks and acknowledgments to him by whose grace I have subsisted, and shall yet, I hope, participate of his blessings upon you. I have the more enlarged myself in this, that you might have a right view of the condition which I suffer, least from a bye relation, as through a perspective not truly representing, some false sense might be contracted. Neither could I thinke that altogether unusefull for your knowledge which may afford you both precept and example. Consider it, weigh it duly, and when you find a signe or indication of some error, make it an instruction how to avoid the like; if there appears but the resemblance of some virtue, suppose it better, and make it a president for yourselves; when you meet the prints and footsteps of the Almighty, magnify the goodness of his providence and miracles that makes such low descents; consider that there is a nature turns all sweetness into venom, when from the bitterest hearbs the bee extracts a honie. Industry and the habit of the soule give the effect and operation upon all things, and that to one seems barren and unpleasant to another is made fruitfull and delightsome. Even in this, by your application and endeavour, I am confident may be found both pleasure and advantage. This comes only as a testimony of my love (and soe you must accept it, the time yielding noe other waie of demonstration), and by this expression know that I daily praie for your happiness and felicity as the chief subject of my wishes, and shall make my continual supplication to the Lord, that from the riches of his mercie he will give you such influence of his graces as your blessing and prosperitie may satisfy, and enlarge the hopes and comforts of your most affectionate father."

This is the nature which turns venom into sweetness. Hampden hastens to assure him that the present conduct of his sons is all he could desire. "If ever you live," he writes, "to see a fruite answerable to the promise of the present blossoms, it will be a blessing of that weight as will turn the scale against all worldly afflictions, and denominate your life happy." His affection had spoken with too generous a haste. The elder son, John Eliot, who had been sent, by his father's desire, to Oxford, fell into many irregularities, and greatly offended the superiors of his college.\* This was afterward only slightly intimated to his father, but it cost him much pain. The younger boy, Richard Eliot, remained at Hampden's seat, and pursued his studies under Hampden's care. He appears to have interested his illustrious tutor extremely. Delicately, however Hampden is obliged to intimate to his friend, at last, that even Richard is somewhat remiss in his studies. Eliot immediately writes to the boy. He begins by a slight reproach for his not hav-

\* This youth afterward, as I have already noticed, "ran off" with a ward in chancery. He became, ultimately, a hanger-on in the court of Charles II. Evelyn mentions him.

ing written to his father. "I had no little doubt, after so long a silence, where you were, or whether you were or no." He desires him to forego the temptations of his young acquaintance; to forego, indeed, all society for the present, "that *causa malorum*, as Cicero calls it," and to retire wholly to himself. "Virtue," he continues, "is more rigid than to be taken with delights; these vanities she leaves, for these she scorns herself; her paths are arduous and rough, but excellent, and pleasant to those who once have past them. Honour is a concomitant they have to entertain them in their journey, nay, it becomes their servant, and, what is attended by all others, those who travel in that way have it to wait on them. And this effort of virtue has not, as in the vulgar acceptance, its dwelling on a hill; it crowds not in the multitude, but *extra conspectum*, as Seneca says, beyond the common prospect." He illustrates this farther by some quotations from his favourite Tacitus. That there was no pedantry in this habit is proved by such familiar resort to it in an affectionate advice to his boy. At this time, indeed, as I shall presently show, he was living in the world of the illustrious thinkers of old, and had entitled himself to it as his own. He concludes his letter with the following eloquent and earnest remonstrance: "How comes it that your tutor should complain you are careless and remiss? It cannot be, when there is true affection, there should be indiligence and neglect; when studie is declined the desires are alienated from the virtue; for no ends are attained without the means, and the neglect of that shows a diversion from the other. If it be since my last, I must resume my fears that, though your own judgment did not guide you, my cautions should be lost. If it should be hereafter, when that advice, those reasons, and the commands and authority of a father (a father most indulgent to the happiness of his child), which I now give you—to redeem the time is spent, to redeem the studies you have missed, and to redeem yourself who are engaged to danger, or that hazard and adventure—if these make no impressions, and these must be read in the characters of your course, if they work not an alteration; if they cause not a new diligency and intention, an intention of yourself, and intention of the object, virtue; an intention of the means, your study, and an exact intention of the time to improve it to that end; I shall then receive that wound, which I thank God no enemy could give me, sorrow and affliction of the mind, and that from him from whom I hoped the contrary. But I still hope, and the more confidently for the promise which your letters have assured me. Let it be bettered in performance by your future care and diligence, which shall be accompanied with the prayers and blessings of your most loving father."

Ultimately, Eliot, having been much entreated to it by his son John, consents that he shall go abroad, and writes to Hampden mentioning this, adding his desire that, before the youth's departure, he should endeavour to obtain his "license," or degree, at Oxford. He forwards, at the same time, a letter of advice and instruction respecting a course and object in travel. He is particular in his directions as to the places

to be visited, in what order, and with what purpose. He shows, in this, a lively knowledge of the state of politics on the Continent. "Be careful," he urges in conclusion, "in your religion, make your devotions frequent, seeke the blessing from above, drawe your imitation to goode patternes, lett not vaine *pedantries* deceive you, prepare your estimation by your virtue, which your own carriage and example must acquire, wherein you have assistants in the most earnest prayers and wishes of your loving father." In the same communication to Hampden, Eliot sends an expression of his views respecting his younger son, Richard. He considers that the best mode of employing with a good purpose his quick and vivacious humour will be to send him to the Netherlands, to learn the art of war, in the company of Sir Horace Vere. A passage from Hampden's reply on these points, which is charmingly written, will properly close this subject. "I am so perfectly acquainted," he says, "with yr cleare insight into the dispositions of men, and ability to fit them with courses suitable, that had you bestowed sonnes of mine as you have done yr owne, my judgm<sup>t</sup> durst hardly have called it into question, especially when in laying downe yr designe you have prevented the objections to be made ag<sup>t</sup> it: for if Mr. Richard Eliot will, in the intermissions of action, adde study to practice, and adorne that lively spirit with flowers of contemplation, he'll raise our expectations of another Sir Edward [Horace] Vere, that had this character, all summer in the field, all winter in his study, in whose fall fame makes this kingdome a great loser: and having taken this resolution from counsaile with the Highest Wisdom (as I doubt not but you have), I hope and pray the same Power will crown it with a blessing answerable to your wish."

It is a great privilege to be thus admitted to the private thoughts and conduct of such men as Eliot and Hampden. The secret of their public exertions is here expressed. It is by the strenth and right direction of the private affections that we are taught the duty of serving mankind. The more intense the faculty of enjoyment and comfort in the narrow circle of family regards, the more readily is its indulgence sacrificed in behalf of the greater family of man. The severity of Eliot in the House of Commons is explained by the tender sweetness of these letters from the Tower.

Without a hope of release, Eliot's imprisonment continued. The whole county of Cornwall, I learn from a manuscript letter, petitioned the king for his freedom,\* but no answer was deigned. Sustained by the genius of Wentworth, Charles's tyranny was now open and undisguised; and, in a royal proclamation, he had forbidden even the name of Parliament to pass the lips of his people.† Eliot

\* Mead to Stuteville, Sept. 26, 1629. MS. letter. Nor was Eliot without the sympathy of men of learning, correspondents of Sir Robert Cotton, in London, at the universities, and on the Continent. "I should gladly heare some cheerful news of Sir John Eliot," writes the learned Richard James. "Will the tide never turn? Then God send us heaven at our last end!" Nor is it to be supposed that any possible exertion was wanting on the part of his friends. Sir Bevil Grenville, in a letter to his wife, "his best friend, the Lady Grace Grenville," speaks of Eliot as "being resolved to have him out of his imprisonment." (*Nugent's Memorials*.) Every exertion failed.

† Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 3. In this extraordinary docu-

was not even suffered to remain quietly in his wretched lodging. He was removed from place to place, each one as "darke and smoakey" as the first. "The lodging which I had upon my first remove before Christmas," he writes to Sir Oliver Luke, "being again altered, I may saie of my lodgings in the Tower as Jacob for his wages, 'Now, then, ten times have they chaunged it;' but, I thank God, not once has it caused an alteration of my mind—so infinite is that mercie which has hitherto protected mee, and I doubt not but I shall find it with mee." He concludes by referring to some "light papers" which seem to have engaged him in the intervals of his greater work. "When you have wearied your good thoughts with those light papers that I sent you, return them with the corrections of your judgment. I may one day send you others of more worth, if it please God to continue me this leisure and my health; but the best can be but broken and in patches, from him that dares not hazard to gather them. Such thinges, from me, falling like the leaves in autumn soe variously and uncertainly, that they hardly meet again; but with you I am confident what else my weakness shall present will have a faire acceptance." This allusion to his health was ominous. Sickness had already begun to threaten him.

Some days after this, he writes to his kinsman Knightly (whose son afterward married one of Hampden's daughters) a description of what he conceives to have been the commencement of his disorder, the colds of his prison. "For the present I am wholly at a stand, and have been soe for this fortnight by a sicknesse which it hath pleased my Master to impose, in whose hands remain the issues of life and death. It comes originally from my colds, with which the cough having been long upon me causes such ill effects to follow it, that the symptoms are more dangerous than the grief; it has weakened much both the appetite and concoction, and the outward strength; by that some doubt there is of a consumption, but we endeavour to prevent it by application of the means, and, as the great physition, seek the blessing from the Lord." Good humour and easy quiet, however, did not desert him, though his disease steadily advanced. A week after the date of the foregoing, he writes to Hampden: "Lately my business hath been much with doctors, so that, but by them, I have had little trouble with myself. These three weeks I have had a full leisure to do nothing, and strictly tied unto it either by their direction or my weakness. The cause originally was a

cold, but the symptoms that did follow it spake more sickness; a gradual indisposition it begot in all the faculties of the bodie. The learned said a consumption did attend it; but I thank God I did not feel or credit it. What they advised as the ordinance that's appointed I was content to use, and in the time I was a patient, suffered whatever they imposed. Great is the authority of princes, but greater much is their's who both command our purses and our wills. What the success of their government wills, must be referred to him that is master of their power. I find myself bettered, though not well, which makes me the more ready to observe them. The Divine blessing must effectuate their wit—it is that medicine that has hitherto protected me, and will continue me among other affairs to remain your faithfull friend." It is affecting to observe, even in his manner of writing, a characteristic of the fatal disorder that had seized him.

As his illness became more determined, the severity of his imprisonment was increased. Pory the letter writer, indeed, remarked, about this time, "I heare Sir John Eliot is to remove out of his darke smoakey lodging into a better;" but I can find no evidence of the removal. On the contrary, shortly before his last letter to Hampden, he had written to Bevil Grenville (who then opposed the court, but afterward, with no suspicion of his virtue, died fighting for the king at Landsdowne) a statement of increased restraint. His friend had by letter alluded to some rumours that were then abroad,\* and on the faith of which Pory seems to have gossiped, as above, of his probable liberation. "The restraint and watch upon me," Eliot answers, "barrs much of my intercourse with my friends; while their presence is denied me, and letters are soe dangerous and suspected, as it is little that way we exchange; soe as if circumstances shall way condemn me, I must stand guiltie in their judgments; yet yours (though with some difficultie I have received, and manie times when it was knocking at my door, because their convoy could not enter they did retire again, wherein I must commend the caution of your messenger, but at length it found a safe passage by my servant) made mee happie in your favour, for which this comes as a retribution and acknowledgment. For those rumours which you meet that are but artificial, or by chance, it must be your wisdom not to credit them. Manie such false fires are flyinge dailie in the ear. When there shall be occasion, expect that intelligence from friends; for which in the meene time you do well to be provided; though I shall crave when that dispute falls, properlie and for reasons not deniable, a change of your intention in particulars as it concerns my selfe; in the rest I shall concur in all readiness to serve you, and in all you shall command me who am nothing but as you represent." His concluding

ment, the king took occasion also to attack Eliot. In reference, it may be supposed, to his commissioners of inquiry into Eliot's property having had a "nihil" returned to them, Charles observes, "Notwithstanding his majesty's late declaration, for satisfying the minds and affections of his loving subjects, some ill-disposed persons do spread false and pernicious rumours abroad; as if the scandalous and seditious proposition in the House of Commons, made by an outlawed man, desperate in mind and fortune, tumultuously taken by some few, after that by his majesty's royal authority he had commanded their adjournment, had been the voice of the whole House, whereas the contrary is the truth." The words I have printed in italics are not in Rushworth, but Rymer supplies them. (Fœdera, xiz., 62.) The infatuated king continues, "This late abuse having for the present driven his majesty unwillingly out of that course, he shall account it presumption for any to prescribe any time to his majesty for Parliaments; the calling, continuing, and dissolving of them, being always in the king's own power."

\* These rumours prevailed strongly at one time. They arose out of whispers of a possibility of a Parliament; and I find it stated in a letter among the Harleian MSS., 7000, dated Dec. 14, 1631-2, that "Sir John Eliot had lately been courted and caressed in his prison by some great men who are most in danger to be called in question." If any such overtures were made to him, it is certain that he continued immovable. Rapin, indeed, says distinctly (vol. x., p. 263, note), "Sir John Eliot had been tampered with, but was found proof against all temptation."

words are affecting. "My humble service to your ladie, and tell her that yet I doubt not to kisse her hand. Make much of my godson."

Immediately after this, instead of any evidence of better treatment, I have to furnish proof of an accession of the most savage and atrocious severity. Eliot hitherto had been permitted, under certain restrictions, to receive visits from his friends. This poor privilege was now withdrawn, and—it is well that this is to be offered on the best authority, or I could not have asked the reader to give credence to it—the comfort of a fire, necessary to life in a damp prison, whose inmate already struggled with a disorder brought on by cold, was, in the depth of winter, wholly, or almost wholly, denied to Eliot! On the 26th of December, 1631, he thus writes to Hampden: "That I write not to you anything of intelligence, will be excused when I do let you know that I am under a new restraint, by warrant from the king, for a supposed abuse of liberty, in admitting a free resort of visitants, and under that colour holding consultations with my friends. My lodgings are removed, and I am now where candle-light may be suffered, but scarce fire. I hope you will think that this exchange of places makes not a change of minds. The same protector is still with me, and the same confidence, and these things can have end by him that gives them being. None but my servants, *hardly my son*, may have admittance to me. My friends I must desire, for their own sakes, to forbear coming to the Tower. You among them are chief, and have the first place in this intelligence. I have now leisure," he continues, with affecting resignation, "and shall dispose myself to business; therefore those loose papers which you had, I would cast out of the way, being now returned again unto me. In your next give me a word or two of note; for those translations you excepted at, you know we are blind towards ourselves; our friends must be our glasses; therefore in this I crave (what in all things I desire) the reflection of your judgment."

Thus, in the midst of his worst sufferings, Eliot had the consolation and sustinment of the philosophical work in which he had engaged. His own study, as I have described, had been plundered of its papers and sealed up by the king; but his friends supplied him with books; and in this office, as in every other care and kindness, Hampden was most forward.\* Sir Robert Cotton's library would have proved of inestimable value to Eliot at this time, as some few years before it had served a kindred spirit,† but the atrocious tyranny that now prevailed had reached its learned owner. Accused of having furnished precedents to Selden and Eliot, Sir Robert Cotton's great library was seized and held by the king; and, unable to survive its loss, the great scholar died.‡

\* I shall have a more proper opportunity (in the notice of Hampden) of eliciting a number of delightful personal characteristics from his present conduct to his friend.

† Sir Walter Raleigh. See an interesting letter in the *Biographie Britannica*, vol. v., p. 3485.

‡ The following extract from Sir Symonds D'Ewes' diary is deeply affecting: "When I went several times to visit and comfort him [Sir Robert Cotton] in the year 1630, he would tell me, 'they had broken his heart, that had locked up his library from him.' I easily guessed the reason, because his honour and esteem were much impaired by this

I have spoken of a kindred spirit with that of Eliot. It is impossible, in describing Eliot's labours at this moment—when,

Active still, and unrestrain'd, his mind  
Explored the long extent of ages past,  
And with his prison hours enrich'd the world—

not to recollect Sir Walter Raleigh. Kindred they were, at least in magnanimity of spirit and largeness of intellect. If it were worth while, I could point out other resemblances. Their faces, in portraits I have seen, were strongly like. They were both of old Devonshire families; both were new residents in Cornwall; and, through the Champernownes, one of whom had given birth to Raleigh, their families were in a degree related.\* They both died victims of the grossest tyranny, but not till they had illustrated to the world examples of fearless endurance, and left, for the world's instruction, the fruit of their prison hours. In one particular here, or, rather, accident, the resemblance fails; for Raleigh's intention of benefit was fulfilled by the publication of his labours, while Eliot's have remained to the present day unpublished, disregarded, almost unknown. I shall shortly endeavour to remove from literature, at least, a portion of this reproach; and, in so doing, an opportunity will be given to Eliot himself to complete this allusion to Raleigh, by one of the finest tributes that has yet been paid to that gallant and heroic spirit.

The health of the imprisoned philosopher sank day by day. His "attorney at law," however, told Pory that he was the same cheerful and undaunted man as ever. His friends now appear to have resolved to make a desperate effort to save him. I quote from one of Pory's manuscript letters to Sir Robert Puckering: "On Tuesday was sennight, Mr. Mason, of Lincoln's Inn, made a motion to the judges of King's Bench for Sir John Eliot, that, whereas the doctors were of opinion he could never recover of his consumption until such time as he might breathe in purer air, they would, for some certain time, grant him his enlargement for that purpose. Whereunto my Lord-chief-justice Richardson answered, that although Sir John were brought low in body, yet was he as high and lofty in mind as ever, for he would neither submit to the king, nor to the justice of that court. In fine, it was concluded by the bench to refer him to the king by way of petition."

Eliot refused to do this, proceeded still with his treatise, and uttered no complaint. Hampden continued to send him books, and, with delicate good sense, rallies him to his labours: "Make good use of the bookes you shall receive from mee, and of your time; be sure you shall render a strict account of both to your ever assured friend." As the work progressed,

fatal accident; and his house, that was formerly frequented by great and honourable personages, as by learned men of all sorts, remained now, upon the matter, empty and desolate. I understood from himself and others, that Dr. Neile and Dr. Laud, two prelates that had been stigmatized in the first [last?] session of Parliament in 1628, were his sore enemies. He was so outworn, within a few months, with anguish and grief, as his face, which had formerly been ruddy and well coloured, was wholly changed into a grim and blackish paleness, near to the resemblance and hue of a dead visage." Within a "few months" more he died.

\* See a statement at p. 1 of this memoir; and *Biog. Brit.*, vol. v., p. 3467.

† *Bloane MSS.*, 4178.



it was sent in portions to Hampden, who criticised it, and, as I shall show, gave value to his praise by occasional objection: "And that to satisfy you, not myself, but that by obeying you in a command so contrary to my own disposition, you may measure how large a power you have over John Hampden." Very little political allusion passed in these letters. It was a dangerous subject to touch, for Eliot's correspondence was never safe from exposure.\* Some time before, he had mentioned this, as we have seen, to Grenville; and he wrote to Denzil Hollis a letter which bears upon political affairs, but only in dark hints, which he might not express more plainly. "Through a long silence," he says, "I hope you can retain the confidence and memoir of your friend. He that knows your virtue in the generale cannot doubt any particular of your charitie. The corruption of this age, if no other danger might occur, were an excuse, even in business, for not writing. The sun, we see, begets divers monsters on the earth when it has heat and violence; time may do more on paper; therefore, the safest intercourse is by harts; in this way I have much intelligence to give you, but you may divine it without prophesie."

Nearly four years had now passed over Eliot in his prison. Those popular leaders who had been subjected to confinement at the same time, had all of them, within the first eighteen months, obtained their release.† Eliot only was detained. After the conclusion of the treatise that had so long served to keep up his interest and attention, he appears to have sunk rapidly. Almost worn out by his illness, his friends at last prevailed upon him to petition the king. The account of his "manner of proceeding" is affecting to the last degree. I give it in the words of a letter from Pory to Sir Thomas Puckering: "Hee first presented a petition to his majesty, by the hand of the lieutenant, his keeper, to this effect: 'Sir, your judges have committed mee to prison here in your Tower of London, where, by reason of the quality of the ayer, I am fallen into a dangerous disease. I humbly beseech your majesty you will command your judges to sett mee at liberty, that, for recovery of my health, I may take some fresh ayer,' &c. Whereunto his majesty's answer was, 'it was not humble enough.' Then Sir John sent another petition, by his own sonne, to the effect following: 'Sir, I am hartily sorry I have displeased your majesty, and, having so said, doe humbly beseech you once againe to comand your judges to sett me at liberty, that, when I have recovered my health, I may returne back to my prison, there to undergoe suche punishment as God hath allotted unto mee,' &c. Upon this the lieutenant came and expostulated with him, saying it was proper to him, and common to none else,

to doe that office of delivering petitions for his prisoners. And if Sir John, in a third petition, would humble himselfe to his majesty in acknowledging his fault and craving pardon, he would willingly deliver it, and made no doubt but hee should obtaine his liberty. Unto this Sir John's answer was: 'I thank you, sir, for your friendly advise, but my spirits are growen feeble and faint, which, when it shall please God to restore unto their former vigour, I will take it farther into my consideration.'"

That this is a perfectly correct account cannot be doubted. Pory collected the particulars after the death of Eliot, and gives us his authority. "A gentleman," he says, "not unknown to Sir Thomas Lucy, told me, from Lord Cottington's mouth, that Sir John Eliot's late manner of proceeding was this." Moreover, in one of Lord Cottington's own despatches to Wentworth, the savage satisfaction with which the court had received, and with which they knew Lord Wentworth would also receive, the assurance of the approaching death of the formidable Eliot, is permitted to betray itself. "Your old dear friend, Sir John Eliot," observes the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Lord-deputy of Ireland, winding up a series of important advices with this, the most important of all, "is very like to die."

Within two months from that date Lord Cottington's prediction was accomplished. Eliot, however, had yet a duty of life left, which he performed with characteristic purpose. He sent for a painter to the Tower, and had his portrait painted, exactly as he then appeared, worn out by disease, and with a face of ghastly paleness. This portrait he gave to his son, that it might hang on the walls of Port Eliot, near a painting which represented him in vigorous manhood—a constant and vivid evidence of the sufferings he had unshrinkingly borne—"a perpetual memorial of his hatred of tyranny." These pictures are at Port Eliot still. I have been favoured with a loan of the earlier portrait, by the courtesy of Lord St. Germain's. It represents a face of perfect health, and keenly intellectual proportions. In this respect, in its wedge-like shape, in the infinite majesty of the upper region, and the sudden narrowness of the lower, it calls to mind at once the face of Sir Walter Raleigh. Action speaks out from the quick, keen eye, and meditation from the calm breadth of the brow. In the disposition of the hair and the peaked beard, it appears, to a casual glance, not unlike Vandyke's Charles. The later portrait is a profoundly melancholy contrast. It is wretchedly painted, but it expresses the reality of death-like life. It presents Eliot in a very elegant morning dress, apparently of lace, and bears the inscription of having been "painted, a few days before his death, in the Tower."

In the last moments of his life, Eliot presented the perfect pattern of a Christian philosopher. I quote the last of his letters to Hampden. "Besides the acknowledgment of your favour that have so much compassion on your friend, I have little to return you from him that has nothing worthy of your acceptance, but the

\* Many of Hampden's most beautiful letters never reached him.

† Before Valentine had obtained his bail, Eliot began to suspect him of juggling for release; and he writes of him to a friend, Thomas Godfrey, "This is all I can tell you of him, unless by supposition I could judge him in his reservations and retirement, knocking at some back door of the court, at which, if he enter to preferment, you shall know it from your faithful friend." I could furnish many such proofs of the jealous care with which Eliot watched the virtue of his friends.

\* Harleian MSS., 7000.

† Strafford's State Papers, vol. i., p. 79, dated October 18, 1632.

contestation that I have between an ill bodie and the aer, that quarrell, and are friends, as the summer winds affect them. I have these three daies been abroad,\* and as often brought in new impressions of the colds, yet, body, and strength, and appetite, I finde myself bettered by the motion. Cold at first was the occasion of my sickness, heat and tenderness by close keepinge in my chamber has since increast my weakness. Air and exercise are thought most proper to repaire it, which are the prescription of my doctors, though noe physic. I thank God other medicines I now take not, but those catholicons, and doe hope I shall not need them. As children learn to go, I shall get acquainted with the aer; practice and use will compasse it, and now and then a fall is an instruction for the future. These varieties He does trie us with, that will have us perfect at all parts, and as he gives the trial, he likewise gives the ability that shall be necessary for the worke. He has the Philistine at the disposition of his will, and those that trust him, under his protection and defence. O! infinite mercy of our master, deare friend, how it abounds to us, that are unworthy of his service! How broken! how imperfect! how perverse and crooked are our waies in obedience to him! how exactly straight is the line of his providence to us! drawn out through all occurrents and particulars to the whole length and measure of our time! how perfect is his hand that has given his Sonne unto us, and through him has promised likewise to give us all things—relieving our wants, sanctifying our necessities, preventing our dangers, freeing us from all extremities, and dying himself for us! What can we render! what retribution can we make worthy soe great a majestic! worthy such love and favour! We have nothing but ourselves, who are unworthy above all, and yett that, as all other things, is his. For us to offer up that, is but to give him of his owne, and that in far worse condition than we at first received it, which yett (for infinite in his goodness for the merits of his Sonne) he is contented to accept. This, dear frend, must be the comfort of his children; this is the physic we must use in all our sicknesse and extremities; this is the strengthening of the weak, the nurishing of the poore, the libertie of the captive, the health of the diseased, the life of those that die, the death of the wretched life of sin! And this happiness have his saints. The contemplation of this happiness has led me almost beyond the compass of a letter; but the haste I use unto my frends, and the affection that does move it, will, I hope, excuse me. Friends should communicate their joyes: this, as the greatest, therefore, I could not but impart unto my frend, being therein moved by the present expectation of your letters, which always have the grace of much intelligence, and are happiness to him that is trulie yours."

I add to this an extract from one of Pory's

\* The precincts of his prison, it is unnecessary to add, enclosed the "abroad" of Eliot. The "air and exercise" he afterward mentions, as having somewhat "bettered" him, were only what he could win from a few narrow paces within the walls of the Tower. It is easy to conclude from this, that a sight of his native country, the greeting of one healthful Cornish breeze, would almost instantly have restored him.

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letters, dated November 15, 1632. "The same night, Monday, having met with Sir John Eliot's attorney in St. Paul's churchyard, he told me he had been that morning with Sir John in the Tower, and found him so far spent with his consumption as not like to live a week longer."\*

He survived twelve days. On the 27th of November, 1632, Sir John Eliot died. Immediately after the event, his son (Richard, as I presume, since he did not go abroad as he purposed) "petitioned his majesty once more, hee would bee pleased to permitt his body to be carried into Cornwall, there to be buried. Whereto was answered at the foot of the petition, 'Lett Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the church of that parish where he dyed.'"<sup>†</sup> This attempt to wreak an indignity on the remains of Eliot was perfectly in accordance with Charles's system. A paltry piece of heartless spite on the lifeless body of a man appropriately closes a series of unavailing attempts to reduce his living soul. What remained of the great statesman was thrust into some obscure corner of the Tower church, and the court rejoiced that its great enemy was gone.

Faithful and brave hearts were left to remember this, and the sufferings of Eliot were not undergone in vain. They bore their part in the heat and burden of the after struggle. His name was one of its watchwords, and it had none more glorious. His sufferings, then, have been redeemed. The manner of his death was no more than the completion of the purposes of his life. Those purposes, and the actions which illustrated and sustained them, I have described in these pages, for the first time, with fidelity and minuteness. In doing this, I have also endeavoured to exhibit his personal and intellectual qualities so fully, that any reiteration of them here might be tedious, and is certainly unnecessary. In estimating his character as a statesman, our view is limited by the nature of the political struggle in which he acted. We have sufficient evidence, however, to advance from that into a greater and more independent field of achievement and design. His genius would assuredly have proved itself as equal to the perfect government of a state, as it showed itself supreme in the purpose of rescuing a state from misgovernment. As a leader of opposition, he has had no superior in history, probably no equal. His power of resource, in cases of emergency, was brilliant to the last degree, and his eloquence was of the highest order. The moral structure of his mind was as nearly perfect as that of the most distinguished men who have graced humanity. It ranks with theirs.

Yet this is he whose memory has been insulted by a series of monstrous slanders slung out against it by political opponents with a recklessness beyond parallel! The time for such slanders, however, has happily passed away, and the name of John Eliot may now be preserved, unsullied, for the affection and veneration of his countrymen.

What remains to be said of this great person, I shall subjoin as an appendix to this me-

\* Harleian MSS., 7000.

† Ibid., 7000.

moir. I am about to examine his philosophical treatise for, I believe, the first time. It has been mentioned, certainly by more writers than one, and about twenty lines have been quoted from it; but this is the utmost extent of appreciation it has received. No one has yet shown any evidence of other than the most superficial glance at its contents; none of its passages of mingled sweetness and grandeur have been quoted; no attempt has even been made to describe them. I am about to remove this reproach from literature, and to enrich it with several specimens of thought and style, which might give an added lustre to the reputation of our loftiest writers in prose—to a Hooker or Milton.

# APPENDIX.

SOME ACCOUNT OF AN UNPUBLISHED PHILOSOPHICAL TREATISE,

ENTITLED

## THE MONARCHY OF MAN,

WRITTEN BY SIR JOHN ELIOT DURING HIS LAST IMPRISONMENT.

A CONSIDERATION of such affecting interest is so immediately and vividly excited in looking at the first page of this manuscript, that I have had it carefully copied for the reader. It presents at once the scene of Eliot's imprisonment, and the lonely and weary hours this cherished work may have lightened. The pure exaltation of the philosopher is approached most nearly by the simplicity of a child; and how touching is the childlike care and interest which, to while away the lingering time, has so elaborately wrought itself within every letter of this exquisite title! Crouching under the T and the M two faces will be detected—rather

ungain, indeed, but still sufficient to remind the solitary prisoner of the more "human face divine." I leave the rest to the imagination of the reader, which is, in many respects, silently and deeply appealed to. I will only add that the omission of the word "fecit," in the truly and touchingly noble motto, appears to me to be in the highest taste. It reads, as it stands, like an abridged motto on a shield, chivalrous and significant. It is no proof of the judgment of the only two writers who have given the title of this treatise, that they undertake to repair Eliot's omission in this respect



*Treatise Philosophicall and morall  
wherein some questions of the  
Politics are obviously discusst.*

By

*S<sup>r</sup>. John Eliot Kn<sup>t</sup>. Prisoner in the Tower.*

*Deus nobis hac omnia munus*

*Virg.*



This wood-cut, it is to be observed, is very considerably reduced from the original, which is of a folio size. The treatise itself occupies two hundred and forty folio pages, which are written over with extreme closeness, and by no means so legibly as the specimen before the reader. Eliot was fond of abbreviations; and the key of his style, in that particular, has grown something rusty, and tries the patience.

The treatise opens with a general proposition in favour of what Eliot calls the covenant of monarchy. The example of man's monarchy follows the monarchy of the mind as the greatest of those covenants, after that of the government of nature, of God.

"Of all covenants, kingdoms are the best, answering to the first and highest, both of institutions and examples, either in the police of man or the president of his maker.

Next to that great monarchy and kingdom, *quod sub Jove, nomen habet*, in which the microcosm, the whole world, is comprehended, is the monarchie of man, that little world and microcosm, coming the nearest, both in order and proportion, for excellencie of matter and exquisitnes of forme. In tyme and order nothing makes to question it; it beeing the instant and imediate successor of that greater, wherein, the Creation being accomplisht, man was made a governor. In excellency and proportion what paralell may it have? what similitude can be given it! its forme beeing like the disposition of the heavens, soe geometricall and exact, that each part, each orbe, hath his owne motion, in his owne tyme, to his owne ends, genuine and proper."

The course of each "orbe and member" is pursued in terms of exalted eulogy, and the "matter" is next handled. By this is meant the subject matter of the proposed govern-

ment, which embraces nothing extraneous, nothing connected with creatures that are inferior, in point of grandeur, to man himself.

"The excellence of the matter likewise does appear, in that it is not an invention of humanity, a fabrick of art, but of a substance heavenly, the perfection of all creatures, the true image of the Deity. 'Twere too low, too narrow, for the founder to reduce the government to beasts, and to confine it to that compass, which yet likewise was cast within man's will, and those things submitted to his use. This were unworthy the original, that transcendent greatness from whence this excellence is derived, to apply it only to such things. And much more were it unworthy the ends, the glory and the honor, of that greatness which reflects from purer objects. 'Tis larger, 'tis better. 'Tis of man chiefly this government consists. Man, to be the governor of himself, an exact monarchie within him, in the composition of which state nothing without him may have interest, but all stands subservient to his use, hee only to his maker."

Eliot then proposes to consider the component parts of this monarchy, and the relative duties they sustain.

"In this monarchie of man, to make the excellence conspicuous, first is requisite a description of the parts, then the knowledge of their duties; that, every member being scene, and the office it sustains, it may then appear of what use and advantages they are, what severall merits they imple, both in degrees and simple, what conference they have, of how much importance to the general, what correspondence and relations with themselves.

"In the parts, the minde doth sitt as soveraigne, in the throne and center of the heart, the station of most aptnes both for intelligence and command. Two sorts of servants doe attend him, daylie administering in that court; the one for use and business, as Plutarche has it of Craterus, friends and servants to the KING; the other, like Hephestion, for pleasure and delight, friends and servants unto ALEXANDER. These, the rationall and brute faculties of the soule, are both necessary in their kinds, both usefull to their soveraigne, though differing in their service, and differing in the way.

"Of the first a senate is compos'd, a solid body for counsell and advice, still intent on the government. Such are memories, judgement, fancy, and their like. The second are the waiters and followers, which respect not the affaires, but the presence, of their king, as the will and affections that accompanie him. Subservient to these, and according to these principles, all other things are mov'd, every part and member in his place; the great officers being the senses; and ministers subordinate, the organs; the subject, the body, in which all these subsist, and though the most unactive part it be, yet it is truly called the center and foundation of the rest.

"This is the frame and constitution of this monarchie, and of these parts it does consist."

The question follows of the severall offices and duties of these various parts, and "On this point," Eliot observes, with an allusion of extreme elegance, "wee shall endeavour to expresse, as young painters doe rare beauties, some lines and slight resemblances, though, in the exactness, wee come short of the true figure and perfection."

"There is one common dutie of them all, to which all are equally oblig'd: prince as well as subjects, subjects as their prince; all offices are directed to this end, and all are acceptable for that trust; proportionably indeed to the qualities they are in; geometrically, and ad pondus, though not arithmetically and alike. The greater and more dignified, for more, as more advantage has been given them; the lesse, and all, for somewhat to the capacities they have. Which is for the conservation of the whole, the publike utilitie and good, wherein all indeavours must conterminate as their absolute and true end.

"And the reason is binding in this point. For if the whole fabrick be dissolved, how can a part subsist? Be it the chamber of the counsell, the head; or the king's throne, the heart; or yet, which is more excellent, what they both containe, the king himself and counsell, the mind and faculties of reason; what substance can they have, or what being can they hold, without that frame and body of which they are king and counsell? A father is soe called, but in relation to a child; and if that childhood cease, he ceases to be a father. It is ignorance, madness, to think that in a disjuncture they can stand, either the prince or the subject; when the prince is such but in reference to the subject, and the subject has not being without the substance of the state. *Ad eo manifestum est* (as an emperor speaks in Tacitus) *neg; perire neg; salvos esse, nisi una, &c.* The conjuncture is so strict, that in the dissolution of the generall, noe particular can be fast; and, without preservation of the members, the body cannot stand; therefore each part must strive for the conservation of the whole, and that whole intend the preservation of the parts."

Eliot then reduces to two heads, the division and limitation of their respective duties. The passage is striking.

"The king is to command; the subject to obey. Both,

however, with like readines in their places, and like affection to each other. The subject must not make his center in himself, and direct only his indeavours to that end, as if there they were to terminate; but they must always be with respect unto his soveraigne, and to the publike good, therein inclining his will. As the king is to answer this observance in correspondency thereof, he must not retire his thoughts to private purposes and designs, respects that are particular, peculier interests of his owne; but his authority must move as it has been appointed, in *ordine*, for his subjects, for the common use and benefit, for the safety and tranquillitie of the state, for the singular advantage of each member, and the universall happiness and good."

The treatise now flows naturally into an examination of the analogies of civil government.

"And in this, generally, this monarchie is agreeable to all others, of the same frame and constitution; and what is true in them is conclusive upon this, their reasons being alike; as conversely from this, may be argued to the rest. Wee will therefore consider them together, to see how the authority does arise, and what powers and judgments have been given them. That done, wee will descend to exercises and corruptions, with the effects and consequences that are incident, from whence, by comparison, the knowledge will be easie. Where the advantage rests, that shall be an evidence to justify the right. Even the fruit and profit shall be made arguments to prove it. Wherein, notwithstanding all disguises to the contrary, the true *utile* shall be seen, like the heliotropium, that beatus of the gardens, always converting to the sunne, the *honestum*, to which it shuts and opens, as that is present or removed."

The original of civil monarchy Eliot seeks for in the heavens. From the solitude of his dungeon, into that clear region, "above the thunder," it was some consolation to pass!

"To finde out the original of these excellencies, the beginning of these monarchies and monarchs, wee must first search the heavens, and, by ascending thither by thought and speculation, bring down the knowledge of that truth. Wee shall there see them, from before all eternitie, written in the counells of the court, the great ruler there hausing so decreed it, in conformity to his government. From his owne excellence and perfection was their idea taken, the patterne and example being himselfe, the worke his owne, the institution and invention his, and the end and scope for which it was ordained. Soe thence wee shall finde their originalls derived; there they have beginning; from thence they have continuance; there both their *Genesis* and *Exodus* are inroll'd. All their degrees, periods, and revolutions, their remissions, and intentions, are guided by this influence. *Inde est imperator* (saith Tertullian), *vnde et homo; vnde potestas, vnde et spiritus*. The same power which first created man gave their originall to princes. He who of nothing gave being unto all things—he that to man whilst he was yet but clay, that unactive piece of element, infused a spirit and fire to give him life and motion—from him proceeds this power."

Aristotle, Dion, Plato, and Pliny give the strength of their authority to the writer; and, pursuing various monarchical analogies, in a manner much resembling that of Sydney's treatise, through families, cities, and so on, he arrives at the government of the "great globe itself," in considering which, he says, the reason sinks, for, since it cannot ascend up to "nature, which is but the daughter of the world," much less should it compass "the world, the universall mother of all nature." Eliot then exclaims, with a passing eulogy on Cicero, which, considering the many points of literary resemblance between them, is very interesting: "Without a maker the world had not been at first, without a ruler it would have no continuance. The varieties and contrarieties that are in it, beyond the understanding of weak man, so reconciled to order and agreement, give it a full expression. O the height of this gradation, which none but Cicero could climbe!" And thus he proceeds through a laboured praise, considering the accomplished Roman in all his aspects, "resorting to the person from the cause, from the client to the advocate," till he knows not, as he expresses it, "whether his truth or eloquence be more admirable."

The next passage I shall quote is beautiful and characteristic. Eliot proposes to examine the authority of princes, their powers and judgments, with their controlling rules and limits. In the course he lays down towards this, I recognise an admirable sense of the proprieties in argument, with a feeling of the probable public appearance of his labours; a glance at the strange aspect of the times, and an endeavour to save his work, as it were, from the severities that had fallen on himself; which will not be read without much interest. It is full of delicate beauty. I subjoin to this the commencing passages of the argument which follows it, bespeaking toleration for the objects and intentions of man, on the ground of the wretched dependancy and infirmity of his acts.

"Thus then wee see how the authority does rise, and from whence princes have originall, both in particular, for

ours, and generally, for all nature, therein assenting. Our next view must be of the powers and judgements that are given them, wherein likewise there is community. Then their rules and limits we will touch, with some notes of advantage and disadvantage from the use. Which done, we will draw the application to ourselves, to our own monarchie, the mind, and shew the propriety of that; handling by the way the questions most in contrivance touching the exercise of that power; which we will take, as they are emergent from our subject, and arise naturally in discourse; not compelling, not coveting, any that does not voluntarily come in, and readily accept us; nor balking those which the occasion shall present, for any fear or difficulties. Only this favor we petition, which candor will allow us for our encouragement in the works, that no prejudice may impeach us in the censure of our reason; if it tide contrary to the times, if it oppose the stream and current we are in, either in dilating or contracting the interests and pretensions, superior or inferior. We shall impartially deliver it, if not to the truth of the cause, which may exceed our judgement, yet to the truth and identity of our sense; and if in that we fail, though it be an error, 'tis not a crime unpardonable, incapable of remission. Yet we shall be careful to avoid it, and are not unhopelful in that point, having our affections on a right level, so equally disposed as nothing but ignorance can divert them.

"First then, to take the just height and latitude of this power, we must begin our consideration at the end—the end and scope—for which it was ordain'd, which is the perfection of all works and the first thing always in intention. Acts may have diverse inclinations and effects, from the accidental intercurrent of new causes contrary to their institution and design, whereon no sound judgement can be grounded. To an act of virtue there may be a concurrence of vice, through the corruption and infirmities of the object. A charity may be interverted to ill uses, as not seldom happens thro' the depravity of men, and so lose the fruit of virtue. The counsel of Achitophell may be folle, though an effect of wisdom. Equity may be converted to iniquity. Justice into injury, or into cruelty of extremity. No virtue, indeed, in operation is so sacred, but circumstance may corrupt it, diverse effects may follow it, as from new causes and intentions intervenient. Thus we see it in the motion of the spheres, the perfection of whose course revolves from east to west, and yet all the lesser and lower orbes run a counter course to that, turning from west to east. Their natural motions and inclinations are irregular, *ad raptum*. So, in the acts of virtue, oblique intentions may occur to corrupt it in particulars, though the virtue be the same. Therefore, as the intention must be the indication of the act, the end must shew the intention. For as a good act may be ill done in respect of the intention, so the intention of what party soever may be corrupted by the end. If our descent and end shall terminate in the east; if our horoscope and ascendant shall be placed in the period of the west; if we shall then, as Strato saith, seek the sunne itself rising in the west, we cannot conclude properly, or right. For the end of the great workman must direct us, not the effect and operation of the work. *Finis operantis*, the end and the proposition of the first mover, the maker of those powers; not *fines operis*, the practice and exercise of man, who, like those lower orbes, has no regularity, but *ad raptum*."

The authority to be committed to princes, with the assistance of their deliberative and executive governments, and the duties required of them, are then treated by Eliot. He tempers the apparent remoteness of such an authority by many familiar analogies, and illustrates the dangers that beset a prince in the example of the pilot of a ship: "The leaks," he says, "are infidelity and treachery in ministers; the rocks, inequality and distemper in the government; the sands and sykes are factions and divisions; the winds and waves, the attempts and invasions of the enemy; the pyrates are the false and subtil underminers, that would robb and steale away all law, liberty, and religion."

A singular passage follows, but it is too long for my present purpose. Eliot takes up the power to be given to ministers as a thing to be limited, invariably, and in all things, by rule: "secundum artem, according to certainty;" that it should be, in fact, a PRINCIPLE, or the man to whom it is intrusted will turn, as he says, "a sophister and impostor." He then ranges through several chemical analogies, combining and condensing them, with a rich facility and skill. He that desires to have "the gold and quintessence" at last, must search laboriously from "metal to metal, element to element;" and so, in the view of Eliot, must the course of that man be laid who seeks the true understanding of government, "emergent and resultant from the world." Government, he proceeds to reason, is called "supreme," but it is only so "for the good and welfare of the subject. The latter part of which definition, though it be not expressly in the words, is included in the sense, as the end and object of all such authority and power. And it follows likewise by inference and reason, if the use and interest be not severed. For, as Cicero says, *respublica* is but

*respopuli*; and if the right and interest be the people's, so should the benefit and use." This supreme power of the state Eliot now reduces to two divisions: "the first concerning the exercise of that power as it is distributive to others," the ministers of princes, which he ties down, with much strong sense and argument, to a strict obedience of the laws; "the other reflecting particularly upon princes, and the privilege and prerogative of their persons," which, when he comes to discuss, he introduces with a melancholy application to himself. Nothing, at the same time, can be more quiet or firm. I have not found, indeed, in the whole of this remarkable work, one touch of querulous impatience. "The next thing that comes to meet us in our way is the second question we expounded, whether the laws have an operation upon princes. And this with more difficulties is involved, as lying within that mysterie, the prerogative of kings, which is a point so tender as it will hardly bear a mention. We may not therefore handle it with any roughness, lest it reflect some new beam of terror on ourselves; but with what caution we may, yet without prejudicial to truth; that in what freely we have undertaken, we may faithfully be delivered, and safely render the opinion which we gave without suspect of flattery."

In the next sentence Eliot sets such a suspicion at rest! With a sudden and indignant sense that the claims set up for princes in that day are even too absurd for argument, he exclaims, "It falls not into question whether laws have an influence on kings, but *conclusive and in right!* It is to question how far such persons should be subject to the laws, what bounds and circumscriptions they have given them, and in what compass and degrees they ought to be limited and confined." He then continues (following up a precedent passage of elaborate eulogium on the law, which I ought to have mentioned, and which is so nobly carried out in Pym's great speech against Strafford, that I cannot help imagining Pym to have been admitted to some knowledge of the composition of this treatise by his imprisoned friend), "Two things occur in this, the laws and privileges of each country, in both which the subject has like interest. By the privilege the prince is free from all things but the law; by the law he craves in all things to be regulated. By the privilege he has a propriety of consent in the sanction of all laws; by the laws he has a certain rule and level by which to square his actions. By the privilege all approved customs are received in the strength and vigour of the laws; by the laws no actual repetitions shall create a custom, without acceptance and allowance. The law is *rex omnium*, as Pindarus says, the king and governor of all things; the other is *regi similis*, something like unto a king, as Bodin has it; as absolute, though less known."

Eliot, in the next passage, brands the slavish sycophancy of his time. "Of these laws and privileges," he says, "(which we shall join together, making but one joint subject of this question), the discussion will be easier if we turn our disquisition, and thus state it: What power the king has upon them? Wherein there is such a confuery of flattery, conducing to our prejudice; such labour to make monarchie unlimited, an absoluteness of government without rule; so much affection, or corruption rather, specified; such distortion and perversion of authorities to that end; learning made prostitute to fallacy; religion turned to policy; heaven brought down to earth; light transformed to darkness; as to attempt against it, is now to row against the tide! against the stream and current of these times to seek a passage unto truth!" Not the less did the philosophic patriot seek it, and he could afford pity, from his dungeon, to the hollow meanness of the slaves whose doctrines kept him there. "Some would insinuate," he says, pointing to the sermons of Sibthorp and Laud, "from the dehortation of the Israelites, a warrant and authority for the extension of that power. What then was said in terror, they now make it a conclusion of the right! Others infer from the confession made by David, 'Against thee only have I sinned,' that princes offend not men, and therefore have a liberty upon them to do what acts they please. Which judgements we shall rather pity than contest! The heathens, likewise, both Greeks and Latins, have been searcht to have their attestations for this sense; but how truly we shall, in a few general instances, soon shew!" Eliot then brings up to his aid what Prynne would have called "squadrone" of authorities. "Plinie shall be first, who in direct terms avers, *non est princeps supra leges, sed leges supra principem*, no prince is without the regulation of the laws, but they are far above the authority of princes. We know in what time and state that author wrote, where monarchie and empire had not their meanest exaltation. No princes had a power beyond the authority of the Romans—no Romans greater than the princes of that age. Yet of them he speaks it, who were the masters of all others, that the laws and statutes of their country had a mastery upon them. And so Tacitus does expresse it, of the first laws at Rome." Valentinian follows, and Plato, and all are shown to be emphatic assertors of the great principle, that "nothing but ruin can be the fortune of that kingdom where the prince does rule the laws, and not the laws the prince." Aristotle, in the same way,

## BRITISH STATESMEN.

...tion, does confirm it, speak-  
...of those states which hap-  
...more than is fitting  
...masterly dissection  
...follows, when Eliot shows  
...the day have barely abused  
...from various parts of Cic-  
...which, as if exultingly, Eliot  
...the law and principles of nature  
...on another! "To detract  
...and this man to draw a  
...and prejudice of that, is  
...poverty and sorrow, than  
...not death itself excepted,  
...a man." What more fully or  
...What greater authority can  
...The Greeks,  
...and from whom the contrary is  
...they have we observed by the way),  
...and not the meanest of their kind,  
...Princes and emperors consent-  
...than weight; yet not such as  
...the esteem, for if no other were produced,  
...might serve for a counterpoise to all opposites."  
...every reader will agree with me, but, in  
...of a great mind, forcing itself, as it were, in  
...of the necessity of the time, to appear to need  
...for the penetration of its own genius in the au-  
...and affecting interest. The treatise, indeed, is  
...valuable as that is, as for the evidences of a wider  
...which it restrains. It will be seen, however, as Eliot  
...emerges from the letters of political discussion, into what  
...beauty and grandeur he ascends, mastering, moulding to his  
...purpose, and impregnating with his own intellect-  
...his variously fine attainments. I may with pro-  
...the reader at this moment with a passage of  
...of Hamden, written on receiving the first  
...draft of this portion of the treatise. "When you  
...the other parts, I pray think me as worthy  
...of the sight of it as the former, and in both together I'll be-  
...my weakness to my friend by declaring my sense of  
...That I did see is an exquisite nosegay, composed of  
...flowers, bound together with as fine a thread. But  
...I must in the end expect honey from my friend. Somewhat  
...of those flowers digested, made his own, and giving  
...a true taste of his own sweetness. Though for that I shall  
...a titter time and place." And again, of other ex-  
...from this portion of the manuscript, with no less de-  
...expression, Hamden says, "This I discern, that 'tis  
...as complete an image of the patterns as can be drawn by  
...a lively character of a large mind; the subject,  
...method, and expressions excellent and homogenous; and,  
...my truth (sweete heart), somewhat exceeding my com-  
...commendations. My words cannot render them to the life; yet  
...to show my ingenuousness rather than witt) would not a  
...lesse model have given a full representation of that subject?  
...Not by diminution, but by contraction, of parts. I desire  
...to learn, I dare not say. The variations upon each particu-  
...seem many; all, I confess, excellent. The fountain  
...was full, the channel narrow; that may be the cause. Or  
...that the author imitated Virgil, who made more verses by  
...many than he intended to write, to extract a just number.  
...Had I seen all his, I could easily have bidd him make few-  
...er, but if he had bidd me tell which he should have spar-  
...ed, I had been apposed. So say I of these expressions."  
...It is very truly and beautifully said, and, as we advance,  
...the reader will see ample reason for the more exalted and  
...enthusiastic praise which Hamden afterward bestowed on  
...his friend's labours. Meanwhile he will pardon this dig-  
...ression.

Eliot, producing his examples of princes who have will-  
ingly ranged themselves on his side, in acknowledgment of  
the supremacy of law, proceeds: "Plutarche relates it of  
Autocbus, that great king of Asia, the third of his name,  
but the first in honour and accomplishment, that he, in con-  
formity of this duty, sent despatches to his princes for pre-  
vention of the contrary; intimating that if any letters or  
commands should be brought in his name, adverse or in-  
congruous to the laws, they should believe that (*ignaro se*)  
they were given without his knowledge and consent, and  
therefore that no other obedience should be yielded than  
was challenged by that rule. For which Gratian, on the  
like occasion, gives a reason, and thereupon reduced it to a  
law." The words of Gratian are then given. I may here  
observe that Eliot is scrupulously exact in his method of  
quotation; that where the words of the original authority  
are used in the text, the book and chapter are carefully  
written down in the margin; and that, where the sense only  
of the authority is employed in the treatise, a note gener-  
ally supplies the exact quotation and its reference. He  
must have had at least the companionship of many books in

his prison. The majority of his extracts from Plato and  
Aristotle are given in Latin, evidently to help himself on the  
faster, for the original editions are always referred to, and  
when he uses the Greek letters, he writes them with too  
much neatness and labour to have permitted himself their  
constant use. Other authorities follow Gratian; and the  
writer then triumphantly appeals to the opinion of a master  
among "both emperors and civilians," to an edict of  
Prince Theodosius.

"By him it was thus written for posterity. 'It is the  
majesty of him that governeth to confesse himself bound to  
the laws; so much doth authority depend on law, and so  
much is submission to the laws greater than authority.  
And that we will not to be unlawful, we shew it unto others  
by the oracle of this present edict.' In this," Eliot contin-  
ues, "a conclusion is laid down, not only that all princes  
are subject to the laws, but that it is their majestic, their  
honor and exaltation, so to be! And the reason follows it,  
that the law is the ground of authority, all authority and  
rule a dependant of the law. This edict was not only an  
edict for that time, but for the generations of succeeding  
ages, and for all posterity to come. Rightly, therefore, and  
most worthily, stiled an oracle. And in correspondence to  
this is the moderne practice of these times. Almost in all  
the states of Europe princes, at the assumption of their  
crowns, assume and take an oath for the maintenance and  
observation of the laws. So, if we look either unto author-  
ity or example, the use and practice of all times, from the  
moderne to the ancient, the reason is still cleare, without  
any difficulty or scruple, *de jure*, in right, that princes are  
to be regulated by the laws, and that the laws have an op-  
eration on the prince."

"Yet two things," Eliot observes, in a passage of much  
interest, and which illustrates an opinion I have expressed  
above, "we are told, do oppose, and are made arguments  
against this: the honor and the profit of the king, which  
are said to have some prejudice by this rule. Many pro-  
positions there are made, by those that are enemies to law,  
to inculcate this doctrine unto princes, which in particular  
to convince were not a task of hardness, if the danger ex-  
ceeded not the trouble. But the infection of these times is  
uncompatible of such labours, when scarce the least disease  
is curable. We shall therefore follow them as we did in  
the strength and assistance of authorities, which, in point  
of profit, do conclude that there is no fruit or advantage in  
injustice. *Ubi turpitudine*, says Cicero, *ibi utilitas esse non  
potest*—where shame and dishonesty inhabit, there profit  
cannot sojourn. And that dishonestie he puts for the vio-  
lation of a dutie. Again, *nihil utile quod non idem honestum,  
et nunquam potest utilitas cum honestate contendere*."

Some historical examples, very graphically told, are now  
adduced in illustration of the last noble maxims, and Eliot  
hints at the contrast they present to the examples of moderne  
days. "And yet how much more should those conventions be  
observed which are ratified by oath, and made with friends  
and citizens, fellow-citizens and brethren, of the same mother!"  
He then handles the question of the position in which a  
king is placed by having the authority of the law upon him;  
whether or not it is a failure of dignity. The following is  
subtly expressed: "In reason first, how can it be dishon-  
our to a king to be subject to himself? No man repines at  
the motions of his will; no man thinks those actions dishon-  
ourable which flow from his own intentions; nor holds that  
think viliifying which works his health and safety. Yet  
all these must be granted to infer dishonor from the laws.  
Physike that works a safety must have a vilified  
reception; actions free and voluntary must be in antipathy  
with our thoughts; affections must displease; and so, too,  
the inclinations of the will (not as they are depraved, but  
simply as affections); and kings must hold it base to be  
governed by themselves, before it be concluded that there  
comes dishonor by the laws; which are but the promulga-  
tions of royaltie; the proper motions and dispositions of that  
power; the special acts of princes; their own influences  
and intentions; a health-giving composition of their own,  
either made actually by their hands, or prepared for them  
by their fathers, their predecessors, and accepted by them-  
selves, so that they become their own; and in being subject  
unto them they are but subject to themselves, which cannot  
be dishonourable. No man can be said to be inferior to  
himself, yet this must be granted in this case. Upon this  
honorable punctilio, kings must become inferior to them-  
selves, and a loyal king must be less than an illegal. Yet  
all power has root but in the will of men. *Vix omnis im-  
perij in consensu obedientium constat*, all empire and au-  
thority rests in the obedience of the subject, and the true  
forms of all obedience is comprehended in the lawes. For  
those services are false, imposed by fear and terror, and so  
is that maxim that procures them—*Oderint dum metuant*! Let  
them hate so that they fear. That *versus execrabilis*, as  
Seneca calls it: for he gives it this operation on a prince,  
and therefore it is well termed execrable. By it he is driv-  
en from extremity to extremity. He is hated because fear-  
ed, and will maintain that fear because he is so hated."

The greater value of love, far beyond this, is next shown,

in the example of an affectionate people. Eliot then looks back upon his arguments; and, in summing them up, enforces them again with new authorities, and shows great learning in the fathers. He also refers to the great textbook of constitutional law in that day, the famous treatise of Fortescue. "Fortescue, that learned chancellor of England, calls it impotence and non-power to do things contrary to the laws; and therefore the laws, he says, are no restriction to power, for to do contrary to them is no act of power; as it is no power to sinne, or to do evil, or to be sick, or old; for all these are instances that he gives, and in these respects he says they are contingent unto men. Men are less perfect than the angels, who have not libertie in those, and therefore those laws that regulate the will cannot be dishonourable. Comines, that wise Frenchman, has also a question to this purpose, upon the restraint of Lewis XI., when in the distraction of his sickness."

Before closing this branch of his subject finally, Eliot devotes some space to an exposure of the false constructions that had been placed upon writings of authority by various prerogative men. I regret that I cannot give an extract, as it exhibits a very searching vigour. With the following severe similitude he closes:

"He that governs not after the laws and customs of his country, is to be held a tyrant. To him Tacitus has applied the fable, *Quod quisque ciscera humana, cum aliarum victimarum visceribus forte gusteret, forte fieri cogitur*, that whoever shall taste the interior of a man, though but by chance in the mixtures of the sacrifices, he transforms into a wolf. These human entrails in the moral are but the public rights and privileges; the devouring whereof, though but by mixture and confusion, is like that cruelty in the proverb, *homo homini lupus*, man a wolf to man, a transformation of humanity into the beastly nature. In the Psalms it has an expression that is higher, to which no aggravation can be added, no accumulation can be given. And that likewise proceeding from a king, who, enumerating some acts of oppression and injustice (which are the effects of an arbitrary and unlimited dominion, a tyranny, as elsewhere he does call it), accepting of persons, not defending of the poor, destroying of their rights, want of preservation and protection to the people, for these, he says, all the foundations of the earth are out of course! as if the whole frame of nature had a dependence upon justice, and that the violation of the one threatened the dissolution of the other!"

The next division of the treatise is devoted to a consideration of the power of government, and the qualities necessary for its legitimate exercise. Here, under one of many heads, a severe education is insisted on, with great force, as absolutely necessary to a prince. Eliot contrasts vividly Cyrus and his sons. "But the accession of Cyrus to the crown was from a harder fortune, which fitted him with virtue. His sons had a softer education, being brought up by women, eunuchs, and the like, who infused principles of weakness, and with their flattery and adulations taught nothing but the doctrine of greatness. No man was suffered to oppose them in any exercise or purpose; but all was praising and commending of all they said or did (as who dares yet do otherwise in the familiarity of princes?)." Discussing this, however, Eliot proceeds to argue—with something like an uneasy sense of the absurdities in abstract reasoning, which are unquestionably connected with the monarchical principle—that, taking kings at the very best, as models of temperance and fortitude, they must be allowed to need something more. "Princes might have that plenitude of temperance as should restrain them from all license and exorbitance. That likewise should be accompanied with a fortitude to manage and subdue all loose appetites and affections, and make them impenetrable in that part. Yet there would be wanting one thing more necessary to perfection, nay, most necessary for the perfection of a king, which is a kind of all knowledge and omniscience, a vast and general comprehension of all things in his government, with their several incidents, emergents, and contingents, their conjunctures, disjunctures, relations, and dependencies."

This is a formidable list, and the passage which follows it is striking. Eliot revives, from his favourite author, the image of that Roman tyrant which, at the impeachment of Buckingham, had struck such dismay into Charles, for the purpose of proving that there have been princes in the old time, who, affecting a love for parliaments, were wont to commence projects by that authority, and to carry them on without it! "In this we have the confession of Tiberius, not the wisest, though not the best, of princes, who saith, *non posse principem sua conscientia cuncta complecti*, a prince cannot have that universality of science to comprehend all things in his braine. A senate, therefore, was thought necessary to be auxiliary and assistant, wherein that emperor did concur. With all the wisdom of his elders, squaring his profession out to justice, though his actions spake the contrary. *Cuncta per consules incipiebat*, says Tacitus, he began all things by the consuls. In relation to the senate, indeed, and in a public oration to that court, he did declare the necessity of their counsell, saying,

*experiendo didicisse quam arduum, quam subjectum fortune, regendi cuncta onus*, that by experience he had found the danger and difficulty of sole government." The hypocrisy of Tiberius is afterward shown, and at the same time wrested to a finer purpose in argument than sincerity itself could have illustrated. Eliot closes with some noble passages out of Plato.

The nature of parliaments themselves, granting the necessity of their existence, is next examined. The powers which were granted them among the Jews at their synhedrim, at Athens, in Ætolia, at Rome, in Carthage, and Sparta, are alluded to. The base purposes of those men who poison the ears of princes with jealousy of parliaments are bitterly exposed, and some of the doctrines of Machiavelli held up to scorn. A vast number of authorities are quoted, and much use is made of the arguments of Philip de Comines. Eliot, in his course, speaks highly of the genius of Sallust, and bursts into a fine eulogium at the mention of Aristotle, "that stupendous hominis, that wonder and miracle of reason!" He closes with some general arguments out of Bodin, and, winding up his parallel between a tyrant and a king, strikes heavily at the recent exactions of royalty. "This feeds on the affections of his subjects, the other on their fears. This has his fears principally for them; the other has them for the objects of his fears. This takes nothing from his subjects, but on publick warrant and necessity; that drinks, carouses in their blood, and does fatt him with their marrow, to bring necessity upon them." The entire subject of the civil government of man is then wound up in the following broad and satisfactory proposition. "Monarchy is a power of government and rule for a common good and benefit, not an institution for private interests and advantage. To this runs the confluence of all authority and reason, either grounded on the end, or the definition and examples of the order."

Eliot now advances to the grander purpose of his treatise, the consideration of the monarchy of the mind. He opens with some general comparison of the civil with the metaphysical relations in this government. He treats of the "councillors of the mind," and carries them up to their final aims, "the end and perfection of all empire, the *bonum publicum* of the politics; that *summum bonum* of philosophers, that *æ ultra* in felicitie." From this inquiry, however, he intimates that we must exclude at once the vanity of ambition, with its "heapings of Pelion on Ossa;" and, in working the inquiry out, we must be prepared for the weaknesses of man in many points, since even the wisest men, the philosophers of the old time, have not been able to agree. This carries Eliot into an interesting expression of their differences. He describes them by the fable of Menippus.

"He found nothing but confusion upon earth, nothing but uncertainty with men. Doubt and ambiguity in some; dissent and contradiction among others; difference and disagreement amongst all. Thus see the philosophers, at least their sects in controversy, if not the particulars of all kinds, yet the kinds of all particulars. The Stoicks and Epicureans opposed. The Peripateticks varying from both. The Academicks differing from all. And these divided between the old and new, the Eretrians, Megaricks, and Cyrenaics, all in opinions separate and distinguished. Like Heterogenials, rather, and things contrary; not as professors of one science, masters of philosophy, lovers of truth and wisdom!"

This is well said. In their differences, however, Eliot discerns elements of the truth. He proposes, therefore, to examine them. "It may be we shall draw some advantage for the information of ourselves by contraction of their fancies; as was thought by a concourse of the atoms, towards the making and creation of the world. Wee will therefore take a short survey of them, and try what they will yield; judging, not by number, but by weight, what estimation may be given them; and as we find their true worth and value, so will we rate them in our book, casting the profit which they bring in the account of our own endeavours. To which we shall add what in reason or authority we shall find necessary for the opening of this secret; this end of all our labour; this acme and object of our hopes; that *summum bonum* in philosophy, that *bonum publicum* in our policy, the consummation and perfection of our happiness!"

In accordance with this design, Eliot plunges at once into the various schools of ethics that prevailed among the ancients, describes them all, and discusses their respective doctrines. At every step he gives proof of the profound scholar, of a man of wide compass of thought, and of that peculiar power in the application of learning which stamps it with the creative genius. A trail of light runs along the track of the old systems as we follow them in his pages. The Peripateticks first appear, the Academicks next, and the Stoicks follow, with the thunder of Aristotle striking down their systems from beyond. The Eretrians are afterward introduced, and to them the Epicureans, in open opposition. And thus we follow all in turn, the genius of Eliot quickening these dead systems into an active present knowledge. Suddenly he exclaims, "But let us draw nearer to the light, and dispel those mists that shadow and obscure it, by the





is not dangerous is behind—PLEASURE!" The reason of the peculiar danger that attends the indulgence of these is then shown to consist in the so false resemblance there is in itself to happiness, that it is like to steal then all the "guards and watches" that we keep, into "secret retreats and strongholds." Nothing, Eliot says, in the course of such splendour of eloquence and taste, "nothing is so potent and refractory, so exorbitant and peculiar, as pleasure. No rule, no law, no authority restrains it; but, like Semeiramis, admit her government by her, she usurps the rule for ever."

Once considered these impediments to happiness, those enemies to the monarchy of man, Eliot indulges a speculation on the design of Providence in thus appearing to be opposed, by the creation of such unworthy passions, to a just and pure design.

"But here an objection or wonder may be made, how, from so many different streams should flow: how, from so many different heads, such contraries should derive themselves; and that greater wonder may arise how the great artist and workman, who gave being to all things in his own wisdom, did so create the mind by the infusion of contraries, that the contrariety of their motions should ensure the destruction of his work! For faction and dissension, and the dissension of the parts hazards the perfection of the whole. It's a great cause of wonder, that thing, that it is so, but of far greater admiration in the workman. That he, thus wise, thus willing, thus able to perfect his art, should, in the masterpiece termed his own portraiture and image, leave it with imperfections! This is enough for wonder and admiration (if it were not). But yet the next has more the inscrutability of the name, which turns these imperfections to perfections. Which in these contrarieties makes agreement; by the differences, these divisions, these dissensions, works unity and concord! This is a cause of wonder and admiration so transcendent, as human capacity cannot reach. O! the incomprehensible glory of the wisdom by which such contraries are disposed! We may see it almost in every thing, as the effect gives illustration to the cause; and so in the contraries, though we cannot penetrate, the reason itself. All things, almost generally, will demonstrate it. If we look into the universality of the world, or the concurrence of its parts, are there more contraries than in the common animals they consist of! Can there be more antipathy and the elements sustain! What greater enemies than fire and water can be found! What more violent than their union! And so with the air and earth. Dryness and wetness are opposed; than which no things can be more different; yet amongst these what a sweet league and amitie subsists! What mutual love and correspondency they bear! Fire agrees with water, earth with air, the latter with the former, each severally with other, and so respectively with all; and that which is the perfection of them all, correspondence in which they make, the frame of those materials, the body so compounded, has its being and existence by the very mixture and diagram of these! Nay, by the union of either, their dissolution is enforced. So necessary is the contrariety of the parts, and the opposition which they sustain, that, without it, the whole cannot subsist. As thus with the generals, so in the particulars from thence. In the immense infinity of creatures, amongst the dead or living, are their antipathies to be numbered! Can arithmetic count the contrarieties they have! Stone opposing stone, metal against metal, plant against plant; all war! And minute beasts contrary to beasts, fowls against fowls, fishes against fishes; in hate, in cruelty opposed, killing and devouring each other; and yet all made serviceable to man! Insects, men, too, what contestations are there extant; what wars, what quarrels, what dissensions! Nation in sympathy with nation, kindred opposed to kindred, family against family, man against man! And, besides, how infinite is their difference and variety in temper, in affection, in condition; so that reconciliation seems impossible, and without it, their subsistence. Yet in the revolution of that wheel these things are so turned, in the divine wheel of providence their conversions are so made, that all move directly to one end! The alloy and contestations of the parts work the conservation of the whole."

Eliot now sums up the character and objects of the monarchy he seeks to establish: ranging against it its various impediments, that he may enlarge on the means of their removal. This is beautifully done, by an exhibition of the utter vanity of the causes to which, in general, they owe their existence. Poverty, for instance, he begins with, as a thing which provokes fear, but in which there is no essential cause for fear. He treats this at great length, and with great fervour. Don Quixote himself never said finer things in behalf of poverty. "Are riches," he asks, "of any use that their want should seem so terrible! How may we have they sold to misery and unhappiness! What wiles of men have they corrupted and betrayed! corrupted in manners and affections, betrayed of their liberties and lives!" Out of these reflections he plunges into a praise of poverty. He tells the poor what they escape. He sums

up the diseases of the rich, famous for their excruciating pains; and contrasts with them the "privileges of poverty, the immunities of want." He then draws forth from antiquity a long list of illustrious poor; he speaks of the lives of Fabricius, Curius, Menenius, Valerius, and Seneca; and holds them up as the best of all examples to comfort and to teach. "Who more valiant than Miltiades!" he exclaims; "who more wise than Cynon! who than Aristides more just! who more temperate than Phocion! Yet all these the poorest as the best of all their times!"

Sickness is treated of by Eliot next, as no just cause of fear. From sickness, suggested by his own sufferings, he advances through the various effects of power, to imprisonment, to death, but in none can he find "just cause of fear." He acknowledges their aspects to be startling. "To dispel the fears of that which power and greatness may impose requires a harder labour, because the dangers seem far greater, and are more various and more sudden. For—not to reflect on poverty and sickness as incidents to this (which wounds and confusions do imply), those too frequent and two known effects of power—but to look farward and to view it in the other issues, which it has; disgrace, imprisonment, DEATH, and those in all their ugliness and deformity. This last is that tyrant which our apprehensions do so fear; that *monstrum horrendum informe*, which strikes us with such terror; this is that dire aspect at which our resolutions do so fly; this is that traitor that makes such sedition in our government, and which we must the more carefully oppose for the vindication of our happiness. In this place, therefore, we will only deal with it, and with the rest hereafter."

Into these passages respecting death Eliot throws all his eloquence: "Death," he says, "has its consideration but in terror; and what is assumed from that is like the imaginations of children in the dark, a mere fancy and opinion." With a melancholy fondness, the anticipation of their approaching intimacy, he defends death as a friend might be defended. It has been slandered, he says, by those who cannot have known it, "most untruly, most unjustly slandered." "For either happiness it contains, or it repels calamity, or gives satiety and weariness an end, or does prevent the hardness of old age! A conclusion 'tis to all; to some their wish; but to none more meriting and deserving than to whom it comes uncalled for! It frees from servitude, dissolves the chains of captives, sets all prisoners at liberty, and restores the banished to their country. All their sorrows and disasters have termination in this point. It has been called *humanis tempestatibus portus*, the harbour of human miseries, the relation of our troubles. Implying thus the comparison of our life to a fluctuation on the seas, we as poor mariners sailing in the weak vessels of our nature and fortune, the wind tossing us by the continual agitation of her tempests, trouble being instant and upon us, danger most imminent and before us, hope dead, safety nowhere to be found; death only is the haven to receive us, where there is calmness and tranquillity, where there is rest from all these storms and tempests! In that port all fluctuations of our life are quieted and composed; nor winds nor seas have power upon us there; fortune and time are excluded from that road; there we anchor in security, without the distractions of new troubles; there without danger or hazard do we ride."

With a slight shade of humour, such as issues so naturally out of a subject of this sort, and suits with it so well, Eliot next calls for the evidence of men who have themselves died, as to the character of death. "No great variety," he observes, "can be looked for in this strange kind of proof, men so seldom returning from the dead." This is simply an introduction to the story of that Athenian whom Plato raised to speak of the terrors below the earth. Such terrors were only for "the oppressors of mankind, such as had made their wills their laws, tyrants, Ardeus and his followers, whom hell itself abhorred!" Far different was the lot of the good, "the servants unto virtue." Life is afterward beautifully presented by Eliot, in contrast with its dark neighbourhood, as only "an inn to rest in, a lodging for the night, an hostelry in our travels, in our continual journey to the mansion of our fathers!" Nay, life itself, he exclaims, taken at the best, is only made up of various deaths, one passion dying, another succeeding but to die. "So that our whole life is but an exercise of dying, and all the changes and vicissitudes of nature, death, in a measure and degree! Why then should death be thought so terrible! where is the reason of that fear?" Rather, he afterward suggests, should it be made a matter of triumph and of glory. "What martyrs have there been even in the work of dying! More joying, more rejoicing, than in all the acts of life! The glory of the Deity, the incarnate majesty of the Son, those incomprehensible mysteries of divinity, then appearing to them, by revelation to their sense, or by illumination of the fancy—the heavens opening to give free passage to their view—these, as it were, descending unto them, giving them the possession here of that happiness, that eternal happiness and felicity, which is the chief object of all hopes; not that happiness we treat of, the same

num bonum of this life, the *bonum publicum* of our monarchy, but the supernatural felicity to come, the transcendent happiness hereafter!"

Nor will Eliot rest at these examples of the victorious agonies of martyrdom, since they are sustained as it were by the divine presence. There is a bravery which comes nearer to his own, a grandeur of moral courage which needs no miracle to help it. "I will resort," he says, "to patterns of morality. Then, to see the confidence in them, the willingness and cheerfulness of dying—take it from those Grecians, those three hundred at Thermopolis, who, for their country, opposed themselves to all the power of Xerxes—to those many millions of the Persians whose thirst scarce seas could satisfy, nor whole regions for one day find provisions for their hunger! Yet unto these those Grecians could expose themselves, so few against so many, for the safety of their mother. The clouds of darts that fell on them they team'd an umbrella for the sunne; their danger they made glory; their death they thought their life; so far from terror was it that they made it the subject of their hopes. O happy men! thus for their country to have died! Most happy country, to have brought forth such men! whose death became the character of her life, and was to her and them a patent of immortality!" Among the crowding thoughts of many examples of this kind, Eliot kindles into a greater fervour, and he fills the solitary recesses of his dungeon with men of Rome, of Athens, and of Sparta, "fellows whom death itself might fear, sooner than be fearful unto them. Mirrors of men," he finely continues, "are chronicled for a free acceptance of that fate; women did scorn their children that did not scorn to die it!" And as Eliot thus recalls the past, an example nobler than all the others rises up, because completer in the elements of moral grandeur, in the perfection of self-control, the monarchy of man. The philosopher Ramus stands before him, "who died not as Cato, to avoid the dying by his enemies, nor suddenly, to prevent the torment of the time, nor as those Grecians, in the heat of blood and danger, when death does come unthought—but giving it all leave of preparation, admitting all circumstance of terror, in that form which his enemies had cast, to the extremity of their malice—so he encounters, so he receives and meets it, even in its very contemplation! His speculations were upon it, it was the subject of his thoughts, and in that he valued it more precious than his life."

To this illustrious shadow of the past SIR WALTER RALEIGH succeeds! His image, indeed, had scarcely vanished from those dark walls that now surrounded Eliot, and his spirit remained in the magnanimity of Eliot's soul. "Shall I not add, as parallel to this, a wonder and example of our own! such as if that old philosopher were yet living, without dishonour he might acknowledge, as the equal of his virtue. Take it in that—else unmatched—fortitude of our RALEIGH! the magnanimity of his sufferings, that large chronicle of fortitude! All the preparations that are terrible presented to his eye—guards and officers about him—fettors and chains upon him—the scaffold and executioner before him—and then the axe, and more cruel expectation of his enemies! And what did all this work on the resolution of this worthy! Made it an impression of weak fear? or a distraction of his reason? Nothing so little did that great soul suffer! but gathered more strength and advantage upon either. His mind became the clearer, as if already it had been freed from the cloud and oppression of the body; and the trial gave an illustration to his courage, so that it changed the affection of his enemies, and turned their joy to sorrow, and all men else it filled with admiration; leaving no doubt but this, whether death were more acceptable to him, or he more welcome unto death!"

How nobly expressed this is! The style of Eliot, uncramped by the authorities to which he chose at times to link it, was as free and grand as his own free thoughts. These his friend Hampden, as the treatise advances, alludes to with a profound deference. "Your apprehensions, that ascend a region above those clouds which shadow us, are fit to pierce such heights; and others to receive such notions as descend from thence; which, while you are pleased to impart, you make the demonstrations of your favour to become the rich possessions of your ever faithful friend."

Eliot betrays a melancholy reluctance to let the subject of death pass from him. Assuming that these examples of fearlessness in dying are of too exalted a character for the emulation of all men, that all have not the same motives or means of sustenance, he very beautifully says: "There is no affection within man but has given examples in this case. Hope, joy, sorrow, fear itself, has conquered it, the weakest of all others! Fear of death has forced men to act the thing they fear." And, after some very subtle reasoning to this point, he proceeds: "Therefore, that truth so known, we may in a generality conclude that death and fear are conquered both by love. Sorrow can do as much. And we have it in the infirmity of her daughters, pity, which is the tenderest of all thoughts, yet that subdues this fear, as Tacitus notes it of the multitudes after the fall of Otho." Yet Eliot concludes not even here. Still he lingers on the

praise and the privilege of death. "I shall then no more be sick; I shall then no more be bound; I shall then leave off to fear; I shall then not die again. If death were an evil at the first, then it shall be no more. All the crosses and disasters, all the calamities and afflictions, all things that are fearful and evil in this life, them shall I be free from! No death shall thenceforth be an interruption to my happiness, therefore why should I fear it? But if death have all these privileges, why then do we live? why do we not, as Cleombrotus, having read Plato's discourse of the immortality of the soul, precipitate ourselves? hasten to that excellence! press to that rich magazine of treasures! why do we bear such miseries in life, there being such felicity in death! and the transition in our power, so facile and so ready! The answer with the ethicks is emergent: *non debet esse fuga actionum, sed actio*—death must not be a flight from action, but an action. Subterfuge is the property of a coward: blows and wounds are the honor of a soldier. Dangers must not affright, but harden him, where the cause requires his hazard." And through much eloquence he proceeds, impressing over again, and with an increased fervour, the necessity of subduing fear, "though the sun itself should tremble—though the immense fabric of the world should shake;" and at last concluding by praying of all men, in all cases, to "expect calmly that issue which time and virtue have appointed. Thus we must look for death; not as an enemy, but a friend; which in his own hours visits us, expects no invitation, may not be compelled, but has a free liberty before him. When he comes, he comes attended by many privileges, decked with flowers of happiness, rest, and sweetness, and exemption of all the evils of life. Therefore there is not the least cause to fear it, or to raise that jealousy and distraction in our government."

The duty of opposing the desires is the next matter discussed. Eliot, after a delicate handling of the bodily passions, points out the jealousy and restless irresolution of desire, agitated between the doubt of attainment and the doubt of loss, hindering even its own satisfaction, and joined with sorrow. "Shall this, then," he asks, "have entertainment in the heart, where happiness and felicity should dwell! That it is a vanity and mere nothing, either the act or the consequence do prove it; for, in itself, what is it more than an imagination and light fancy? In the effect and consequence, does any man conceive there is the least advantage in the thought! Does the most affectionate in this case think that the object is drawn nearer by his wish? 'Tis true, of faith 'twas said, 'believe, and then thou hast,' but never of this desire. We may desire and want; say, that want is but desire. Desire does make the want. As it is nothing in itself, nothing but want does follow it—a vain and fruitless issue, like the mother. Nor is this all for which wisdom does oppose it, that it is, thus, a vanity and mere nothing. No! as an evil likewise she contests it; nay, as the ground and root of all our miseries, the spring and fountain of calamity!" Wielding, then, vast knowledge with the most perfect ease, giving freshness to old truths, and binding together by living ties the rude materials of dead learning, Eliot goes through the dangers that are in desire; "the cares, anxieties, and doubts: the thousand troubles and distractions which men in hope and men in love are charged with; for these in the notion are but one, though distinguished in the expression. Pardon me, Love," interposes Eliot here, "that soe hardly I have matched thee! it is my reason, not my affection, that does speak it." He passionately continues, "What theatre or amphitheatre will serve to represent the tragedies it has acted! In tragic scenes of blood, what executions have been done by the hand of this affection! Man a butcher upon man, acquaintance on acquaintance, familiar on familiar, friend upon friend, kinsman upon kinsman, brother upon brother, father upon son, the son upon the father! drinking up blood like leaches; nay, making sacrifices of themselves, to eternal horror and confusion; and, with their own hands, forcing a passage to that darkness which even hell itself does tremble at! What numberless examples of this kind have love, covetousness, ambition, and their like, almost every day exhibited, and are still contriving, to threaten, as it were, the destruction of mankind!"

In accordance with his general plan of showing in the profoundest view the vanity of the particular passion, by showing the objects that usually excite it to be vain, Eliot now treats the ordinary motives to love. In a portion of his previous discussion of it he had reduced it simply, in its voluptuous form, to "what is pleasant;" and "pleasure" he had shown to be unworthy. "The felicity we look for is an action: not a thought, not a dream, or imagination of the fancy; it is an action of virtue!" As one of the motives to the passion, he then speaks of the vanity of beauty. "What," he asks, "can be found in beauty—the object that love has—so to possess the affection of the mind, and cause a defection from reason? The description that was given it by that unfortunate piece of merit who died where now I live, may be a resolution in this point, who has it in that idea of his wife, that

"Carnal beauty is but skin deep,  
t to two senses knows ;  
ort even of pictures, shorter lived than life,  
d yet survives the love that's built thereon ?

there is such a latitude of sense, such a perspi-  
ruth, that, if all other fancies were collected, this  
the judgment of them all. Here, in an abstract,  
comprehension of their nature, with all plainness,  
atly rendered."

me of this "unfortunate piece of merit" may have  
aggested itself to the reader. It is Sir Thomas

. Keen was Eliot's sympathy for oppression in all  
d here, in his love of literature (which Overbury's  
as I have before had an opportunity of saying, had,  
e, most delicately adorned), and in some circum-  
f his own condition, much conspired to sharpen  
sharp sympathy. He dwells for some time with  
in this quotation from Overbury's poem, and then,  
ge of lively interest, apologues, as it were, to the

"Let it not," he says, "seem a wonder that I  
a fancy for authority, being so new, and borne  
selves. I must confess my ignorance, if it be  
em it not the less as begotten in this age, and as  
wa I love it much the more. 'This truth which I  
r, and the propriety of expression to endure it, not  
e judgment, but the affections: making an insin-  
o by the language for the sense and reason of the  
his I find here, in this Theophrastus, in as great full-  
as succinctly rendered, as the exotics can pretend.  
e we should not value it to the truth and merit  
bears is a wisdom past the apprehension of my  
. I must declare my folly in that point. As it is  
ntry. I honour it the more; and as it was the pro-  
f this place, my admiration is the greater, that in  
ade and darkness, where sorrow and distraction  
all, such happy entertainments and such minutes  
yed."

it acquainted with any passage in the language  
resses, in a few admirable words, a sounder canon  
than is to be observed in the course of the above.  
nary to direct the reader's attention to the deep  
of the closing lines. I may add, that the feeling  
fintimated here, of opposition to a prevalent fash-  
age, a fashion which belongs, perhaps, to the lit-  
erary of all ages, is in many other parts of his  
etically urged by Eliot.

object of desire—riches—is now discussed. The  
a beautiful companion to that of the deprecation  
as an object of fear. His opening reasons against  
e of wealth are strongly stated. "Preposterous  
d" are the mildest epithets he affords to it at last.  
has riches to be "deceitful in their nature, where-  
ak them somewhat, when truth does speak them  
deceitful in their qualities—being fitting and un-  
without any constancy or stability, always wong'd,  
; from one subject to another; deceitful in their  
e take them to be helpful to our happiness, though  
the contrary by continual anxieties and cares!  
ild we then desire them, being no way to be trust-  
all consisting of fallacies and frauds!" Vary beau-  
tiful series of questions that follow. "Hast thou  
merit that might challenge them as due? That  
terrie to them. They cannot discern it. The  
and the worthy are equal in their sense." "They  
sine occasion," he continues, "of all differences,  
contentious, as it were, the field of quarrel and  
e, as that antiently neare Berwick to the English  
h nations." Nobly Eliot sums up their high de-  
"If these be their properties, how can we then  
m? If they be but servicable to those, if they  
fellowship with honesty, if they dissolve the pow-  
son and of virtue, if they be distractive and con-  
blind, mad, deceitful, and uncertain, what is it  
id make that attraction in our hearts, and disturb  
sovereignty and command?" The subject is closed  
y fine allusion to the only one mode of converting  
of riches into true gold, by the alchemy of virtue.  
have riches, Eliot says, you may desire them, if  
use is to convert them to good. "But how is  
asks; "by what means must it be done! The  
express it:

"Divitias probe  
Virtutis instrumenta facite. Sic  
Bonis credimini, et vitam beatam  
Degere poteritis."

riches instruments of virtue, let them be servants  
stress. See you may live happily and well."  
is the next subject treated by Eliot as an ob-  
ire. This, in the worldly acceptation, is regarded  
ith an extreme scorn. "Something still may be  
eautie and for riches; but the honour and glory  
world so names have no reality or substance, no  
ag or existence, but are suppositions and imagin-  
those essences of philosophers, *quæ quasi sunt*, as

they say, which are but as if they were." "Let the de-  
scription of that author," Eliot continues, having indulged  
a severe censure upon the worldly cause of honour, fame,  
"let the description of that author speak the nature of the  
subject. Let Fame, from which honour is deduced, show  
what this honour is, it being the daughter of that mother.  
In that mother take the quality of the daughter. Of which  
Virgil thus:

"Mam Terra parens, ira irritata decorum,  
Extremam, ut perhibent, Cæo Euceladoque sororem  
Progenit, pedibus celerem, et perniciosus alis.  
Monstrum horrendum, ingens: cui, quot sunt corpore  
Tot vigiles oculi subter, mirabile dictu, [plams,  
Tot lingue, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.  
Nocte volat cæli medio terræque, per umbram  
Stridens, nec dulci decedunt lumina somno.  
Luce sedet custos, aut summi calmine tecti,  
Turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes:  
Tant ficti praviqve tenax, quam auctia veri."

(which Eliot translates with freedom)—"First, as sister to  
the Gynæte, the Earth produced it in malice of the Gods—  
swift-footed, light-winged, a huge and horrid monster;  
having that strange thing to be told under each feather of  
her body, a prying watchful eye; and unto that both ears  
and tongues as many, and mouths not fewer, always in  
sound and motion. All night it flies through the middle of  
the heavens, and divides the darkness, giving no place to  
rest. And in the day it sits on the supreme tops of houses,  
or in high turrets, a terror to whole cities, being as well  
the herald of lies and mischiefs as a reporter of the contra-  
ry." This Virgil makes both her nature and descent."

Adopting the suggestion of the Latin poet, Eliot now  
works out a very fine contrast between the huge, but inca-  
pable, energies of the Titans, and the calm accomplishing  
grandeur of the gods. In the eyes of the latter, he says,  
and to the perceptions of philosophy, fame is nothing. The  
following passage succeeds. It is a masterly dissection of  
one of the things denominated honour, in shape of an inqui-  
ry into the claim of hereditary rank; which for sober satire,  
joined to exalted reason, could with difficulty be excelled.  
It calls to my memory some forcible and eloquent things,  
which are urged in a style precisely similar, by one of the  
most original thinkers of this or of any age, Mr. Walter Sav-  
age Landor, in his delightful "Examination of Shakspeare  
for Deer-stealing." "And now to see," says Eliot, "wheth-  
er this 'honor' be confined within an order, limited to per-  
sons and degrees, or left promiscuously to all, as their  
worths and qualities shall deserve it. Wherein let reason  
be the judge. Is it the reward of virtue or of fortune they  
would make it? Let them answer who so magnify this  
pretence. Do they apply that honor to their houses or  
themselves? Is it the distinction of their families, or the  
guerdon of their merits? If they will take it for distinction,  
'tis but a name, and the poorest. The basest have as much,  
and small cause there is to glory in that subject. If it be  
the distinction of their families, the character of their houses,  
though it once implied a glory, what can it be to them more  
than treasures are to porters? But they will say it is the  
glory of their ancestors, the acquisition of their virtues,  
'and from them it does descend hereditarily to us.' So may  
the porter say. That treasure is his master's, and by his  
will imposed upon his shoulders; but to whose use, and in  
whose right, has he received it? In his own, or to his own  
profit and advantage? Masters would take this ill, if their  
servants should usurp it; and all men would condemn them,  
both of falsehood and ingratitude. So is it, in the other, an  
injury to their ancestors, if they pretend that honor to be  
theirs. They can but carry it to their use, as a monument  
of their virtues that acquired it, not in their own interest  
and right, to the glory of themselves; nay, not without their  
shame, whose purchase cannot equal it, being but the sole  
inheritors of the fortune, not the worth. But if they waive  
their families, and reduce it to themselves, between their  
virtues and their fortunes, how will they divide it? If for-  
tune do appropriate it, then the most vicious, the most ig-  
norant, the most dishonorable may be honorable; slaves,  
and they, may be equal in this kind; for not seldom have  
they tasted the liberality of fortune, and this honor none  
will envy them. If virtue be the loadstone that procures it,  
where is it? Let them shew it in the effect, and then I  
hope they'll grant that all so qualified may be honorable.  
All men that have the virtue may participate. Where,  
then, is the propriety they challenge? where is that pecu-  
liar interest they claim? Certainly not in this. This hon-  
or will not bear it, which is the crown of virtue! All per-  
sons, all orders, all degrees extant may be capable thereof.  
They are without exception or exclusion, and, for such oth-  
er honors as are fancied, let them enjoy an immunity there-  
in; I shall rather pity than malign them!"

After this, as it were to while away the time, Eliot brings  
up in aid of the general question new "squadrans of author-  
ities;" disputing some, exalting others. "In one word,"  
he subsequently says, "honor is no other than to follow  
goodness. To be a servant unto virtue is to be master of

true honor, and without that service no honor can be had. Therefore the Romans, those most honorable above all men, in the temples which they dedicated, joined those of virtue and honor to each other, and to that of honor left no entrance or accession but through the gate of virtue; shewing by that symbol where true honor rests, and how it is attained, which is by following virtue. But how is that? how is virtue to be followed? in a fair and easy pace? will that conduce to honor? can honor be so had?" Eliot answers these questions with elaborate care, and closes the subject, after a strong reiteration of his protest against the hereditary claim, that honour should not be "appropriated to any order or degree, as is pretended," for that "to be gotten and descended even of princes is an accident," with an allusion to those enemies of Roman tyranny whose honour, because it was true, outshone the worst envy of the times. Eliot had a peculiar right to call to mind these men, for in his own nature he presented some of their noblest qualities—the fiery energy of Cassius, and Brutus's brave philosophy. "Tactius," he says, "notes it upon the funeral of Junia, where so many famous images were exhibited, the glory of their families, that Brutus and Cassius being omitted through the envy of those times, they outshined the rest because their statues were not seen. *Eo ipso quod effigies eorum non visibantur prefulgebant*," as he has it. They being so concealed, their glory was the greater. Which shews that honor is most had when it is least affected. Why, then, should this disturb us with ambition? why should it make a faction in our government? why should it cause the distraction of our hopes? Ambition cannot purchase it, the hope thereof is vain; no art, no practice can acquire it but by the rule of virtue. And so only, as the virtue is intended, let virtue be our aim. Leave that desire of honor. Let it not be a work of our affections, for in that case we must fight with honor as with enemies."

The reader will have remarked with what a steady purpose, in how close a vice of logic, the main object and argument of the treatise is kept. Eliot now examines his position. "And thus we see from the several objects of desire how little cause there is for that disturbance and impulsion. Honor contains no reason, being rather an enemy than friend to that affection, flying and not following it. Beauty has as little, consisting but of vanity. Riches much less, that are but instruments of corruption. Also for fear, poverty, death, sickness, and the like, which have as small warrant and authority for that passion. Let us now search what more there is in Pleasure, that counterfeit of happiness, and apply our laws to that; for, being the most dangerous of our adversaries, it must the more cautiously be dealt with." To the subject of pleasure, accordingly, Eliot reverts, with the intention of impressing more emphatically in that regard the duty of self-restraint. A vast number of authorities are brought to bear upon it, and Eliot takes occasion to express the most exalted admiration of Homer. He calls him a "prophet and a poet." He amuses himself, at the same time, with notices of Lucian's comments upon Homer, and pursues at great length the analogy between the resistance of Ulysses to the Sirens, and a perfect self-restraint in man. He bound himself, he says, he restricted his liberty. "But wherewith was that done? What were the obligations he incurred? How shall this come to us? Most properly and most readily, if we will endeavour but that means, if we will use the example of that worthy. The same safety is for us which was then wrought to him, and that that great prophet has delivered, with all sincerity and fulness. You know he makes Ulysses then on ship board. And that much experienced man, most curious of all knowledge, would needs add to that the music of the Sirens, the perception of that excellence, though not trusting to himself for the resistance of their powers, in which both danger and destruction were implied. To avoid this, he feigns to be fastened to the mast; his men, meanwhile, do intend their labours, having their senses stopped (vulgar appetites being not capable of such dainties). Now, as this music was but pleasure, those Sirens the occasion, so the virtue were the cords that did restrain and bind him, reason the mast to which he was so fastened, philosophy the ship in which he sailed and went; and in this ship, thus fastened to that mast, having had both the occasion and delight, he escap'd the dangers threatened, and in that preserved the safety of his course. But what was that? the same that is our government, the way to happiness and felicity! this was his Ithaca, this was that course intended, and with these helps, notwithstanding all the difficulties, this he accomplished and performed! Now is not this a plain direction unto us? Is not our remedy, our deliverance from this danger, aptly expressed in this mirror and example? Our sirens are not more, their harmonies not stronger; the same ship we have, with the same tackle; the same ropes, the same mast continue still. Cannot our course, then, be the same? Is not the same safety yet before us? If we doubt that tackle will not hold us against those strong enchantments, let us stop our senses, as Ulysses did with his men, and first avoid the occasions. Nothing is lo'd, not known. Let us, then, stint our curi-

osity herein, and the desire will leave us. But how is that? how shall that work be done? Is it to shun all pleasure, all occasions? That cannot be, nor is it requisite to this! For virtue in the concrete is not absolute, nor to be expected in our monarchy."

All this is subtly and well expressed; and its deep spirit of philosophy has farther vent in the following remarkable passage: "We daily see it in experience, that those who have least affections are most violent (least, I mean, extensively, in respect of number, and the object); their passions being impetuous as contracted to that narrowness, and matterless in that. As Tacitus notes it in Tiberius, who, being most reserved and hidden unto all men, to Sejanus yet was open and incautious. So it is likewise unto others. The heart, being straightened by some objects, grows more violent in those passions; the affection does enlarge as the scope thereof is lessened. Therefore we thus expose that precept of divison: that pleasures may be a remission to the mind, not an intention—that we may taste, not swallow them—that the appetite may be temperate to reason, wherein only true pleasures do consist."

Carrying out his plan of reverting to the more dangerous impediments in the way of man's monarchy, Eliot now resumes the subject of sorrow: "Sorrow," he again insists, "is a perfect enemy, standing in such antipathy with happiness, that it is irreconcilable for our government: therefore to this also we must oppose all the resistance we have, for this moves most violently against us; and if it get possession of our hearts, if it once enter on that part, all our happiness is gone, our monarchy is subverted! For it destroys the end, the felicity we look for, and then the means is useless. It dissolves it in the principle, and so brings it to confusion. For where sorrow is no felicity can be, and a mind so affected can have no taste of happiness. To encounter it, therefore, as physicians do diseases, we will first meet it in the cause; for if that can be removed, the effect forthwith will follow it. The object being gone, the affection must fall after it." Eliot then points out, with renewed earnestness, the fallacy and folly of supposing that things which assume at times the aspects of sorrow are in reality sorrowful. He argues the great principle of the poet of nature, that "there's a Providence that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." Above all, however, he impresses the virtue of opposing whatever appears in sorrow's shape. The exercise, he says, will be great, a discipline of humanity, and an invaluable example to others. "For are not soldiers sometimes heightened in their courage by the valour of their fellows? Do not the valiant often receive new fortitude and spirits by the acts of magnanimity of others? Has not admiration, has not emulation the effect, to work the likeness of that virtue which it has seen before it? to reduce to act the image of that idea which the apprehension has conceived, and, from the excellence of the pattern, to draw an antitype thereof. Wherefore were exhibited those bloody spectacles at Rome—those butcheries of men—those tragic representations to the people—but to inure them to blood, to harden them in dangers, to familiar them with death? And shall not better acts, as better ends directed, have the like power and operation? Shall not divinity, by the works of divine men opposing their afflictions, have as great force in precedent and example as these Romans had by that fighting with beasts, or contesting one another, to harden, to encourage the minds of the more virtuous against all difficulties, all dangers?"

Eliot, after remarking on Plato's noble commentary of the inscription on the Delphic oracle, γνῶθι σεαυτόν, farther, urges this consideration: "It is required of man that he should profit many. It is a common duty of mankind, as far as ability may extend, still to do good to all, or, if not that, to some, as opportunity shall be granted him. Or, if he fail in that, yet to his neighbours, or at least unto himself. But here, in this act of passion and wrestling with calamities, there is advantage given for all. In this contestation of those things we call miseries there is a performance of all these. First, to thyself, thou profitest through the favor of the gods, that give thee this instruction, this education, this trial, this knowledge of thyself, this confirmation of thy virtue. Then to thy neighbours, and all others, thou art profitable by thy precedent and example. Thy fortitude adds courage unto them, stout and valiant. How then—how, in this excellence of duty, in this great duty of advantage—of advantage to ourselves, of advantage to our neighbours, of advantage unto all—we should repine and sorrow, as 'tis a prejudice to our happiness, it's a wonder unto reason?" With much beauty Eliot afterward disposes of the last and best plea that would seem to remain for sorrow—a friend at the grave of his friend. "Let me first ask this question of the sorrower: For whose sake that passion is assumed? for his that is so lost, or for thine own that lost him? Answer to this, and make a justification for thyself. If thou wilt say for his, where is the evil that he suffers? Wherein lies the reason of that grief? Design it out; give it some character to express it. Is it in that he is dead? in that he has made a transition to the elders? That cannot be—for death contains no evil, as

our former proofs have manifested; but is a privilege of immortality, an eternity of happiness. Is it for that he is not? that he is not numbered with the living? That were to lament but because he is not miserable. Thou canst not but acknowledge the distraction of thy fears, the anxiety of thy cares, the complexion of thy pleasures, the mixture of thy sorrows! With all these, and upon all, no rest, no quiet, no tranquillity, but a continual variation of thy thoughts, a servile agitation of thy mind from one passion to another! And wilt thou grieve for him that has his freedom, his immunity from these? On the other side: is that sorrow for thyself, that thou hast lost a friend—the sweetness, the benefit of his friendship—thy comfort in society—the assistance of thy business—the alleviation of thy cares—the extension of thy griefs—the multiplication of thy joys—thy cause—thy counsel—thy sword—thy shield—thy store—thy wealth—thy eye—thy ear—thy taste—thy touch—thy smell—the *carissimum* of thy happiness (for all these are attributes of friendship)? consider, first, whether friendship may not change, whether a breach and enmity may not follow it, as not seldom happens in the most strict conjunctions, with, which then no enmity may compare! Then, 'twere sorer thus to have lost it, that evil being prevented, and the obligation, the virtue kept entire! But if that doubt prevail not; if thou supposest a perpetuity in that friendship, a assurance of that love; is it not envy in thee, and unreasonableness thereof, for these respects, those temporary benefits to thyself, to grudge at his happiness and felicity, which is infinite and celestial! Justice may resolve how far this is from friendship, how unworthy of that name! "This sorrowing, Eliot afterward observes, is variously applied. "Marcellus wept when he had taken Syracuse; Alexander, to have no more worlds to conquer." Concluding with the phrase of the ethics, that to conquer what might be fancied real calamities "not only makes a man a conqueror, and wise, but equal, nay, superior to the gods." Eliot, in a passage of great eloquence, banishes sorrow from his government.

Having thus disposed of the impediments to the monarchy of man—of the obstructing passions—Eliot now turns to the elevation of the monarchy itself, to the virtues by whose exercise and operation, condensed into two great purposes, the structure is to be raised. "Our next care must be how to obtain the virtue, how to possess the means which must procure that end; and if that can be acquired, then is our felicity complete, then we have that perfection of our government, the summum bonum in philosophy, the bonum publicum in our policy, the true end and object of the monarchy of man. Two parts it has—action and contemplation; of which the first divides itself into two branches, as the virtue *agendo* and *dicendo*, doing and saying, both which concur to action. By doing, is intended those travels and motions of the body that are necessary in the performance of those works which the duty and office of our callings require; by saying, is meant that expression of the tongue whereby the intelligence of the heart is made communicable to others, and the thoughts are conveyed to the understanding of the hearers. In these two all action does consist, and so that part of the virtue and perfection. Both these have a rule, and level, and direction, which we did touch before, as the common duty of mankind. In that duty their office is implied, which is that it be profitable to many. In the general good and benefit it must be extended, first to all, then, after, to ourselves." Here Eliot interposes in a parenthesis this valuable reminder: "For all right of office is destroyed by the inversion of this order. To reflect first upon ourselves, our own particular interests, and then upon the general, is the contrary of duty, the breach of office and relation. Therefore to the public both our words and actions must first move, without respect, without retraction for our private. They must first intend the common good and benefit, and so descend by degrees unto ourselves. For as members are in bodies for the perfection of the man, so men in bodies politic, as parts of these societies, and for the conservation of the whole, and to that end their chief endeavour must incline." Eliot then, with a noble fervour, inculcating the practice of his own life, thus resumes: "Here some questions will arise; how far this shall engage us? what latitude it imports? what cautions and exceptions it admits? Difficulties may occur, and then involve us in anxieties, with troubles and perplexities disturbing our tranquillities, distracting the quietness we are in. And shall we forsake that sweetness! shall we neglect that fatness of our peace (as the fig and olive said of old) for the public use and service? for the profit and commodity of others? Yes! no difficulties may retard us, no troubles may divert us, no exception is admitted to this rule! but where the greater good is extant, the duty and office there is absolute, without caution or respect. That greater good appearing, nothing may dissuade us from the work—no respect of ease, no respect of pleasure, no respect of the troubles we may meet; but in performance of that duty, in accomplishment of that office, our troubles must seem pleasant, our labours must seem facile, all things easy, all things sweet therein; for the rule is, *Officium non fructum sequi*, to observe the

duty, not the benefit, to seek that end which is propounded in the general, not to propound an end and reason of our own. But danger may be incident! it may betray our safeties, and expose our fortunes, expose our liberties, expose our lives to hazard! and shall we, then, adventure upon these? shall we forsake our safeties? shall we incur those dangers, for foreign interests and respects, for that which concerns but others, which is foreign unto us? Yes, this likewise we are bound to; our obligation lies in this. No danger, no hazard may deter us. The duty and office stand entire."

In this first division of material for Eliot's grand structure the reader will recognise the old principle of the ancients, in their separation of the characteristics of wisdom. The one, which we have just seen described, comprehending the beginning and end of all things to be done, *φρόνις*, prudence; the other, which Eliot is now about to subjoin, compassing the manner and ways conducing to those ends, *σοφία*, sapientia. "The rest," he says, describing the latter, "all follow this, and are but servants to this mistress, several operations of this faculty having their appellations from their works. If we would ask what fancy does intend, what is the signification of that name, the answer is, 'Tis wisdom, the divine spirit of the mind, that hunts out all intelligence. If we may inquire what memory does import, the same answer serves. 'Tis wisdom, the influence of that faculty. For where the fancy cannot keep all things upon intention, memory is suggested for supply of that defect, and so makes up the wisdom. If we would know what judgment does imply, the resolution is the same. 'Tis but an act of wisdom, the operation of that power. Therefore in this consists the perfection of all theory, the sum of all contemplation, and so that other part of virtue." Very beautiful is the passage that follows: "But how may this wisdom, then, be had? Where may we seek and find it? The answer is most obvious: In the doctrines of philosophy; for philosophy is the introduction to this wisdom; so both the word and reason do import; for by the word is signified only a love of wisdom, a love of that wisdom which we speak of; and that love will be accompanied with an endeavour to attain it, which is intended in the common sense and notion. For that science of philosophy is but a guest of wisdom, the study of that excellence: and so Plato gives it in his gradations unto happiness. Philosophy is the first step he makes as the desire of wisdom; to which he adds the study and contemplation to attain it. From that study and speculation he arises unto wisdom, from that wisdom unto happiness. So that philosophy is the principle. Wisdom does there begin, which has its end in happiness, and happiness in this order is the production of philosophy. In sum, all contemplation is but this, but this study of philosophy. If it ascend the heavens to view the glory of that beauty, philosophy does direct it. If it descend to measure the centre of the earth, philosophy goes with it. If it examine nature and her secrets, philosophy must assist it. If it reflect on causes or effects, that turn is by philosophy. The contemplation of all ends, all beginnings, all successes, is propounded by philosophy. So that philosophy, in contemplation, is as prudence in the virtues, the architect and chief workman, that gives motion and direction to the rest. Great is the excellence of philosophy, as it is chief in contemplation, and the accompaniment of that virtue. Greater much it is, as it is a principle to wisdom, and an instructor to the counsellor. But beyond all comparison it is greatest, as it is the first degree to happiness, as it leads on to that perfection of our government! No words can sufficiently express it, nor render a true figure of that worth. Being in contemplation, contemplation only must conceive it!"

The question then occurs: Which of these great divisions of the virtues is to be considered the highest and most perfect? And Eliot answers it. As an exercise of the faculties, in pure and single grandeur, he pronounces at once in favour of philosophy, of contemplation; but is careful to modify this immediately after, by pronouncing no wisdom complete without the active practices of virtue. Speaking on the first head, he urges the superior greatness of the contemplative philosopher, in regard that his thoughts are fixed on the final intelligence: "And he that levels at that mark, though he come short, yet shoots higher than he that aims but at man. Besides, there is this advantage in it, that nothing can be *contracted* from the president to prejudice or corrupt it, which lower examples may induce; but much perfection may be *added* by the elevation of the mind. As chemicks in the disquisition of the elixir, though the wonder be not found, yet have extracted great varieties by that labour, excellent demonstrations by that work. It is the way in part to resume the image we have lost, for that was not an outward figure, but a resemblance in virtue. If that similitude was laid in virtue, it cannot so aptly be repaired as by the imitation of the Deity, in whom the exactness of all virtue does remain. This help philosophy does give us in the speculation of eternity; and likewise it derives to our present view and prospect the knowledge of all antiquity, in what their happiness consisted, what were the ingredients of that compound, and how it was lost at first,

whence the judgment may resolve what is true happiness to us." On the second head, however, Eliot immediately subjoins: "But if so, if philosophy and contemplation have this fruit, that these degrees of happiness be in them, and so direct a way to happiness itself, how is it that we involve us in such toils, such anxieties and perplexities, to acquire it? It is a vanity and folly by such hard labour to effect, when a less trouble, a less travail comes so near! If philosophy and contemplation can procure it, *those sweet and gentle motions of the soul*, what need the co-operations of the body, those actions and those passions, which virtue does require, and which so often force distraction, nay, destruction upon men? Yet they are needful, for without virtue true happiness cannot be, and these compose the other half of virtue. For contemplation and action make the whole. Virtue consists only in both, and in part there is no perfection. Therefore to contemplation action also must be joined, to make a complete virtue, and by that virtue only true happiness may be had." And, careful not to be misunderstood in what he had said before of the supremacy of contemplation, he adds (with an intimation that he will discuss the matter more fully in a future treatise—a project stopped by death!) that contemplation must be considered the chief, for "contemplation is the beginning of all action, the principle of that motion: action but a derivative of that, and no derivation can be equal to the primitive, no second comparable with the first. All actions are but the emanation of the will, and the will receives her instance from the apprehension of the mind. But still," he adds, "both must be concurrent. Virtue is a composition of them both. Contemplation must prepare the matter of our happiness, action dispose and order it."

Eliot's great purpose now accomplished, he closes his labours with an exalted eulogy on the independence and superiority of the mind. I present it to the reader entire. It is worthy to have closed a work of such nobility in conception and power in execution.

"This makes up that perfection of our monarchy—that happiness of the mind which, being founded upon these grounds, built upon these foundations, no power or greatness can impeach. Such is the state and majesty, that nothing can approach it but by the admission of these servants; such is the safety and security, that nothing can violate or touch it but by these instruments and organs; such is the power and dignity, that all things must obey it. All things are subject to the mind, which, in this temper, is the commander of them all. No resistance is against it. It breaks through the orbes and immense circles of the heavens, and penetrates down to the centre of the earth! It opens the fountains of antiquity, and runs down the streams of time, below the period of all seasons! It dives into the dark counsels of eternity and into the abstruse secrets of nature! It unlocks all places, and all occasions are alike obvious to it! It does observe those subtil passages in the air, and the unknown paths and traces in the deeps! There is that great power of operation in the mind, that quickness and velocity of motion, that in an instant it does pass from extremity to extremity, from the lowest to the highest, from the extremest point of the west to the horizon and ascendant in the east. It measures in one thought the whole circumference of heaven, and by the same line it takes the geography of the earth. The air, the fire, all things of either, are within the comprehension of the mind.

It has an influence on them all, whence it takes all that may be useful, and that may be helpful in its government. No limitation is prescribed it, no restriction is upon it, but in free scope it has liberty upon all. And in this liberty is the excellence of the mind; in this power and composition of the mind is the perfection of the man; in that perfection is the happiness we look for; when in all sovereignty it reigns commanding, not commanded; when at home, the subject are subject and obedient, not refractory and factious; when abroad, they are as servants, servicable and in readiness without hesitation or reluctance; when to the resolutions of the counsellors, to the digests of the laws, the actions and affections are inclined—this is that summum bonum, the chief good, which in this state and condition is obtain'd. The mind for this has that transcendence given it, that was though otherwise the weakest, might be the strongest and most excellent of all creatures. In that only is the excellence we have, and thereby are we made superior to the rest. For in the habits of the body, in all the faculties thereof, man is not comparable to others, in sense and action far inferior to many. The ancients suppose it the discretion of Epimetheus, having the first distribution of the qualities, to leave us so defective, when to the rest he gave an excellence in their kinds. As swiftness and agility to some, strength and fortitude to others; and whom he found weakest, these he made most nimble, as in the fowls as others it is seen; and whom he found most slow, to these he gave most strength, as bulls and elephants do express it; and so all others in their kinds have some singularity and excellence, wherein there is a compensation for a want; some being armed offensively and defensive, and that having a provisional security. But man only he left naked, more unfurnished than the rest: in him there was neither strength nor agility to preserve him from the danger of his enemies—multitudes exceeding him in either, man in both—to whom he stood obnoxious and exposed, having no resistance, no avoidance for their furies! But in the case and necessity, to relieve him upon this oversight an improvidence of Epimetheus, Prometheus, that wise statesman, whom Pandora could not cozen, having the present apprehension of the danger by his quick judgment and intelligence, secretly passes into heaven, steals out a fire from thence, infuses it into man, by that inflames his mind with a divine spirit and wisdom, and therein gives him a full supply for all! For all the excellence of the creatures he had a far more excellence in this. This one was for them all. No strength nor agility could match it. All motions and abilities came short of this perfection. The most choice arms of nature have their superlative in its arts. All the arts of Vulcan and Minerva have their comparative heroes. In this divine fire and spirit, this supernatural influence of the mind, all excellence organical is surpass'd; it is the transcendent of them all; nothing can come to match it; nothing can impeach it; but man therein is an absolute master of himself; his own safety and tranquillity by God (for so we must remember the ethicks did express it) are made dependant on himself. And in that self-dependance, in the neglect of others, in the entire rule and dominion of himself, the affections being composed, the actions so directed, is the perfection of our government, that summum bonum in philosophy, the bonum publicum in our policy, the true end and object of this MONARCHY OF MAN."

## THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD.—1593–1641.

THOMAS WENTWORTH was born on the 13th of April, 1593, in Chancery Lane, at the house of his mother's father, Mr. Robert Atkinson, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn.\* He was the eldest of twelve children, and the heir of "an estate which descended to him through a long train of ancestors, who had matched with many heiresses of the best families in the North, worth at that time 6000*l.* a year."† His father, Sir William Wentworth, continued to hold a manor which his ancestors had held from the time of the Conquest downward.‡

The youth of Wentworth was passed, and his mind received its earliest and strongest impressions in the midst of the aristocratic influences. And he was by no means taught to disregard them. He must have considered the various ramifications of the family pedigree with a very early pride and zeal, to have been so well prepared, on his sudden elevation to the peerage, with the formidable list of progenitors that were cited in his patent. It was there set forth, among other grand and notable things, that he was lineally descended from John of Gaunt, and from the ancient barons of Newmark, Oversley, and so forth; and that his ancestors, either by father or mother, had matched with divers houses of honour; as with Maud, countess of Cambridge, daughter to the Lord Clifford of Westmoreland; with Margaret, daughter and heir to the Lord Philip de Spencer; the lords D'Arcey of the North; Latimer, Talboys, Ogle; Ferrers, earl of Digby; Quincy, earl of Winchester; Beaumont, earl of Leicester; Grantmesnil, baron of Hincley and lord-high-steward of England; Peveril, earl of Nottingham; Leofric, earl of Mercia; and Margaret, duchess of Somerset, grandmother of Henry VII.§ It was from the high conventional ground of such proud recollections that Thomas Wentworth looked forward to the future.

Little account of his early education has been preserved, but he afterward proved that no accomplishment suited to rank and lofty expectations had been omitted; and it is characteristic of the encouragement given by his father to his aristocratic tendencies, that the college selected for the completion of his studies should have been that which was founded by the illustrious grandmother of Henry VII., whom he claimed as one of his ancestors. He was sent to St. John's College, Cambridge.|| Here he soon gave evidence of the powers of a fine intellect, and of that not ungenerous warmth of disposition which is lavish of gratitude and favour in return for personal service. He met with a tutor, Mr. Greenwood, whose useful attentions to him at this time were secured for the future by a prompt appreciation

of their value; he availed himself of them through his after life, and never at any time failed faithfully, and even affectionately, to remember and reward them.\* I may add, in further proof of this characteristic quality, that we find him shortly after profiting by the active service of a person named Radcliffe,† connected with his family by some claims of clan-ship, and that, from this time, Radcliffe never left his side. He had been found useful.

Wentworth left his college while yet very young; he cannot have been more than eighteen. But he had received benefits from his residence there, and he did not fail to exhibit his recollection of these also, when the power and opportunity arose.‡ Not that it required, in this particular case, the circumstance of service rendered to elicit Wentworth's return. The memory of his proudly-recollected ancestress was abundantly sufficient to have called it forth, "being," as he himself, shortly after this, writes to one of his country neighbours, "I must confess, in my own nature, a great lover and conservator of hereditary good-wills, such as have been amongst our nearest friends."§ When a hereditary good-will happened to be associated with one of his greatest ancestral glories, it ran little chance of being lessened or lost.

The next circumstance I trace in the scanty memorials of this portion of his history is his acquisition of the honour of knighthood.|| This title was then to be purchased at a reasonable rate of money; doubtless Wentworth so purchased it; and the fact may be taken, along with the evidences I have already named, in farther corroboration of the development of the aristocratic principle. Though still extremely young, this remarkable person had been left to all the independence of mature manhood; was treated with deference by his father; and even now, having not yet passed his eighteenth year,

\* I shall have other occasions to allude to this. It may be worth while to add, that Greenwood was himself a man of ancient family, and not likely, on that account, to prove less suitable to Wentworth. See *Biog. Brit.*, vol. vii., p. 4173, note C.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 125, 189; ii., p. 390. I may allude to this again. On his promotion to the earldom, two years before his death, he acknowledged, in warm phrase, the congratulations of the provost and fellows of his old college: "After my very hearty commendations, so mindful I am of the ancient favours I received in that society of St. John's whilst I was a student there, and so sensible of your present civility towards me, as I may not upon this invitation pass by either of them unacknowledged. And therefore do hereby very heartily thank you for renewing to me the sense of the one, and affording me the favour of the other. And in both these regards shall be very apprehensive of any occasions, wherein I may do any good offices either towards that house or yourselves, the provost and fellows thereof."

‡ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 25.

§ The writer in the *Biog. Brit.*, and Mr. MacDiarmid, assign a later period to this, but without authority. Radcliffe distinctly, in his *Essay*, names the year 1611; and there is extant a letter of Sir Peter Frecheville's to Wentworth's father, Sir William Wentworth, dated in this year, which commences thus: "I do unfeignedly congratulate the honourable fortunes of my cousin, your eldest son;" in reference, as must be supposed, to the youth's new title. While on this subject I may add, that Mr. MacDiarmid has also fallen into error in attributing certain praises (vol. i., p. 1, of the *Strafford Papers*) to Thomas Wentworth; they distinctly relate to his brother William, then educating for the bar.

\* Radcliffe's "Essay towards the Life of my Lord Strafford," published as an appendix to "The EARL OF STRAFFORD'S LETTERS AND DISPATCHES," 3 vols. folio, Dublin edit., 1740, vol. ii., p. 429. *Biographia Britannica*, vol. vii., p. 4173.

† An account of the Wentworths will be found in Collins; and see Thoresby's *Duocatus Ledienensis*.

‡ Collins's *Peerage of England*, vol. ii., p. 20, 21.

§ Radcliffe's *Essay*.



aspired to the hand of Frances, eldest daughter of the Earl of Cumberland, whom he married before the close of 1611.\* If it has seemed strange to the reader that the immediate successor to an ancient patrimony should have sought to feed his love of rank by the purchase of a paltry knighthood, here is the probable reason that influenced him. A title of any sort matched him more fittingly with a lady of title. Immediately after his marriage, in November, 1611, he went into France.† Mr. Greenwood, his former tutor, joined him there, and remained with him.‡

Strange events at that moment shook the kingdom of France. Henry IV. assassinated, the Parliament invaded and beset, Marie de' Medici regent, Sully disgraced, Concini in favour! These things sunk deep into the mind of Wentworth. "Il put faire dès lors," exclaims the Comte de Lally-Tolendal, "de profondes réflexions sur les horreurs du fanatisme, sur les abus du pouvoir, sur le malheur d'un pays dépourvu de ces loix fixés, qui, dans l'impossibilité d'annéantir les passions humaines, les balancent du moins l'une par l'autre, et les forcent par leur propre intérêt à servir, même en dépit d'elles, l'intérêt général."§ Without adopting M. de Lally-Tolendal's exact construction, it is certain that the events I have named, occurring as it were in the immediate presence of Wentworth,|| were not calculated to weaken his impressions in favour of strict establishment, and in scorn of popular regards. The image of a Ravillac, indeed, haunted his after life!¶

Meanwhile events, in themselves not so startling and painful as these, but not the less ominous of a stormy future, were occurring in England. In the biography of Eliot I confined myself strictly to an explanation of the circumstances of general history under which he entered his first Parliament: I must now retrace my steps.

James I. had many reasons to be weary of his own kingdom, when the death of Elizabeth seated him on the English throne. He came to this country in an ecstasy of infinite relief. Visions of levelling clergy and factious nobles had vanished from his aching sight. In hopeful conceit, he turned to his Scotch followers, and remarked, they had at last arrived in the land of promise.

His first interviews with his English counsellors were no less satisfactory. "Do I mak

the judges! do I mak the bishops!" he exclaimed, as they pointed out to his delighted attention the powers of his new dominion—"then, Godis wauns! I mak what likes me law and Gospel." There is enough of shrewdness in this remark to express James's character in that respect. He was not an absolute fool, and little more can be said of him. It is a pity he was not, since he was deficient in much wisdom. It is the little redeeming leaven which proves troublesome and mischievous; the very wise or the very foolish do little harm. His "learning," such as it was—though not open to the serious censure which is provoked by his preposterous vanity in the matter of "kingcraft," his disgraceful love of personal ease, and his indecent and shameless fondness for personal favourites—never furnished him with one useful thought, or a suggestion of practical benefit.\* He wrote mystical definitions of the prerogative, and polite "Counterblasts to Tobacco;" issued forth damnation to the deniers of witchcraft,† and poured out the wraths of the Apocalypse upon popery; but whenever an obvious or judicious truth seemed likely to fall in his way, his pen infallibly waddled off from it. He expounded the Latin of the fathers at Hampton Court,‡ but avoided the very plain and intelligible Latin of Fortescue.

Not so the great men, his opponents, who were now preparing for a constitutional struggle, of which Europe had as yet given no example. At the close of Elizabeth's reign they had risen to a formidable party; they had wrung

\* Bacon's opinion has been urged against this, as evidence of genuine praise or of the basest sycophancy. He dedicated his greatest work, the "Advancement of Learning," to James. It is worth while, however, to quote the exact words of this dedication. They are very curious. If they were meant seriously, never was so much flattery ingeniously mixed up with so much truth. They savour much more of irony. "I am well assured," writes Bacon, "that this which I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth; which is, that there hath not been, since Christ's time, any king or temporal monarch, which hath been so learned in all literature and erudition, divine and human. For let a man seriously and diligently revolve and peruse the succession of the emperors of Rome, of which Cæsar the dictator, who lived some years before Christ, and Marcus Antoninus, were the best learned; and so descend to the emperors of Grecia, or of the West, and then to the lines of France, Spain, England, Scotland, and the rest; and he shall find his judgment is truly made. For it seemeth much in a king, if by the compendious extractions of other men's wits and labour, he can take hold of any superficial ornaments and shows of learning, or if he countenance and prefer learning and learned men: but to drink in-deed of the true fountain of learning, nay, to have such a fountain of learning in himself, in a king, and in a king born, is almost a miracle." This makes out too formidable an exception to be quite complimentary, and perhaps James's irreverent joke about the book itself was not unconnected with its dedication. "It is like the peace of God," he said, "it passeth all understanding!" It was a fair retort upon the sycophancy of James's more profligate flatterers, when Henry IV. of France admitted that he might be "Solomon, the son of David."

† See the preface to his "Demonologie."

‡ An extraordinary account of the indecent conduct of James at this conference is given by Harrington, an eyewitness (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, vol. i., p. 181), and is worth referring to. Barlow, a partial observer of the king and bishops, gives a long account of the discussion in his *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 140, *et seq.*, edit. 1707. See, also, Winwood's *Memorials*, p. 13. James and his eighteen select bishops boasted that they had thoroughly beaten their four Puritan adversaries: and beat them, it must be confessed, they did, with the rudest and most atrocious insults: certainly not with learning. In the latter respect, Dr. Reynolds, the Puritan leader, had the advantage perhaps any other man in England. See Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 405.

\* Radcliffe's Essay.

† [He married Margaret, eldest daughter of Francis Clifford, fourth Earl of Cumberland: for which statement, see Strafford's life in Jesse's *Court of Stuarts*.—C.]

‡ Radcliffe's Essay.

§ This is the only remark with any pretension to originality I have been able to find through the course of a long "Essai sur la Vie de T. Wentworth, Comte de Strafford," which the Comte de Lally-Tolendal (penetrated with profound disgust at the patriotic party in England, and with the striking resemblance between Strafford's fate and that of his own unfortunate father) undertook to write for the instruction of his countrymen. He perpetrated a very ridiculous tragedy on the same subject.

|| He does not appear to have visited France only at this period, as has been supposed. He went on to Venice, where he formed a friendship with Sir Henry Wotton. We find him afterward, in his correspondence, contrasting to his friend the ambassador, "these cold and sluggish climates," with "the more sublimated air of Italy."—*Papers*, vol. i., p. 6.

¶ Wotton continued his ardent friend and admirer.

¶ His letters afford very frequent evidence of this.

ons even from her splendid despotism, for themselves the courteous title of "ers."\* They soon found that they s to fear from her successor. He had nal claims on their respect,† no dignity in royalty. They buckled on the ar- their privileges, and awaited his ludi- attacks, without respect and without

soon commenced them, and with a bly defenceless. He had impoverished vn by conferring its estates on his ollowers; he had deprived it of the y and support of the wealthier barons, isting them with his indiscriminate creations.§ From this feeble hand, ead stuffed with notions of his royal y," he issued the first of his proclama- r the assembling of Parliament. It d a deadly attack on the privileges of se of Commons, in an attempt to regu- Parliamentary elections. This was re- und defeated, and so the fight began. ||

MSS., 4166. Letter of Sir E. Hoby to Sir T. dated Feb. 12, 1605. See, also, Hallam's *Con- Hist.*, vol. i., p. 401. A curious tract in the S. 887, confirms the loss of Elizabeth's popular- ties its cause, in a short history of the queen's the new king's accession. See, too, the pro- the case of Peter Wentworth (a Cornish Went- rl. Hist., vol. iv., p. 186, *et seq.* The name of a fills up more than one illustrious era of the story.

was of the progress of his journey from Scotland ed before him! "By the time he reached Lon- Carte, a friend of the Stuarts, "the admira- intelligent world was turned into contempt." will find good reason for this in Harrington's *cam*, vol. i., p. 180; Wilson, in Kennet, vol. ii., al. p. 404, quarto edit.; Fuller, part ii., p. 22; l. i., p. 402, 403. Nor is it likely that this could have been diminished by his personal aspect- don (quoting Balfour) has described, and Saun- his *Aulicus Coquinarius*—an answer to Weldon's not dared to contradict. "He was of a middle yn Balfour, "more corpulent thorough his clothes body, yet fat enough; his clothes over being s and easie, the doublets quilted for stiletto breeches in grate pleits and full stuffed; he dly of a timorous disposition, which was the some of his quilted doublets; his eye large, over er any stranger cam in his presence; in much or shame have left the room, as being out of e; his beard was weery thin; his toung too large ethe, wich ever made him speake full in the d made him drinke weery uncomelie, as if eating wich cam out into the cupe in each syde of his is skin vas as softe as tafta sarriot, wich felt so s neuer washt his hands, onlie rubbed his fingers' ly with the vert end of a napkin. His legs wer e; having had, as was thought, some foule play he, or rather, befor he was borne; that he was stand at seuen yerres of age; that weaknes made nating on other men's shoulders." "His walk," ilson, "was ever circular." The satirical Fran- has certainly completed this picture: "I shall tremed for posterity," says that writer, "in the him in, the next progress after his inaugura- h was as green as the grass he trued on; with a his cap, and a horn, instead of a sword, by his ' suitable to his age, calling, or person, I leave dge from his pictures."—*Trad. Mem.*, c. xvii. inous hint of relative advantage may be quoted ournals, vol. i., p. 156. "That a people may be ing, a king cannot be without a people." lingbrooke on the History of England, p. 237, 238. fo of James, p. 69, 71. "A pasquil," says Wil- peated up at St. Paul's, wherein was pretended elp weak memories to a competent knowledge of of the nobility."—P. 7.

mons' Journals, p. 147, *et seq.*, 166; Carte, 730; Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii., p. 18; Bo- Remarks, p. 250. Hume observes that "the h which he departed from this pretension is a meaning was innocent" (vol. v., p. 12). Fear, characteristic, is the more obvious solution.

H

The popular party proclaimed their intentions at once with boldness, and in explicit language. They warned the king of his imprudence; they spoke of the dissolute and abandoned character of his court expenses. They did not refuse to assist his wants, but they maintained that every offer of money on their part should be met with corresponding offers of concession on the part of the crown. They brought forward a catalogue of grievances in the practice of the ecclesiastical courts, in the administration of civil justice, and in the conduct of the various departments of the government. For these they demanded redress.\* Artifice and intrigue were the first answers they received, and a prorogation the last.

James had now sufficient warning, but, nevertheless, plunged blusteringly forward. With no clear hereditary right to the crown,† he flouted his only safe pretension—the consent and authority of the people. With no personal qualities to command respect, he proclaimed himself a "lieutenant and vicegerent of God," and, as such, adorned and furnished with "sparkles of divinity." In total ignorance of the nature and powers of government, nothing could shake his vain conceit of the awe to be inspired by his regal wisdom. The Commons, however, left no point of their claims unasserted or uncertain; they reserved no "arcana imperii," after the king's fashion. They drew up in committee a "Satisfaction" of their proceedings for the perusal of James, who makes an evident allusion to it in a letter of the time.‡ It is vain to say, after reading such documents as this, that liberty, a discrimination of the powers and objects of government, was then only struggling to the light, or had achieved no distinct form and pretension. It was already deep in the hearts and in the understandings of men. "What cause," they eloquently said, "we, your poor Commons, have to watch over their privileges is evident in itself to all men. The prerogatives of princes

\* They tried to get the Upper House to join them in these complaints, but vainly. Their lordships refused. See *Somers's Tracts*, vol. ii., p. 14; *Commons' Journals*, p. 199, 235, 238. For the principal grievances, see *Journals*, p. 190, 215, 251, &c.; Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, vol. i., p. 412, 415; and Lingard's *History*, vol. vi., p. 23, 27, 68-93, quarto edit.

† Mr. Hallam has admirably and fully discussed this point, *Const. Hist.*, p. 392-400. I have no doubt the king was able to feel his want of clear pretensions acutely; but his blundering shrewdness taught him no better mode of concealing it than by magnifying the inherent rights of primogeniture succession, as something indefeasible by the Legislature. We find him frequently, with much testiness, reminding the Commons, "you all know, I came from the loins of your ancient kings;" a sure proof that he feared they did not know it. See *Parl. Hist.*, vol. v., p. 192.

‡ This remarkable paper will be found at length in Petry's *Jus Parliamenti*, ch. x., p. 227; and is extracted into Mr. Hatsell's first vol. of *Precedents*, Appendix, No. 1. Hatsell states that it was not entered on the Journals. This is partly a mistake, for at p. 243 the first paragraph will be found. Rapin alludes to it; and Mr. Hallam has made very spirited use of it (vol. i., p. 418), though he seems to labour under misapprehension in stating that Hume was ignorant of its existence. Hume, on the contrary, makes special allusion to it (vol. v., p. 15); quotes a passage from it; speaks of it as drawn up "with great force of reasoning and spirit of liberty;" attributes it to Bacon and Sandys; and inclines to think that it had not been presented to the monarch by the House. The last supposition is certainly incorrect; and Mr. Hallam produces a letter which appears to indicate the feelings with which the king regarded it (vol. i., p. 419). About this time, it may be added, mention is made in the Journals that fresh seats were required for the extraordinary attendance of members.—P. 141.

may easily, and do daily, grow. The privileges of the subject are, for the most part, at an everlasting stand. They may be, by good providence and care, preserved; but being once lost, are not recovered but with much disquiet."

Another session succeeded, and the same scenes were again enacted, with the same results. In vain were monopolies cried down, and the merchants lifted their voices unavailingly against the inglorious peace with Spain. After this prorogation, James's obstinacy held out for upward of two years, when want of money overcame it.

The session of 1610 was a most distinguished one, and called the unjust prerogative to a rigorous reckoning. James had most illegally, in the face of two great charters, and twelve other Parliamentary enactments, imposed certain duties on imports and exports. Bates, a Turkey merchant, refused payment of one on currants, and carried his case into the exchequer.\* The judges there refused him justice, in terms more disgraceful and subversive of liberty than even the iniquitous decision. Against this, and in no measured terms, the Commons now protested. Lawyers, more learned than the judges, exposed, in masterly reasoning, the ignorance and corruption of Barons Fleming and Clark. Sir Francis Bacon appealed with all his eloquence to the reverence of past ages, and the possession of the present; but Hakewill proved,† in an argument of memorable clearness and vast knowledge, that the only instances adduced were on forbidden articles, and therefore false as precedents; and Bacon appealed in vain. Still more vain was the rage of the monarch, who hastened to the House to lay his arrogant commands upon them. He told them, after a comparison savouring of blasphemy, that it "was seditious in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power."‡ They answered in a remonstrance of great strength and spirit, and of much learning.§ After producing a host of precedents, they passed a bill against impositions; but, to use Hume's phrase, "the House of Lords, as is usual, defended the barriers of the throne," and threw out the bill.||

\* A very learned preface to the report of the case of Bates in the State Trials, comprising the entire argument on the question, has been written by Mr. Hargrave. Coke, in his 2d Inst., p. 57, proves the illegality of the decision; though, in his Reports (p. 12), he had inclined to its favour, on other grounds than those stated by the judges. See also, Birch's Negotiations, and an eloquent and very learned note on the subject of impositions, in Mr. Amos's Fortescue, p. 28-31, 142, 143. I cannot leave the latter work without adding that, various and extensive as is the learning displayed in it, it is for those only to appreciate Mr. Amos's profound acquaintance with constitutional law and history who, like myself, have to acknowledge, with the deepest gratitude, information personally communicated.

† See his speech, State Trials, vol. ii., p. 407. Mr. Hallam's statement of the discussion is interesting, vol. i., p. 432-433.

‡ It is worth referring to this speech, as given in King James's Works, p. 529-531. The discontent it provoked will be found by referring to Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii., p. 175; Commons' Journals, p. 430; and Miss Aikin's James, vol. i., p. 350.

§ It will be found at length in Somers's Tracts, vol. ii., p. 150.

|| Hume, referring to this measure, observes: "A spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the House. The leading members, being men of independent genius and large views, began to regulate their opinions more by the future

I may allude a little farther to the proceedings of this distinguished session, since they illustrate forcibly the exact relative positions of the crown and Parliament at the period of Wentworth's return.

Unwearied in exertion, the House of Commons now fastened on a work that had been published by Dr. Cowell, one of the party of civilians encouraged against the Common lawyers, and which contained most monstrous doctrines on the subject of kingly power.\* They compelled James to suppress the book. The wily Cecil had striven to effect a compromise with them, by the proposition of a large yearly revenue to the crown, in return for which he promised that the liberality of the sovereign in the matter of grievances should be commensurate. He had entreated, however, without success, that the subsidies should have priority: the Commons were resolute in enforcing the condition before yielding the grant. The fate of their impositions' bill had instructed them. Cecil now pressed again for the subsidies; they persisted in the farther entertainment of grievances. They complained of the ecclesiastical high commission court, and its disregard of the common law; they protested against the recent system of substituting proclamations for laws; they sought redress for the delays of the courts in granting writs of prohibition and *habeas corpus*; they questioned the right of the council of Wales to exclude from the privileges of the common law four ancient English counties; they remonstrated against patents of monopolies, and a late most unjust tax upon victuallers; but, above all, they strove to exonerate the country from the feudal burdens.† They did not dispute that these in right belonged to the crown, but they negotiated for their abolition; for they never then insisted on a right, except with proofs and precedents in their hands for claiming it as such. In that particular stage of the contest, the necessity and justice of such caution is apparent, and forms an important feature of their struggles.

The negotiation now commenced. James did not care to abolish purveyance,‡ which was sought for; but with that was coupled a demand for the exchange of every other kind of tenure into that of free and common socage.§ "What!" said James, "reduce all my subjects, noble and base, rich and poor, to hold their lands in the same ignoble manner!" The indignant "father of his people" would not listen to it, and, after some delay, a compromise was struck. The tenure by knight service was retained; but its most lucrative and oppressive incidents, such as relief, premier seisin, and wardship, were surrendered, along

consequences which they foresaw, than by former precedents which were laid before them; and they less aspired at maintaining the ancient constitution than at establishing a new one, and a freer, and a better" (vol. v., p. 34). However true this may be in reference to future proceedings, it is certainly incorrect as applied to the present.

\* See Roger Coke's Detection, vol. i., p. 50, edit. 1694. These passages have since been suppressed, and it is now considered a useful book. See Hume's admirable note, vol. v., p. 37.

† See the Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 225-245. Also, the Commons' Journals for 1610. Winwood, vol. iii., p. 119.

‡ An admirable note on purveyance will be found in Amos's Fortescue, p. 134, 135.

§ Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 220, et seq.

arveyance. Still the Commons delayed, till's demands were exorbitant. They did to pause some short time longer, that might ascertain the best mode of levying a sum with the least distress to the

The session had already been prolonged far into summer; a subsidy was granted to immediate wants, and a prorogation

loss of the Journals of the ensuing sessions it difficult to follow their proceedings. It is certain, however, from other sources at the events of the interim had resolved leaders of the House on abandoning the proposed. They saw no signs of gratitude at the outports, or in the proclamation in the ecclesiastical courts. The most important of their petitions on particular grievances had been refused, and now, when they were up to the throne for the allowing prison a capital charge to bring witnesses in his defence, the king protested to them in his conscience, he could not grant such diligence. "It would encourage and mulctury," he said: "men were already accustomed to forswear themselves even in civil; what less could be expected when the friend was at stake!"\* Such was the philosophy of James. A coolness entreaties followed; a prorogation was to be intermediate argument, with a dissolution within nine weeks as the final one. Those weeks were employed in vain in the purpose of weakening the popular party, and on threatened, seven years from their first ending, the dissolution took place.†

interval which ensued was one of profuseness, and riot in the court,‡ and of bad oppression and wrong against the

Fortunately, the spirit of liberty had been to resistance. "The privy seals going forth," says a contemporary writer,§ "on a trembling hand, lest that sacred could be refused by the desperate hard-hearted prejudiced people." It was refused; a shameful expedient was abundantly resorted to by the court, of selling the honours of knighthood, and of creating a number of hereditary knights, who should pay tribute for dignity.¶ All would not serve, however; and, reckoning somewhat unduly on his ill,‡ prevailed upon the king to summon Parliament.

This eventful moment Wentworth came

back to England, and was immediately returned knight of the shire for Yorkshire.\* It is now my duty to follow him through the commencing passages of his public life, and I hope to do this faithfully. I have felt very strongly that the truth lies (as it generally does in such cases) somewhere between the extreme statements that have been urged on either side, by the friends and the foes of Wentworth.

One of his latest biographers,† who brought to his task a very amiable feeling and desire—which wasted itself at last, however, in an excess of sweetness and candour—sets out with a just remark. "The factions which agitated his contemporaries," Mr. MacDiarmid observes, "far from ceasing with the existing generation, divided posterity into his immoderate censurers or unqualified admirers; and writers, whether hostile or friendly, have confounded his merits and defects with those of the transactions in which he was engaged. Even in the present day, an undisguised exposure of his virtues and vices might be misconstrued by many into a prejudiced panegyric, or an invidious censure of man as well as of the cause." Now from this I shall certainly, in some measure, secure myself by the course I propose to adopt. The collection of documents known by the title of the "Strafford Papers" seems to me to contain within itself every material necessary to the illustration of the public and private character of this statesman, on an authority which few will be disposed to contest, for the record is his own. The general historical statement I have already given was necessary to bring Wentworth more intelligibly upon the political scene; but hereafter I mean to restrict myself almost entirely to the authorities, illustrations, and suggestions of character that are so abundantly furnished by that great work. The letters it contains, extending over a period of more than twenty years, comprise the notices of the country gentleman, the anxieties of the Parliament-man, the growing ambition of the president of the North, the unflagging energy of the lord deputy, the intense purpose and reckless daring of the lieutenant-general, and the cares, magnanimously borne, of the ruined and forsaken aspirant, about to render the forfeit of that life which three kingdoms had pronounced incompatible with their well-being. Their evidence is the more unexceptionable, that they are no hasty ebullitions, the offspring of the moment, a sudden expression of sentiments to be disavowed in succeeding intervals of calm. With a view, as it would seem, to guard against the inconveniences of a naturally fiery and uncontrollable temperament, Strafford wrote with singular deliberation, and his perspicuous and straightforward despatch-

\* The writer in the *Biographia Britannica*, and Mr. MacDiarmid, reject Sir George Radcliffe's dates without the slightest scruple, but without the smallest excuse. They are all of them extremely accurate, and it is quite certain that Wentworth sat in the Parliament of 1614. The writers in the *Biog. Brit.* plead in apology that Radcliffe's own statement—"my memory is (of late especially) very bad and decayed"—quite warrants their freedom with his dates; but they seem to have overlooked the fact that Radcliffe distinctly restricts the decay of his memory to facts he has altogether forgotten. "Seeing my unfaithful memory," he subsequently says, "hath lost part of the occurrences which concerned my lord, I am loth to let slip that which yet remains."

† Mr. MacDiarmid, *Lives of British Statesmen*, 2 vols.

mons' Journals, p. 451. Lords' Journals, p. 638. i, vol. iii., p. 193. serious letter of the king, illustrative of the angry that prevailed at the dissolution, exists in *Marsden Papers*, p. 613. See Hallam, vol. i., p. 451. rre the account in Fulke Lord Brooke's *Five Years James*; Mrs. Hutchinson's *Memoirs*; Weldon, p. e's Detection, vol. i., p. 42-49. The court pre- this moment a disgusting scene of profligacy. It a strong stomach even to get through a perusal of a. Ladies rendered themselves especially notable, y for laziness of virtue, but for the grossest drunken- se Nuge Antiquar., vol. i., p. 348. 'inwood's *Memoirs*, vol. iii. account of this proceeding will be found in Lingard's vol. vi., quarto edit., from Somers's Tracts. See, lam, vol. i., p. 461; Aikin, vol. i., p. 389. The appears to have been the suggestion of Salisbury. r's Chronicle, p. 416, edit. 1679; Guthrie, vol. iii., ad Macaulay's *History*, vol. i., p. 75. In the possession of Mr. Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, vol. 462.

es\* deliver the results of a thorough conviction. "He never did anything of any moment," remarks Sir George Radcliffe, "concerning either political or domestical business, without taking advice; not so much as a letter written by him to any great man of any business, but he showed it to his confidants if they were near him. The former part of his life, Charles Greenwood and myself were consulted with; and the latter part, Chr. Wandesford came in Charles Greenwood's room, Charles Greenwood desiring not to be taken away from his cure; they met almost daily, and debated all businesses and designs, *pro et contra*: by this means his own judgment was very much improved, and all the circumstances and probable consequences of the things consulted were discovered and considered."† From the high praise which is given by Sir George to this practice, it is to be inferred, moreover, that it was no cheap expedient to obtain an obsequious and all-approving set of counsellors; for he complacently subjoins, that such a course "is very efficacious to make a wise man, even though he advise with much weaker men than himself; for there is no man of ordinary capacity that will not often suggest some things which might else have been let slip without being observed; and in the debates of things a man may give another hints and occasions to observe and find out that which he that speaks to it, perhaps, never thinks on; as a whetstone," &c., concluding with that very original simile. It may also be remarked here that, of his more important despatches to the king, Wentworth was accustomed to transmit duplicates to the leading members of the council. Thus, in a letter to Secretary Cooke, he writes: "Having such confidence in your judgment and good affection both towards his majesty's service and myself, I hold it fit to give you a clear and particular understanding of all my proceedings in these affairs, to which end I have sent you the duplicates of all my despatches to his majesty and others, as you will find in the packet this bearer shall bring unto you; only I desire you will be pleased not to take notice thereof, unless it be brought unto you by some other hand. These businesses have cost me a mighty labour, having been at first written over by my own hand. And I have been as circumspect and considerate therein as possibly I could. And now I beseech you, help me with your judgment in anything you shall find amiss, and let me clearly and speedily be led into the right path, in case I have erroneously, in anything, swerved from that which is best and honourablest for our master; for it would grieve me more than any other thing, if my weakness should lead him into the least inconvenience; and this you ever find in me, that no man living shall more promptly depart from an error than myself, that have, in good faith, no confidence in my own judgment, how direct and intent soever my affections may be." What these letters want, therefore, in those sudden and familiar

outbreaks which are to be looked for in a less guarded correspondence, is amply made up in the increased authority of the matter thus carefully elaborated and cautiously put forth. Nor are instances altogether wanting in which the curb is set aside, and the whole nature of the writer has its resistless way.

I have remarked on the aristocratic influences which surrounded Wentworth's youth. Everything had tended to foster that principle within him. His ancient lineage, extending, at no very distant period, to the blood royal; the degree of attention which must have early attached itself to the eldest of twelve children; his inheritance of an estate of £6000 a year, an enormous fortune in those days; his education; all the various circumstances which have been touched upon, contributed to produce a character ill fitted to comprehend or sympathize with "your Prynnes, Pymms, Bens, and the rest of that generation of odd names and natures,"\* who recognised, in the struggling and oppressed Many, those splendid dawnings of authority which others were disposed to seek only in the One. From the first, we observe in Wentworth a deep sense of his exact social position and its advantages. This is explained in a passage of a remarkable letter, written at a later period to his early tutor, Mr. Greenwood, but which I shall extract here, since it has reference to the present time: "My sister Elizabeth writes me a letter concerning my brother Mathew's estate, which I know not how to answer till I see the will; nor do I know what it is she claims, whether money alone, or his rent-charge forth of my lands, or both. Therefore I desire the copy of the will may be sent me, and her demand, and then she shall have my answer. This brother, that she saith was so dear unto her, had well tutored her, or she him, being the couple of all the children of my father that I conceived loved me least; it may be they loved one another the better for that too. However it prove, I know not; but this I am most assured, that in case any of the three brothers died without issue, my father ever intended their rent-charge should revert to me, and not lie still as a clog upon my estate; or that any daughter of his, whom he had otherwise provided for forth of the estate, should thus intercept his intentions towards his heir. But how often hath he been pleased to excuse unto me the liberal provisions taken forth of my estate for my brothers and sisters? And as often hath been assured by me, I thought nothing too much that he had done for them; and yet I can make it confidently appear that he left not my estate better to me than my grandfather left it to him by £200 a year; nay, some that understand it very well have, upon speech had with me about it, been very confident he left it me rather worse than better than he received it. But I shall and can, I praise God, and have heretofore, patiently looked upon their peevishness and frowardness towards me, and all their wise and prudent councils and synods they have held against me, as if they had been to have dealt with some cheater or cozeners, not with a brother, who had ever carried himself justly and loving-

\* It is much to be regretted that Mr. Brodie, whose work contains several valuable suggestions towards the life of Strafford, should suffer himself to depreciate so strongly the merit of his letters and despatches, and his intellectual attainments generally. I shall have ample occasion to refute this.

† Essay.

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 344. Such was Wentworth's ill-judged classification. "Ben" may be presumed to have meant Sir Benjamin Rudyard.

ly towards them; nor do I, nor will I, deny them the duties I owe unto them, as recommended unto my care by my father. Nay, as wise as they did, or do, take themselves to have been, I will say, *it had not been the worse for them, as I think, if they had taken less of their own foolish, empty fancies, and followed more of my advice*, who, I must needs say, take myself to have been full as able to have directed their course as they themselves could be at that age.\* Here the remark cannot but occur of the very early age at which these extraordinary "excuses" from a father to a son must have been proffered and accepted! Sir William Wentworth died in 1614,† shortly after his son, who had scarcely accomplished his twenty-first year, was returned to Parliament from Yorkshire. This patriarchal authority, then, this strong sense of his hereditary rights of property, was of no late assumption; and, in after life, it was Wentworth's proud satisfaction that he came not to Ireland "to piece up a broken fortune."‡ "For," says he elsewhere, "as I am a Christian, I spend much more than all my entertainments come unto; yet I do not complain; my estate in England may well spare me something to spend." At his so early maturity, being called to the family inheritance by the death of his father, a new charge devolved to him in the guardianship of his elder sister's children, the issue of Sir George Savile, which trust he faithfully discharged. His own account of his family regards, generally, given in the passage quoted, appears to me to be perfectly just. His disposition was kind, but exacting. Those of his relatives who paid him proper deference received from him attentions and care. And it is remarkable to observe in those brothers, for instance, who continued attached to him through all his fortunes—one an intimate counsellor, another a "humble poster in his affairs"—the complete deference they at all times cheerfully paid to him.

Such was the new member for Yorkshire, who took his seat in the Parliament of 1614. I have described the condition of affairs. They had arrived at such a point that not to declare in favour of the popular party was to exert an influence against them. The liberal strength had not declined in the present assembly. The confederacy of "undertakers,"§ banded for the purpose of influencing the elections, had pursued their vile avocations without effect. The new members were stanch, resumed complaints against monopolies and other unjust grants, called the Bishop of Lincoln to account for disrespectful words, and received the tribute to their honesty of a dissolution after two months' sitting,|| and of imprisonment, in many cases,

afterward.\* During these two months Wentworth had continued silent; not unobserved, but silent. I have examined the Journals, and find no trace of his advocacy of either side in the great struggle.†

At the close of the session he returned to Yorkshire, and a year passed over him at his country residence, engaged, to all appearance, in no pursuits less innocent than his favourite sport of hawking. Let the reader judge, however, if his personal ambitions had been forgotten. Sir John Savile, the father of the afterward Lord Savile—and not, as has been invariably stated by modern writers, the Lord Savile himself—at this time held an office of great esteem in the county, that of *custos rotulorum*, or keeper of the archives, for the West Riding. So strong an influence, however, had for some time been moving against Savile in the county, that the Lord-chancellor Ellesmere was induced to interfere. It is instructive to observe that Sir Thomas Fairfax, a near kinsman of Wentworth's, was the most active against Savile. I quote a passage of a letter from Sheffield, the lord president of the North, to Ellesmere: "I desired much to have waited upon you myself, to present an information lately made unto me of the evil carriage of one Sir George Savile, a gentleman of Yorkshire, one of the principal in commission, that maketh use of his authority to satisfy his own ends, if sundry complaints be true which of late have been made unto me touching one particular, which, in my opinion, is a matter of foul condition, and which I am bold to intreat your lordship to give me leave to make known unto

\* The compilers of the Parliamentary History have denied this, but see debate on it in Journals of Feb. 5, 12, and 15, 1621; and Hatsell's proof, vol. i., p. 133, 134, edit. 1796. Hume admits the statement, vol. v., p. 50.

† In some of the less precisely accurate histories—in Echard's, Oldmixon's, and Mrs. Macaulay's—Wentworth had been erroneously ranked as one of the "factious" members of this session, who had earned imprisonment after the dissolution by a violent personal attack on the king. Mr. Brodie set the mistake completely at rest, by showing its origin. A Mr. Thomas Wentworth, a very popular member, represented Oxford in all the Parliaments of James, and in the first two Parliaments of Charles. It was he who spoke violently, and was imprisoned. It was he, also, who took the active part against Buckingham in the second Parliament, which had been ascribed to Sir Thomas Wentworth (who did not sit in that Parliament at all), even by Rushworth. In expressing great surprise at this mistake on the collector's part, however, Mr. Brodie overlooks the circumstance of its having arisen from a mere error of the press. Had it been otherwise, it would have been difficult (considering that Rushworth attended the house himself, and was necessarily acquainted with the persons of the different members) to have received even Mr. Brodie's authority and that of Wentworth's own letters against the indefatigable collector. But the context of Rushworth shows the error to have been merely one of the press. He is stating the argument of the *lawyers* of the House on the difference between "common fame" and "rumour," and observes: "It was declared by Sir Tho. Wentworth, Mr. Noy, and other lawyers in the debate," &c.—Now Mr. Wentworth was a lawyer, and an eminent one, the author of a legal treatise of great merit, on Executors, and Recorder of Oxford; but Sir Thomas Wentworth was none of these things. The mistake does not occur again. See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 217. The author of the History continued from Mackintosh has fallen into Rushworth's error, vol. v., p. 33.

‡ It is singular that this mistake should have occurred; for occasionally, in the Papers, he is called "the old knight," "old Sir John," &c. (vol. i., p. 38, &c.); and in his own letter to the Lord-chancellor Ellesmere, on which the whole of the present business turns, he expressly alludes to "service of forty years under the late queen of gracious memory."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 2. But so incorrectly are circumstances looked at, which do not seem to bear immediately on the matter in hand, yet are to illustrate it afterward not unimportantly.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 484. † Radcliffe's Essay.

‡ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 138; and see vol. i., p. 79.

§ For the origin of these "strange ugly kind of beasts," as the king, in his subsequent confession of their existence, oddly called them, see Wilson, in Kennet, vol. ii., p. 696. For James's present false denial of their having been employed, see Carte, vol. iv., p. 19, 20; Bacon's Works, vol. i., p. 695; Commons' Journals, p. 462.

|| "This House of Commons," says Hume, "showed rather a stronger spirit of liberty than the foregoing, so little skill had the courtiers for managing elections" (vol. v., p. 49).

It subsequently received from the politer courtiers the title of the "adile" Parliament, from the circumstance of its not having been allowed to pass a single bill. Aikin, vol. i., p. 459. See a curious fact mentioned in D'Israeli's *Character of James*, p. 158, and the king's assertion, in his remarkable commission for the dissolution.

you by the relation of Sir Thomas Fairfax, a gentleman of good worth, to whom the particulars of that matter are well known." The result was, that in 1615 Savile was removed, and Sir Thomas Wentworth appointed to the office. The court had not forgotten the good services of his silence, and Wentworth was not ungrateful. "Calling to mind," he afterward writes to Weston, "the faithful service I had the honour to do his majesty, now with God, how graciously he vouchsafed to accept and express it openly and sundry times, I enjoy within myself much comfort and contentment. . . . You can best witness the opinion, nay, I might say the esteem his late majesty held of me."\*

But a new actor now appears upon the scene, in whose hands James had become a puppet, and to whose shameless influence he had surrendered all his esteems and regards. Having discharged the duties of his new office for nearly two years, Wentworth received (near the close of 1617) a startling notice from no less a person than his grace the Duke of Buckingham. Old Savile had been busy with him. "These are to let you understand that, whereas his majesty is informed that Sir John Savile yielded up his place of *custos rotulorum* voluntarily unto you, whom now his majesty hath received into favour again, and purposeth to employ in his service, his majesty will take it well at your hands, that you resign it up again unto him with the same willingness, and will be mindful of you to give you as good preferment upon any other occasion."† Buckingham, however, had committed a mistake here. Wentworth replied to this notice in a letter which has, unfortunately, been lost, but whose import may be gathered from some passages in Buckingham's reply: "The reasons set down in your letter are so substantial to prove that Sir John Savile made no voluntary resignation of the place to you, but yielded it up rather out of a necessity to avoid that which otherwise would have fallen upon him, that I see it was a misinformation given to his majesty and to me which occasioned the writing of my letter unto you." Other grounds of apology are added, and Buckingham proceeds: "Upon these grounds I thought it could neither be any wrong nor disgrace to move you in that business; but I pray you believe that I am so far from doing the least indignity to any gentleman of your worth, that I would be ready, upon any occasion, to do you the best service I could. Therefore I desire you not to trouble yourself either with any doubt of farther proceeding in this matter, which went so far only upon misunderstanding, or *with so long a journey to give me satisfaction, seeing I have fully received it by your letter, and have acquainted his majesty with the true state of the business, as you have set it down.*" Buckingham subscribes himself his "very assured friend," and then, in a very curious and significant postscript, betrays good reason for his sudden change of style, and sufficiently explains the shrewd and determined course that had been adopted by Wentworth: "I beseech you to excuse me to my Lord of Cumberland and my Lord Clifford

that I write not to them now, as I purpose to do at more leisure; for now I made haste to signify that which I have to you, that I might spare you so troublesome a journey." So Wentworth continued in his place; and old Savile, eaten up with mortified spleen, waited his first opportunity of retaliation.

Wentworth foiled him at that game too, by striking the first blow! A new Parliament was spoken of, and a strong opposition from the Savile party against Wentworth significantly indicated. He went instantly up to London; spoke carelessly, it may be supposed, to his friends at court of his indifference about standing any contest; and so won from the ministerial party an *entree* that he would stand, and endeavour to bring in one of the secretaries of state along with him.\* Wentworth then consented, returned to Wentworth Woodhouse, and commenced his election exertions. In these his character had full play; and here, in the first great effort of his public life, were amply vindicated his achievements of a later period. The energy and activity he exhibited amounted almost to a marvel! Every difficulty sank before him. Doubts were satisfied, jealousies put to shame, indifference moved to action, enmity even to friendship, dishonesty foiled in its own way, friends stimulated, the opposition of those who still continued enemies diverted. I mean to quote these letters at some length hereafter, in immediate illustration of the character of the lord-president and lord-deputy, to the right understanding of which they appear to me to offer a remarkable assistance. Wentworth, of course, triumphed, for nothing could withstand his vigour and resources. He went to the poll, after all, on the day of his election, with Calvert, in no vain reliance on friendly professions, but with positive lists, furnished him by the petty officers of the several hundreds, of the names of those voters who had distinctly engaged to support his interests.†

It may be supposed into what a deadly feud the hatred of the Saviles had now been provoked. From this time we hear little more of the father: the son, Sir John Savile the younger, supplies his place. He was a person of mean intellect; but he had a restless ambition, and was active in intrigue. He had "suck'd in with his milk," as Clarendon says, a particular malice to Wentworth; and through his life he had many opportunities of showing how steadily he remembered that "Strafford had shrewdly overborne his father."‡

Disgraceful occurrences had filled up the interval between the last Parliament and this Parliament of 1621. The exaction of benevolences;§ the usurpations of the Star Chamber;

\* "I was at London much entreated, and indeed at last engaged, to stand with Mr. Secretary Calvert."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 10.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 13.

‡ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. ii., p. 135, folio edit.

§ "The benevolence goes on. A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king £200, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age. He yielded rather than pay, though he might better have given nine subsidies, according as he stands valued. This was told to me by one that heard it from his own mouth. They talk also of privy seals. His majesty at Theobald's, discoursing publicly how

\* Letter, dated 1626, *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 35, 36.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 4.

the deaths of the unfortunate Arabella Stuart, of the promising youth Prince Henry,\* and of the accomplished Overbury; the rapid rise of Villiers; the pardon, and dark allusions of Somerset;† the disgrace of Coke; these are some of the events which had blotted the history of the nation. And these were of home growth. Abroad, mischief had been equally busy; for the small remnant of foreign policy in the government disappeared with Cecil. The weak and unassisted Frederic, son-in-law of the English king, had been ignominiously driven from his new dominions by Spinola; Prague had furnished its disasters; and the Protestant interest—the faith of which, as he had abundantly assured Vorstius, James conceived himself the defender—was trampled down everywhere.

Proportioned to the disgust and indignation with which these things had been contemplated by the popular party, were the feelings with which they now assembled in this Parliament of 1621. The early sittings were distinguished by active and resolute steps in behalf of privilege. It is not necessary to allude to them at any length here. Some great state criminals were subsequently struck down; and after a few months, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and the king committed himself in many acts of foolish violence.‡

Wentworth had taken little or no part in these proceedings. He avoided the risk of endangering a certain show of country independence, by active opposition to what was called the country party, and held the most moderate of courses between the court and the people. The service he had already rendered to the former in the matter of Calvert's return he had been enabled to render palatable to his country by the circumstances of the Savile feud; and it now left him to a convenient kind of neutrality in other respects, which might be felt, in secret quarters, as no less servicably intended to the court. I find him acting on committees in this Parliament, but never putting himself forward as a speaker. Shortly after, he explained his policy in this respect in a letter to his brother-in-law, Lord Clifford. Al-

he meant to govern, was heard to say he would govern according to the good of the common-wealth, but not according to the common will." Such is an extract from a MS. letter of that day. Harl. MSS., 389. It is partly quoted in Ellis's Original Letters, 2d series, vol. iii., p. 241. It is very characteristic.

\* For some account of the strange circumstances attending the death of this prince, see Osborne, p. 531; Burnet, vol. i., p. 10; Winwood, vol. iii., p. 410; Harris's Life of James, p. 301, 302. Fox, in his letter to Lord Lauderdale, stated his conviction that Henry had been poisoned. The report of the physicians, however, is unanimous on this point, and unfavourable to the supposition. See Cornwallis's Memoir, in the 21 vol. of Somers's Tracts; and the admirable remark of Hume, vol. v., p. 48.

† See Osborne, p. 534; Weldon, p. 95, 168, 125; and Harris, p. 82-86, for certain remarkable points in the character of James. With respect to the allusions of Somerset, see Weldon, p. 118; the king's letters to Bacon, in the Cabela; Birch's edition of Bacon, vol. iii.; and Von Raumer's sixty-third letter, in his Illustrations of History. Sir Walter Scott has a curious note in his edition of Somers's Tracts (vol. ii., p. 488) on this mysterious affair. See, also, Somers's Tracts, vol. ii., p. 335, 336; and Brodie's History, p. 15-19. I have no inclination to venture an opinion on so extremely unpleasant a subject; but if suspicions reasonably prevailed before, the publication of Von Raumer's work on the history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not likely to lessen them. Dr. Lingard has put forward objections, which see in his History, vol. vi., p. 110, quarto ed.

‡ See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 52-55.

luding to parliaments, he says, "For my opinion of these meetings your lordship knows sufficiently, and the services done there coldly requited on all sides, and, which is worse, many times misconstrued. I judge farther, the path we are like to walk in is now more narrow and slippery than formerly, yet not so difficult but may be passed with circumspection, patience, and principally silence."\* The present dissolution Wentworth regretted; but he made silence chiefly serve to assist him in this also. "As for the disaster," he writes to Lord d'Arcy, "fallen upon this so hopeful a Parliament, albeit I should take pleasure to relate it, yet the enclosed proclamation for dissolution might well save me the labour; much more, then, when I cannot think a thought of it but with grief, will it well become me to be silent."†

He had moved his family up from Wentworth Woodhouse before the session; and they resided, during its continuance, in Austin Friars. Here his body first began to show its extreme frailty. He had "a great fever," says Sir George Radcliffe; one of those pestilential fevers, it is to be presumed, which so often ravaged the close and crowded streets of London; and which, at the same time (1622), struck his wife more fatally. He removed from London, but too late to save the Lady Margaret. She died shortly after, leaving no issue, but a memory which he held in respectful regard.‡

In his intercourse with his court friends at London, Wentworth had zealously interested himself in behalf of two or three of his brothers.§ The anxiety with which he sought to get them fairly "settled" somehow was extremely characteristic. The first thing we now find him engaged in at Wentworth Woodhouse after his domestic loss is the following out of these exertions for the youths of his family. He writes to Sir Edward Conway, one of the king's principal secretaries of state, to remind him of his promises in behalf of "the bearer, my fifth brother, who, intending to try his fortune in the wars, desires more than in any place else to serve as a gentleman of the company under my cousin your son." He apologizes for not having seen the secretary before leaving London, on the score of the sudden necessity of his illness. "If you would vouchsafe him," he continues, "so much of your favour, as to recommend him by your letters in such sort, that my cousin may be pleased to afford him his good direction and council, and cast his eye upon him as a kinsman (if his carriage may be such as may deserve it), I should judge myself much bound unto you for this, as for other your many noble courtesies bestowed upon me. And this I will be answerable for, that he shall approve himself, by God's grace, religious, honest, well governed, and daring enough. I conceive, likewise (if it might stand with your good pleasure), that a letter of recommendation to Sir Horace Vere might stand him in good stead, which I humbly submit to your wisdom, and myself to your honourable censure for this my boldness." This is the same thought, the reader will perceive, as that which suggested itself to Eliot when writing to Hampden of

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 19.

† Ibid., p. 15.

‡ [She was buried at York.—C.]

§ See Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 14, 16, 18.



his younger son. Sir Edward Conway at once granted his request, and Michael Wentworth was sent off to the wars; not without a letter from his brother, however, of excellent purpose and advice. Among many sound suggestions for his professional advancement, he observes: "Methinks it were good to keep a journal-book of all that passeth during your being in the army; as of your removes, your skirmishes, your encampings, the order of your marches, of your approaches, of your retreats, of your fortifications, of your batteries, and such like; in the well and sound disposal whereof, as I conceive, consists the chief skill and judgment of a soldier." The letter concludes admirably: "Only let me add this one counsel, that if you come in person to be brought on in any service, I conceive you shall do well to go on with the sober and staid courage of an understanding man, rather than with the rash and ill-tempered heat of an unadvised youth. In which course too, I conceive, you may sufficiently vindicate yourself from the opinion of fear and baseness, and gain a good esteem among the wiser sort. And, indeed, a man that ventures himself desperately beyond reason (besides that thereby he too much undervalues himself) shall by men of sure and sad brains be deemed, without doubt, unfit for government and command, that exerciseth none of it first over his own unruly and misleading passions." This conduct, so deprecated here by Wentworth, is a description of that very conduct which it is the general custom to ascribe to the Earl of Strafford, but incorrectly, as I trust I shall be able to show.

His health had now strengthened, and, with it, a flow of good spirits came. Sir George Calvert, the king's secretary of state, was selected for the first advantage of these. "Mr. Tailor telling me," Wentworth writes, "he would see you before the end of this week, I might not omit to present my service unto you in these few lines. Matter worthy your trouble these parts afford none, where our objects and thoughts are limited in looking upon a tulip, hearing a bird sing, a rivulet murmuring, or some such petty, yet innocent pastime, which, for my part, I begin to feed myself in, having, I praise God, recovered more in a day by an open country air than in a fortnight's time in that smothering one of London. By my troth, I wish you, divested of the importunity of business, here for half a dozen hours, you should taste how free and fresh we breathe, and how *procul metu fruimur modestis opibus*, a wanting sometimes to persons of greater eminency in the administration of commonwealths. But seeing this is denied to you in your course, and to me as part of my misfortune, I shall pray you may ever receive as full contentment in those more weighty as we do in these lighter entertainments."\*

This "innocent pastime," nevertheless, did not withhold him from the Parliament, which was now summoned. Its proceedings have been described in the life of Eliot. Wentworth played his usual cautious part, and returned to Wentworth Woodhouse, at its adjournment, a better friend than ever, more playful and more confidential, to his majesty's "principal secre-

tary of state." Calvert himself had gone to his country seat at Thistleworth, and is congratulated by his correspondent with many classical similitudes and quotations on having "retired to the delights of his Tusculanie, *creptus specioso rjus damno*." An amusing anecdote of James, then hunting with his court at Rufford, concludes the letter. "The loss of a stag, and the hounds hunting foxes instead of a deer, put the king, your master, into a marvellous chaff, accompanied with those ordinary symptoms better known to you courtiers, I conceive, than to us rural swains; in the height whereof comes a clown galloping in, and staring full in his face: *His blood!* (quoth he) *am I come forty miles to see a fellow!* and presently in a great rage turns about his horse, and away he goes faster than he came; the oddness whereof caused his majesty and all the company to burst out into a vehement laughter; and so the fume for that time was happily dispersed."

Seven days after this the "rural swain" of Woodhouse writes again to his selected confidant. He begins by a laughing mention of having written some politics recently to his "cousin Wandesford, as being a statesman," a politician, a meddler in state affairs; "but here with you," he adds, "I have matters of other guess stuff to relate, that our harvest is all in, a most fine season to make fishponds, our plums all gone and past, peaches, quinces, and grapes almost fully ripe, which will, I trow, hold better relish with a Thistleworth palate, and approve me how to have the skill to serve every man in his right cue. These only we countrymen muse of, hoping in such harmless retirements for a just defence from the higher powers, and, possessing ourselves in contentment, pray with Dryope in the poet,

'Et si qua est pietas, ab acutis vulnere fulcis  
Et pecoris morsu, frondes defendite nostras.'

Thus, you see, Ovid serves us at every turn. How bold we are with you since you entered our list; and how we take time, while time serves! For, Michaelmas once come, and your secretary's cloak on your shoulders, I trust you shall find us better manner'd than to interrupt your serious hours with our toys." On the arrival of Michaelmas, however, the Parliament was again adjourned, for the purpose, as it afterward appeared, of a final dissolution. Our rural swain, in consequence, despatches, with an airy sauciness, to his state friend, in a tone between jest and earnest, some slight shades of significant advice, dashed with a sort of reminder that the writer—though given to looking at tulips, and hearing birds sing, and rivulets murmuring, and keeping sheep from biting his hedges, and such like innocent pastime—might yet be called upon, as an effect of want of employment, to play the part of an "unruly fellow in Parliament." The words of this letter are eminently happy and well chosen. "Now," says Wentworth, "that you have given us a put-off till February, we are at good ease and leisure to pry (the true effects of want of employment) saucily out of our own calling into the mysteries of state; to cast about for a reason of this sudden change. In a word, we conclude that the French treaty must first be consummate before such unruly

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 16.

fellows meet in Parliament, lest they might appear as agile against this as that other Spanish match. For my part, I like it well, and conceive the bargain wholsom on our side, that we save three other subsidies and fifteenths. Less could not have been demanded for the dissolving of this treaty, and still the king your master have pretended to suffer loss (no doubt for our satisfaction only), which certainly we should have believed, and reputed ourselves great gainers, and that rightly too. *For is it a small matter, trow you, for poor swains to unwind so dextrously your courtly true-love knots? You think we see nothing; but believe it, you shall find us legislators no fools; albeit, you of the court (for by this time I am sure you have, by a fair retreat from Thistleworth, quit your part of a country life for this year) think to bear our eyes with your sweet balls, and leave us in the lurch when you have done. Thus much for the common-weal. For your own self, I am right glad for your ague recovered, hoping it will cleanse away all bad-disposed humours, and give entrance consequently unto a settled continuing health, wherein no man alive shall be more pleased. In the alacrity of which faith, and out of an earnest desire to be made an eyewitness thereof, you shall have (God willing) within these few weeks to attend you, your honour's ever most humbly, most readily to be command,* THOMAS WENTWORTH."

It is just possible that these hints might have been taken at last by the court party, but that Wentworth's proposed journey was retarded by a sudden return of illness. In the spring, Ratcliffe observes, "As I take it, he had a double tertian; and after his recovery, a relapse into a single tertian; and, a while after, a burning fever." On his recovery from these afflicting disorders, he came instantly up to London. Charles now sat upon the English throne, and Buckingham's influence reigned over the royal councils more absolutely than even in James's time. This, it is probable (for he had good reason to suspect a personal dislike on Buckingham's part), induced Wentworth to venture more openly among the popular party, and by that means convey to the king, inaccessible through his minister, the importance of his talents and services. I shall show very soon how extremely anxious he was to exhibit himself, as it were, personally to the king. We find him now, accordingly, in frequent communication with Denzil Hollis, and others of the popular men. He had, from the first, provided a convenient organ of communication with them in the person of his kinsman Wandesford, who subsequently proved so accommodating a patriot. Soon after this (one of the results of his visits to the house of Hollis's father, the Earl of Clare), he married the Lady Arabella Hollis, "younger daughter of the earl, a lady exceeding comely and beautiful, and yet much more lovely in the endowments of her mind."\*

Wentworth now began to be talked of as an accession to the Liberal party, and the court grew somewhat alarmed. On the meeting of Parliament, his election for Yorkshire came into dispute, and, as I have shown in the memoir of Eliot, the ministerial men supported

his claims. No doubt this arose from a desire, by some little sacrifice in a matter of no essential concern, to nip slightly the budding patriot. Eliot's opposition threw him out. What has been already suggested on this subject\* is corroborated by some occasional allusions in the Strafford papers. Wentworth's friend, Sir Richard Beaumont, for instance, writes in answer his earnest request: "My occasions are, and have been such, as with no convenience I can come up to London; for which I am very sorry, that I shall not enjoy your good company this summer, and give what assistance I could to make good our York election, which I hold as clear as the noon sun; for if it be tolerated that men shall come six, seven, nay, ten apprentices out of a house, this is more like a rebellion than an election. The gentry are wronged, the freeholders are wronged."† Sir Richard Beaumont goes on to allude to the borough of Pontefract, observes that he is much beholden for the honour of having been elected there, but hints a private reason which will prevent his accepting, and suggests the name of another friend to be returned on a new writ. "I should have been willing to have kept your place for you, or for any friend of yours, and served in it, and yielded it up of an hour's warning to have done you service; but as it is," &c. It would appear from this that Wentworth had already, against the chance of defeat, secured a seat to fall back upon in the borough of Pontefract.‡

When the Parliament commenced proceedings, Wentworth partly showed gratitude to the court, and partly redeemed his new alliance. He spoke with extreme moderation, and advised a grant of subsidies, while, at the same time, he intimated opposition to Buckingham. The adjournment to Oxford then took place; but, on their reassembling, while Eliot and others were dooming the minister to impeachment, Wentworth continued silent. The cause of this will very soon appear.

He returned to Yorkshire. Necessity, in a few months, called together another Parliament. He set to work instantly to prepare for his election; but, in the midst of his arrangements, to the infinite surprise of himself no less than of his friends, an announcement reached him that his name was among those of the men disabled from serving by Buckingham's notable scheme of picking them sheriffs of their respective counties. Wentworth was now sheriff of Yorkshire. Sir Arthur Ingram, a cautious friend, writing to him at this moment, gave him one consolation: "It was told me by two counsellors, that in the naming of you, the king said you were an honest gentleman, but not a tittle to any of the rest. This much advantage have you that way." He had previously said that every exertion to prevent the step had been used, but added, "I think, if all the council that was at court had joined together in request for you, it would not have prevailed; for it was set and resolved what should be done before the great duke's going over, and from that the king would not change a tittle."§

\* Memoir of Eliot, p. 31, 32.

† Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 27.

‡ See Letter to the Mayor of Pontefract, vol. i., p. 26.

§ Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 29.

\* Ratcliffe's Essay.

Buckingham had gone by this time into Holland; and it would thus appear that Charles, though inclined favourably to Wentworth, did not dare to contravene the order of his minion.

Be that as it might, here was a great occasion. It was soon announced to Wentworth that the pricked men were resolved to make a struggle, to defeat the unusual tyranny that had sought to disable them from Parliament. "I met with Sir Francis Seymour here, at Reading," writes the cautious Ingram; "I find by him that he is very desirous to be of the House, notwithstanding he is chosen sheriff; he hath taken, as he telleth me, very good advice in it; and he hath been resolved that he may be returned, and serve for any town or city that is out of his own county. He would gladly that you would favour him so much as to get him chosen for some place in the north, and he will, if it stand with your good liking, have you chosen in the west. This he did desire me to write to you of, and that you would send him or me an answer so soon as you can. This, his desire, I have by these few lines made known unto you, leaving it to your own wisdom to do therein what you shall think good. *For my own poor opinion, it is a thing that no doubt will displease the king exceeding much, and, therefore, to be well considered of. On the other side, I think the House would be exceeding glad of it, and would hold you in, in spite of any.* That which induceth Sir Francis the rather in this is, that he knoweth that Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips will be both returned. But, good sir, out of the love I bear to you, I dare not give you any encouragement in it."\* Wentworth's conduct upon this was decisive of the character I am endeavouring to represent. With the ready and resolved purpose of a man who is already decided on the main course to be pursued, yet is not unwilling that it should receive corroboration or modification from his friends, he instantly consulted several of them. Observe how characteristically this is conveyed in a letter from his father-in-law, Lord Clare: "*You resolve, in my opinion of this particular, rightly; for we live under a prerogative government, where book-law submits unto *lex loquens*; then be these extraordinaries, that rely rather upon inference or interpretation than the letter, too weak staves for such subjects to lean upon. This is a novelty and a stranger, that a sheriff, who, according to the received rule of our forefathers, is tied to his county as a snail to his shell, may cause himself to be chosen a burgess, or servant for a borough, and so, in a sort, quit the greater and the king's service for a subject's and a less: therefore, as a novelty, it is rather to be followed than to begin it, and as a stranger to be admitted as a probationer, and to be embraced upon farther acquaintance. For my part, I shall be glad if Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips can make their undertaking good; and I could wish Sir Francis Seymour were a burgess, so you were not seen in it; and if any of them, without your knowledge and consent, shall confer any such place upon you, you are no way in fault thereby; and yet Cæsar's wife must be free from suspicion; so, as I may conclude, it is not good to stand within the distance of absolute power. But I*

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 30.

see the issue: the question will fall between the king and the Parliament; the House will demand her member, and the king denies his officer, and the king's election was prior, so as in conclusion some drops of displeasure may fall upon the borough, whose charter is always in the king's reach. But this is my chimera, and the lion may be less terrible than the picture. Howsoever, this well succeeding would put the courtier out of his trick, secure the Parliament better, and the subject in general, and make great ones more cautious in wrestling with that high court. *Yet as you write, son, this business is of such a nature, as it is much better to be a spectator than an actor, and in this I give you no opinion; I only confirm yours.*"\* His resolution now perfectly assured, Wentworth writes in playful confidence to his kinsman Wandesford, whose services he relied on to keep him as well as possible with the popular members. He begins by a pleasant piece of humour: "*Returna brevium* is the office of a sheriff indeed; but in this, that in this high calling (and now sworn too) I answer your long letter, is more than in justice, scarcely in favour, you could expect from me; and little less than incivility in you thus to abuse a simple gentleman in his place, and put me beyond the length of my tether, it being my part this year, *laconicum agere*, as becomes best, to say truth, a man of affairs—attendant upon justices, escheators, juries, bankrupts, thieves, and such kind of cattle. Well, then, still to pursue, as a good officer should do, the duties of my vocation, I will tell you, my purpose is to carry myself in such a temper, that for my expense it shall participate of moderation and sobriety, without the least tincture of wantonness or petulance, which will both better express the sense wherewith I take it from above, and be more suiting with that just regard I owe the gentry of this country, to whom I have been so much beholden; of whom I should be too much forgetful, and of my own modesty too, if I did any ways intend (at least as far as my indiscretion could go) to bring the former licentious custom in again so much to their prejudice. Therefore, in a word, come king, come judge, I will keep myself within the articles made when Sir Guy Palmes was sheriff; and run dog, run cat, drink a red ryal by the place at least, by God's leave." He goes through many topics very amusingly, and then observes, "*You will partly see by the enclosed how the pulse beats above,*" which I take to be an allusion to the letter (he afterward desires it to be enclosed back to him) of his friend Ingram, in which the king's feeling had been so favourably expressed. "*For my own part,*" he continues, "*I will commit others to their active heat, myself, according to the season of the year, fold myself up in a cold, silent forbearance, apply myself cheerfully to the duties of my place, and heartily pray to God to bless Sir Francis Seymour. For my rule, which I will not transgress, is, 'Never to contend with the prerogative out of a Parliament, nor yet to contend with a king but when I am constrained thereunto.'*"†

Wentworth faithfully adhered to these intentions; and while "the great, warm, and ruffling Parliament" in London was infusing, by the

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 31.

† *Ibid.*, p. 32-34.

boldness of its acts and words, new spirit and strength into the country, he remained quiet in Yorkshire, discharging his duty, as his humorous classification had described it, among "justices, escheators, juries, bankrupts, thieves, and such like cattle." It is true he had found time to attend in London for certain purposes that are speedily to be explained, but he did not meddle with Parliament matters there, returning to Yorkshire again as quiet as before, and, indeed, a little more contented.\*

Soon afterward, before the proceedings of the Parliament had closed, and while attending a county meeting in his office of high sheriff, a paper was handed to Wentworth. It was the king's warrant dismissing him from the office he had so ardently desired to hold of *custos rotulorum*! Giving way to momentary astonishment and indignation, he publicly told the meeting in what manner he had just been discharged, and that his successor was to be old Sir John Savile. "Yet I could wish," he added, "they who succeed me had forborne this time this service, a place in sooth ill chosen, a stage ill prepared, for venting such poor, vain, insulting humour. I leave it," he concluded, "not conscious of any fault in myself, nor yet guilty of the virtue in my successor that should occasion this removal."†

This was admirable for a public display. As soon as he had arrived at Wentworth Wood House, however, he despatched the following letters, one almost immediately after the other, to "the Right Honourable Sir Richard Weston, Knt., Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer!" They fully explain, it will be seen, the whole course of Wentworth's recent conduct. "I have been beholden unto you," he begins, "for many courtesies, which in your own particular I will undoubtedly ever thankfully acknowledge. Give me leave, then, to put you in remembrance of some things wherewith you formerly have been acquainted, as also to give you an account of some things which have happened since. At the dissolved Parliament in Oxford, you are privy how I was moved from, and in behalf of, the Duke of Buckingham, with promise of his good esteem and favour; you are privy that my answer was, I did honour the duke's person, that I would be ready to serve him in the quality of an honest man and a gentleman; you are privy that the duke took this in good part, sent me thanks; as for respects done him, you are privy how, during that sitting, I performed what I had professed. The consequence of all this was the making me sheriff the winter after. It is true, the duke, a little before Whitsuntide last, at Whitehall, in your presence, said, it was done without his grace's knowledge, that he was then in Holland. At Whitehall, Easter term last, you brought me to the duke, his grace did before you contract (as he pleased to term it) a friendship with me, all former mistakes laid asleep, forgotten. After, I went, at my coming out of town, to receive his commands, to kiss his grace's hands, where I had all the good words and good usage which could be expected, which bred in me a great deal of content, a full security. Now the consequence here again is, that even yesterday I received his majesty's writ for the discharging me of the poor place of *custos ro-*

*tulorum which I held here, whose good pleasure shall be cheerfully obeyed; yet I cannot but observe as ill luck of it, that the reward of my long, painful, and loyal service to his majesty in that place is to be thus cast off, without any fault laid to my charge that I hear of, and that his grace, too, was now in England. I have therefore troubled you with this unartificial relation, to show you the singleness of my heart, resting in all assurance justly confident you shall never find that I have, for my own part, in a little transgressed from what had passed betwixt us. All which I confess, indeed, to this bare intent and purpose, and no other, that I might preserve myself in your opinion a man of plainness and truth. Which obtained, I have fully my end, and so I rest in the constant condition of your truly affectionate friend to dispose of, THOMAS WENTWORTH." The courteous conclusions of Wentworth's letters have a significance at times. The next letter to Weston, following up the purpose of the last, runs thus: "Calling to mind the faithful service I had the honour to do his majesty now with God, how graciously he vouchsafed to accept and express it openly and sundry times, I enjoy within myself much comfort and contentment. On the other side, albeit therein still strongly dwell entire intentions (and by God's goodness shall, with me to my grave) towards his sacred majesty that now is, yet I may well apprehend the weight of his indignation, being put out of all commissions, wherein formerly I had served and been trusted. This makes me sensible of my misfortune, though not conscious of any inward guilt which might occasion it; resting infinitely ambitious, not of new employment, but much rather to live under the smile than the frown of my sovereign. In this strait, therefore, give me leave to recommend to you the protection of my innocence; and to beseech you, at some good opportunity, to represent unto his majesty my tender and unfeigned grief for his disavour, my fears also that I stand before his justice and goodness clad in the malevolent interpretations, and prejudiced by the subtle insinuations, of my adversaries; and, lastly, my only and humble suit, that his majesty will princely deign that either my insufficiency or fault may be shown me; to this only end, that, if insufficiency, I may know where and how to improve myself, and be better enabled to present hereafter more ripe and pleasing fruits of my labours in his service; if a fault, that I may either confess my error and beg his pardon, or else, which I am most confident I shall do, approve myself throughout an honest, well-affected, loyal subject, with full, plain, and upright satisfaction to all that can, by the greatest malice or disguised untruth, be objected against me. The contentment of others in my actions is but subordinate, and consequently neither my principal study nor care. Thus have I presumed upon you, farther than any particular interest of mine can warrant, out of a general belief in your wisdom and nobleness, the rather, too, because I conceive you can best witness the opinion, nay, I might say the esteem, his late majesty held of me. All which, nevertheless, as in good manners and discretion I ought, I submit wholly to your best pleasure, without importunately pressing farther herein than may stand with your conveniency, your*

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 35.

† Ibid., p. 36.

other respects, and, however, retain with me the lasting truth of your honour's most humbly, most readily to be commanded, THOMAS WENTWORTH."\*

It did not suit with Weston's convenience to answer these letters at the time, but it is probable that no word of them was withheld from the king. Buckingham was still too powerful to be in anything gainsayed, and it was clear that he had formed a violent dislike to Wentworth. He sought now to mortify him as much as possible through the means of Savile. The son of the "old knight," or the "old cavalier," as one of Wentworth's correspondents† calls him, was promoted to a barony and an office in the household. It is not difficult, on mature consideration, to assign an intelligible reason for these proceedings by Buckingham, though at first they appear startlingly gratuitous. He had, in truth, an equal motive to be jealous of Wentworth, in the way of favour as in that of opposition. While it is possible that he did not very clearly understand the policy that had been shown by Wentworth in either case, it is more than probable that he feared to be undone by him in both. In favour, he might already have received occasion to suppose Wentworth likely to prove a formidable rival (not dreaming that a large capacity could never so impose upon Charles as a mean one); and in opposition, he may still have thought him too likely to be dangerous, for a perfect trust. Nor was he without reason for suspicion, at least, on the latter score. Wandesford, the most intimate friend and kinsman of the quiet sheriff, had been one of the most active managers of the impeachment in the last session. And there were other causes of dread. Wentworth had had some communication with the intriguing Archbishop Williams, and, worse than all, was known to have frequently visited the person whom the duke more deeply feared, the Archbishop Abbot. I quote from Abbot's narrative "concerning his disgrace at court," a passage elucidatory on this point. In describing the three of his acquaintances to whom exception had been taken by Buckingham ("I know from the court, by a friend," he interposes, "that my house for a good space of time hath been watched, and I marvel that they have not rather named sixty than three"), the archbishop observes, "The third was Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had good occasion to send unto me, and sometimes to see me, because we were joint executors to Sir George Savile,‡ who married his sister, and was my pupil at Oxford; to whose son also Sir Thomas Wentworth and I were guardians, as may appear in the Court of Wards, and many things passed between us in that behalf; yet, to my remembrance, I saw not this gentleman but once in these three quarters of

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 34, 25.

† Lord Mansfield, who appears to have remonstrated with the Duke of Buckingham himself, while Wentworth thus remonstrated, as it were, with the king, respecting the late proceedings. "I writ my mind," says Mansfield to Wentworth, "at full to my lord duke; and, I protest to God, no more sparing the old cavalier or his nature than I would speak of him to you, nor mincing my desires or my nature, which is not to do courtesies for injuries." It is most probable that this was done at Wentworth's desire. See *Papers*, vol. i., p. 43.

‡ Sir George, it may be remarked, was not a "Yorkshire Savile."

a year last past, at which time he came to seek his brother-in-law, the Lord Clifford, who was then with me at dinner at Lambeth."\*

The second Parliament dissolved, privy seals were now issuing. Savile, still hot against his old opponent, prevailed with the court to send Wentworth a privy seal. The latter received it while his recent overtures to Weston remained yet unaccepted. It had the appearance of a cold rejection of them.† Still he hesitated as to his course. "I have been here now some two or three months," writes Lord Baltimore to him, "a spectator upon this great scene of state, where I have no part to play; but you have, for which your friends are sorry. It is your enemies that bring you on the stage, where they have a hope to see you act your own notable harm; and therefore keep yourself off, I beseech you, *et redimas te quam quæcas minimo*."‡ A letter from Lord Haughton followed. "It was supposed," he informs Wentworth, "this humour of committing had been spent, till that your antagonist did revive it; who, I hear, brags he hath you in a toil or dilemma; if you refuse, you shall run the fortune of the other delinquents; if you come in at the last hour into the vineyard, he hopes it will lessen you in the country."§ Such was indeed the dilemma, the toil, in which Wentworth found himself; but he hesitated still! His friends now became extremely anxious, and letter upon letter was despatched to him. Their general cry was one of dissuasion, but in all events of immediate decision.¶ Lord Clifford wrote several times in anxious solicitude. "Your friends here do think you take the best course in writing to the commissioners and coming up instantly, if you are not yet resolved to lend: but that being the point we all wish you would grant us; for, without that, we can have no hope of your safety for your health or person. Then, the deferring of the answer will so lessen the gift, as the acceptance of it would be but faint and cold. Whereas, if you would now assent to slip the money into some commissioner's hand, you might wave the trouble to appear, either in the country or here. I must tell you, that I have met here with many that are persuaded that you struck a tally here yourself when you were at London, and my answer to such was ignorance. Another sort there are, who inquire much after your coming up, and these I conceive not out of any good affection, because some of them have relation to old Sir John." Lord Baltimore wrote more earnestly still. "If you resolve betimes to take this course, which I would to God you would, it may be yet interpreted obedience to your sovereign, and zeal to his service; and whatsoever slackness hath been in it hitherto may be excused by your friends here, either by indisposition of health, or some other reason, which your own judgment can better dictate unto you than my advice. I should say much more to you were you here, which is not fit for paper; but never put off the matter to your appearance here, for God's sake; but send

\* *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 451. Written about the year 1628-9.

† In the *Life of Eliot* I have sufficiently explained the court practices at this time. Privy seals were generally addressed to the "disaffected" only.

‡ *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 37.

§ See the *Papers*, vol. i., p. 37-40.

¶ *Ibid.*

your money in to the collectors in the country without more ado. *Your friends are much perplexed and in fear of you, and none more than I.*" Wentworth, thus driven, made up his mind, at last, to refuse to lend. He could no longer conceal from himself that a crisis had arrived, and he was not ignorant of a means (though he might have hitherto wished to avoid some incidents attached to it) that would possibly force from it a perfect triumph. He refused the loan, and was summoned to the council table at London. He did not omit an opportunity to his main purpose that seemed to offer itself here. Wandesford describes it in a letter written to him after his committal to the Marshalsea. "Now that you are reckoned with the afflicted, a man may pray safely for your deliverance; and, seeing it would be no better, I am glad you come in so fair, and so handsomely upon the point itself. *Sir Arthur tells me the president reports well of your carriage at the table.* I shall be glad to hear of you in your present confinement, lest that prison and this season give you a nightcap in earnest."\*

He only remained six weeks in the Marshalsea. He was then removed to Dartford in Kent, where, Radcliffe observes, he "was not to go above two miles from that town." This was an easy imprisonment, and easy as it was, was still more alleviated by the presence of the Lady Arabella.† She had already presented him with a boy, and, during his present restriction, gave birth to a girl. The letters of her brother, Denzil Hollis, written at this period to Wentworth, are very delightful in many respects,‡ and, in the disastrous news of the court schemes which they supplied, may have served to strengthen his present patriotic purposes. "I am most glad," he writes, "to hear my sister is in so fair a way of recovering strength, since she last made you the second time a father: I wish she may many times do it to both your comforts, and every time still with more comfort than the former; that yet in our private respects we may have some cause of joy, since the public affords us so little; for you see how that goes on *de mal en pis*, as the French say." He then gives a vivid account of the melancholy Isle of Rheé expedition, and, describing the numbers that had been lost, pleasantly concludes thus: "In the mean time we have lost many good men, yet let us make the best of it; and I hope it will make our wives, instead of bearing wenches, which of late you say they have been much given to, fall to bringing of boys, young soldiers for the reincrew of our army: and I know no reason but mine should begin; and she had as good do it at first, for if she do not, at her peril, I hope to make her go again for it; and when my sister Arabella shall see how mine is served, I hope she will take fair warning, and do as she should do; but I fear not her so much, for she has begun pretty well already. And now I will close my letter as you do yours (with thanks by the way for it, as also for the whole letter), heartily praying she may so continue, to make you a glad father

of many goodly and godly boys—and some wenches among, lest the seventh work miracles, as old wives will tell us—and herself to be a joyful and good mother, as I know she is a good and loving wife, and long may she so be to your comfort and her own."

Wentworth and the other recusants released, they met, under the circumstances of extreme excitement which have been already described, in the famous third Parliament. It is scarcely necessary to remark here, that the under current of intrigue which had been set in motion by Wentworth was only known to his convenient friend Wandesford. It is not likely, from the tone of Hollis's letters, that he had ever been made acquainted with it. For the rest of the patriots, with the exception of the keen-sighted Eliot, they all held well with Wentworth, as a great and valuable supporter of the popular cause. He had long been known for his talents; their outburst in behalf of liberal principles had long, by a certain section of the leaders, been anxiously watched for; and now, disappointing none, even of those who had known them longest, and looked for them most impatiently, they burst forth amid the delighted cheers of the House, and with a startling effect upon the court.

On the discussion of the general question of grievances, Wentworth rose. "May this day's resolution," he solemnly began, "be as happy, as I conceive the proposition which now moves me to rise to be seasonable and necessary! For whether we shall look upon the king or his people, it did never more behove this great physician, the Parliament, to effect a true consent amongst the parties than now. This debate carries with it a double aspect, towards the sovereign, and towards the subject; though both be innocent, yet both are injured, both to be cured. In the representation of injuries I shall crave your attention; in the cure, I shall beseech your equal cares and better judgments. In the greatest humility I speak it, these illegal ways are punishments and marks of indignation. The raising of money by loans, strengthened by commission, with unheard-of instructions; the billeting of soldiers by the lieutenants, have been as if they could have persuaded Christian princes—nay, worlds, that the right of empire was to take away goods by strong hand; and they have endeavoured, as far as was possible for them, to do it. This hath not been done by the king (under the pleasing shade of whose crown I hope we shall ever gather the fruits of justice), but by projectors; these have extended the prerogative of the king beyond its just limits, so as to mar the sweet harmony of the whole."

Wentworth then burst suddenly, and with great dramatic effect (he studied this at all times), into the following rapid and passionate invective: "They have rent from us the light of our eyes! enforced companies of guests worse than the ordinances of France! vitiated our wives and daughters before our faces! brought the crown to greater want than ever it was, by anticipating the revenue; and can the shepherd be thus smitten, and the flock not be scattered! They have introduced a privy council, ravishing at once the spheres of all ancient government! imprisoning us without bail

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 29.

† (On the twenty-fourth of February, 1625, he united himself to Arabella, second daughter of John Hollis, first Earl of Clare.—C.)

‡ See Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 46-42.

or bond! They have taken from us—what shall I say? *Indeed, what have they left us?* They have taken from us all means of supplying the king, and ingratiating ourselves with him, by tearing up the roots of all property; which, if they be not seasonably set again into the ground by his majesty's hand, we shall have, instead of beauty, baldness!"

For this, in the noblest language, the orator proposed his remedy. "By one and the same thing hath the king and people been hurt, and by the same must they be cured—to vindicate—what! New things! No! our ancient, lawful, and vital liberties! by reinforcing of the ancient laws made by our ancestors; by setting such a stamp upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them. And shall we think this a way to break a Parliament! No! our desires are modest and just. I speak truly, both for the interest of the king and people. If we enjoy not these, it will be impossible to relieve him; therefore let us never fear but they will be accepted by his goodness. Wherefore I shall descend to my motion, which consists of four parts, two of which have relation to the persons, and two to the property of our goods. 1st. For our persons, the freedom of them from imprisonment, and from employments abroad, against our own consents, contrary to the ancient customs of this kingdom. 2d. For our goods, that no levies may be made but by Parliament; and no billeting of soldiers. It is most necessary that these be resolved, and that the subjects may be secured in both. Then, for the manner, it will be fit to determine it by a grand committee."\*

Wentworth sustained, through the short but important proceedings of the session, the reputation he had achieved by this speech in the House and the country. He spoke on all the great questions and emergencies that occurred. Only two of his speeches, however, remain in any completeness. The second was delivered on one of Secretary Cooke's pressing applications for the subsidies. "I cannot help lamenting," he said, "the unlawful courses and slights, for which the only excuse is necessity. We are required to give; but before we can resolve to give, it must be determined what we have to give. What heavy fogs have of late darkened our hemisphere, and yet hang over us, portending our ruin, none is so weak as to be ignorant of! What unsteady courses to dispel these mists have been pursued, and thereby raised near us great storms, I take no pleasure to remember; yet, in all bodies diseased, the knowledge precedes the cure. I will shortly tell the principals, next their remedies. I must reduce them into two heads: 1. Whereby our persons have been injured; 2d. Whereby our estates have suffered.

"Our persons have been injured," continued Wentworth, more earnestly, "both by imprisonment without law—nay, against law, boundless and without bank! and by being designed to some office, charge, and employment, foreign or domestic, as a brand of infamy and mark of disgrace. Oh! Mr. Speaker, when it may not be safe to deny payments upon unjust exac-

tions, but we must go to prison for it, nor in this place to speak our consciences, but we must be stamped to unwilling and unfitting employments! Our estates have been racked two ways; one in the loan, wherein five subsidies were exacted, and that by commission of men of quality, and instructions to prosecute the same with an asperity which no times can parallel! And hence the other consideration, of the projectors and executioners of it. Nay, this was not all, but ministers in their pulpits have preached it as Gospel, and damned the refusers of it—so, then, we are already doomed to damnation!

"Let no man," he said, in conclusion, after proposing a committee for grievances, "judge this way a break-neck of Parliaments, but a way of honour to the king, nay, of profit; for besides the supply which we shall readily give him, suitable to his occasions, we give him our hearts. *Our hearts, Mr. Speaker, a gift that God calls for, and fit for a king!*"

There may have been more passion than logic in these speeches, but they had their effect. The court now saw more thoroughly the man they had discarded, and Weston hastened to answer his last letter! He reasoned here not unjustly, that it could scarcely be too late at any time to answer a letter which in its terms so clearly proved the non-existence of any lasting obstacle, such as a firm point of principle. The present conduct of Wentworth, to Weston at least, could appear no other than a temporary resource. Even Buckingham's continued objections were therefore set aside, and, before the conclusion of the session, a negotiation with Wentworth had opened—nay, almost before the burning words which have just been transcribed had cooled from off the lips of the speaker, a transfer of his services to the court was decided on! We have indisputable evidence that on the 28th of May Finch was acting as a go-between.† On the 26th of June the Parliament was prorogued. On the 14th of July Sir Thomas Wentworth was created Baron Wentworth, and called to the privy council.‡ It is clear, however, that at the same time he had stipulated to be made a viscount, and lord-president of the North;§ but this apparently could not be done till the death of Buckingham had removed a still lingering obstacle.||

\* Parl. Hist., vol. vii., p. 446.

† Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 46.

‡ (Shortly after his elevation to the peerage, he met his old friend Pym. "You see," said Strafford, "I have left you." "So I perceive," replied the patriot; "but we shall never leave you, as long as you have a head on your shoulders." Pym kept his word, and never lost sight of Strafford till he had brought him to the scaffold.—C.)

§ See Papers, vol. ii., p. 300.

|| A passage in Rushworth (vol. viii., p. 768) is corroborative of the view which I have presented of Wentworth's public conduct. The collector professes to give all those parliamentary speeches "in which my Lord of Strafford discovered his wit and temper, that the court took particular notice of him," and gives only the speeches that were delivered in this third Parliament. It is clear that he had not rendered himself at all formidable before. Rushworth, indeed, subsequently sets this at rest by adding, "Now he began to be more generally taken notice of by all men, and his fame to spread abroad, where public affairs, and the criticisms of the times, were discussed by the most refined judgments; those who were infected with popularity flattered themselves that he was inclined to support their inclination, and would prove a champion on that account; but such discourse, as it endeared him to his country, so it

\* From a MS. in the Harleian Library. See Parl. Hist., vol. vii., p. 369-371.

I have thus endeavoured to trace at greater length, and with greater exactness than has been attempted hitherto, the opening passages in the political history of this extraordinary man. The common and vulgar account given by Heylin\* has been, it is believed, exploded, along with that of the no less vulgar Hacket.† All Wentworth's movements in the path which has been followed appear to me to be perfectly natural and intelligible, if his true character is kept in view. From the very intensity of the aristocratic principle within him arose his hesitation in espousing at once the interests of the court. This, justly and carefully considered, will be found the solution of his reluctant advances, and still more reluctant retreats. The intervention of a favourite was hardly supportable by one whose ambition, as he felt obliged to confess to himself even then, would be satisfied with nothing short of the dignity of becoming "the king's mistress, to be cherished and courted by none but himself." He was to be understood, and then invited, rather than forced to an explicit declaration, and then only accepted. The purpose of the alternating attraction and repulsion of his proceedings, such as I have described them, submissive and refractory, might have been obvious, indeed, to an obtuser perception than Buckingham's, but that mediocrity will always find its little account in crushing rather than winning over genius, and is rendered almost as uncomfortable by an uncongenial coadjutor as by a strenuous opponent. Wentworth's conduct, at the last, was forced upon him by circumstances; but his energetic support of the Petition of Rights was only the completion of a series of hints, all of which had been more or less intelligible; and even now, unwillingly understood as *this* was by the minister, it was yet more reluctantly acted upon, for by Buckingham's death alone, as we are informed, the "great bar" to Wentworth's advancement was removed.‡ It may be added, that, even in all these circumstances, when many steps were forced upon him which his proud spirit but poorly submitted to, and wronged itself in submitting to, it is yet possible to perceive a quality in his nature which was afterward more fully developed. He was possessed with a rooted aversion, from the first, to the court flies that buzzed around the monarch, and as little inclined to suffer their good offices as to deprecate their hostility. The receipt, shortly after this, of divers ill-spelled and solemn sillinesses from the king, seems to have occasioned a deep and enduring gratitude in him for the dispensing with a medium that had annoyed him. "I do with infinite sense," writes he, "consider your majesty's great goodness, not only most graciously approving of that address of mine immediately to yourself, but allowing it unto me hereafter, which I shall rest myself upon as my greatest support on earth, and make bold to practise, yet I trust without importunity or sauciness." The few attempts to ingratiate himself with the queen, which were ultimately forced on Wentworth

by his declining fortunes, were attended with but faint success, and he appears to have impressed her, on the whole, with little beyond the prettiness of his hands, which she allowed to be "the finest in the world"—to the prejudice of his head, which she was not so inclined to preserve.

In one word, what it is desired to impress upon the reader, before the delineation of Wentworth in his after years, is this, *that he was consistent to himself throughout*. I have always considered that much good wrath is thrown away upon what is usually called "apostasy." In the majority of cases, if the circumstances are thoroughly examined, it will be found that there has been "no such thing." The position on which the acute Roman thought fit to base his whole theory of *Æsthetics*,

"Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam  
Jungere si velit, et varias inducere plumas,  
Undique collatis membris, ut turpius atram  
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,  
Spectatum admisi risum teneatis, amici!" &c.

is of far wider application than to the exigencies of an art of poetry; and those who carry their researches into the moral nature of mankind cannot do better than impress upon their minds at the outset, that in the regions they explore they are to expect no monsters—no essentially discordant termination to any "mulier formosa superne." Infinitely and distinctly various as appear the shifting hues of our common nature when subjected to the prism of *CIRCUMSTANCES*, each ray into which it is broken is no less in itself a primitive colour, susceptible, indeed, of vast modification, but incapable of farther division. Indolence, however, in its delight for broad classifications, finds its account in overlooking this; and among the results, none is more conspicuous than the long list of apostates with which history furnishes us. It is very true, it may be admitted, that when we are informed by an old chronicler that "at this time Ezzelin changed totally his disposition," or by a modern biographer that "at such a period Tiberius first became a wicked prince," we examine too curiously if we consider such information as in reality regarding other than the act done and the popular inference recorded, beyond which it was no part of the writer to inquire. But such historians as these value themselves materially on their dispensation of good or evil fame; and as the "complete change," so dramatically recounted, has commonly no mean influence on the nature of their award, the observations I have made may be of service to the just estimate of their more sweeping conclusions.

Against all such conclusions I earnestly protest in the case of the remarkable personage whose ill-fated career we are now retracing. Let him be judged sternly, but in no unphilosophic spirit. In turning from the bright band of patriot brothers to the solitary Strafford—"a star which dwelt apart"—we have to contemplate no extinguished splendour, razed and blotted from the book of life. Lustrous, indeed, as was the gathering of the lights in the

begot to him an interest in the bosom of his prince, who (having a discerning judgment of men) quickly made his observation of Wentworth's, that he was a person framed for great affairs, and fit to be near his royal person and council." Life of Laud, p. 194.

† *Scripta Rerum*.

‡ *Biog. Brit.*, vol. vii., p. 4179.

\* This is told us by Madame de Motteville, who repeats what Henrietta had said to her: "Il était laid, mais assez agréable de sa personne; et la reine, me conta toutes ces choses, s'arrêta pour me dire qu'il avait les plus belles mains du monde."



political heaven of this great time, even that radiant cluster might have exulted in the accession of the "comet beautiful and fierce," which tarried a while within its limits ere it "dashed athwart with train of flame." But it was governed by other laws than were owned by its golden associates, and—impelled by a contrary, yet no less irresistible force than that which restrained them within their eternal orbits—it left them, never to "float into that azure heaven again."

Before attending Wentworth to his presidency in the North, we may stop to consider one of those grand features in his character on which many subordinate considerations depend, and a proper understanding of which ought to be brought, as a first requisite, to the just observation of his measures.

I cannot believe Wentworth to have been the vain man popular opinion has pronounced him, nor discover in him any of that overweening and unwarranted self-confidence which friends no less than foes have laid to his charge. An arrogance, based on the supposed possession of pre-eminent qualities which have no existence, is one thing, and the calm perception of an undoubted superiority is another. Wentworth, indeed, "stood like a tower," but that unshaken confidence did not "suddenly scale the light." Its stately proportions were slowly evolved; its eventual elevation unavoidable, and amply vindicated. We have met with no evidences of a refractory or self-sufficient disposition in the youth of Wentworth. His studies at Cambridge had a prosperous issue, and he ever remembered his college life with affection. "I am sorry to speak it, but truth will out," writes he to Laud concerning an episcopal delinquent, "this bishop is a St. John's man—of Oxford, I mean, not Cambridge; our Cambridge panniers never brought such a fairing to the market."\* His deep esteem for his tutor, Greenwood, reflects honour on both parties. I have said that it was originated by

good services performed, and so, perhaps, it is necessary to limit all Strafford's likings—all, except the fatal one which cost him life, his liking for the weak and unworthy king, which had its origin in that abstract veneration for power which (or rather, as he afterward too late discovered, the semblance of which) we have just seen him, by some practices beneath his nature, climbing up to, and in the exercise of which we are to view him hereafter. But his esteem for Greenwood, whatever its origin, was not to have been provoked by truckling sycophancy. Nothing of that sort would have succeeded in impressing its object with so profound a respect as dictates the following paragraph in an interesting letter to his nephew and ward, Sir W. Savile. "In these, and all things else, you shall do passing well to consult Mr. Greenwood, who hath seen much, is very well able to judge, and certainly most faithful to you. If you use him not most respectfully, you deal extreme ungratefully with him, and ill for yourself. He was the man your father loved and trusted above all men, and did as faithfully discharge the trust reposed in him as ever in my time I knew any man do for his dead friend, taking excessive pains in settling your estate with all possible cheerfulness, without charge to you at all. His advice will be always upright, and you may safely pour your secrets into him, which, by that time you have conversed a little more abroad in the world, you will find to be the greatest and noblest treasure this world can make any man owner of; and I protest to God, were I in your place, I would think him the greatest and best riches I did or could possess."\* In the same letter Wentworth assures this youth, "You cannot consider yourself, and advise and debate your actions with your friends too much; and, till such time as experience hath ripened your judgment, it shall be great wisdom and advantage to distrust yourself, and to fortify your youth by the counsel of your more aged friends, before you undertake anything of consequence. It was the course that I governed myself by after my father's death, with great advantage to myself and affairs; and yet my breeding abroad had shown me more of the world than yours hath done, and I had natural reason like other men; only I confess I did in all things distrust myself, wherein you shall do, as I said, extremely well, if you do so too."† There is no self-sufficiency here!

Wentworth's method of study has been transmitted to us by Sir George Radcliffe, and I quote it in strong corroboration of the view which has been urged. "He writ," Radcliffe assures us, "as well as he spoke: this perfection he attained, first, by reading well-penned authors in French, English, and Latin, and observing their expressions; secondly, by hearing of eloquent men, which he did diligently in their sermons and public speeches; thirdly, by a very great care and industry, which he used when he was young, in penning his epistles and missives of what subject soever; but, above all, he had a natural quickness of wit and fancy, with great clearness of judgment, and much practice, without which his other helps, of reading and hearing, would not have brought him to that great

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 189. Laud makes merry upon this happy phrase of the lord-deputy's. The passages are characteristic of the correspondence, and therefore worth quoting. "And so your lordship," he writes, "is very sorry to tell the truth, but only that it will out. A St. John's man you say he is, and of Oxford—your Cambridge panniers never brought such a fairing to the market. Yes, my good lord, but it hath; for what say you of Dean Palmer? who, besides his other virtues, sold all the lead off from the church at Peterburgh; yet he was brought in your Cambridge panniers; and so was Bishop Howland too, who used that bishopric as well as he did the deanery. I must confess this man's baseness hath not many fellows, but his bribery may have store. And I pray, is that ever a whit the less fault, because it is gentleman-like for hundreds and thousands, whereas this man deals for twenty shillings and less? I hope you will not say so; and if you do not, then I pray examine your Cambridge panniers again, for some say such may be found there, but I, for my part, will not believe it, unless your lordship make me." Wentworth appears to have contested this point in Laud's own humour. The bishop retorts by asking him what his "Jonianism" means. "Now you are merry again. God hold it. And what? Dr. Palmer acted like a king? Be it so. But he was another card in the pack. As for Bishop Howland, you never heard of him. What! nor of Jeumes his wife neither? Good Lord, how ignorant you can be when you list. Yes, but you have taken St. John's Ox. *Flagrantissime crimine*, and I put you to your memory. Is it so? Come on, then: you know there is a cause in the Star Chamber; some were to answer, and they brought their answers ready written. If the Bishop of Lincoln sent them ready for his turn, hath he not an excellent forge? What if this appear? I hope you will not then say I put you to your memory. 'Tis now under examination, and is not this if, &c., *flagrantissime*? Go brag now."

\* Papers, vol. i., p. 170.

† Ibid., p. 108.

much removed from a rash assumption the nervous apprehension of mediocrity. Worth's temper was passionate; and it was thus, and instructive, in the present view of his character, to mark the steps he took in to this. I have already spoken of his cautiousness; of the select council that he consulted in his business, suggested his measures, revised his correspondence; of his deference to advice, and, indeed, submission to reform his assured friends. "He was naturally choleric," says Sir George Radcliffe, "an infirmity with which he had great struggles; and though he kept a watchfulness of himself concerning it, yet it could not be so easily subdued but sometimes upon sudden occasions broke. He had sundry friends that often rebuked him of it, and he had the great prudence to take in good part such admonitions: I can say that I, one of his most intimate friends, never gained more upon his trust and confidence than by this freedom with him in telling of his weaknesses; for he was a man who, though an angel, yet such a man as made a virtue of his ways, and did endeavour to improve his virtue and victory over himself, and so made good progress accordingly." This "goodness" brought him eventually to a very effective self-control. In cases where he would have exceeded it, and to have been rebuked beyond decency and prudence, it was his habit to assume, as Clarendon and other writers have done, that it was in mere forgetfulness of his will. These writers, it will be difficult to show, have not that excuse for the failure of their principles in Wentworth's person. The truth was, that, as in the case of Napoleon and other great masters of the art of rhetoric, anger was one of the instruments of his policy. He came to know when anger was a passion, and flew into a passion accordingly. "You gave me a good lesson to be

his own, and disposed to adopt the first course that shall be proposed, but with the calm purpose of one decided on the main course to be pursued, yet not unwilling that it receive the corroboration, or undergo the modification, of an experienced adviser. This has been occasionally illustrated in the business of his nomination by the king for the office of sheriff, where, having already chosen his party, he submits his determination to his father-in-law, the Earl of Clare, whose answer has been quoted. I have mentioned, also, his practice of transmitting duplicates of his despatches on all urgent occasions to Laud, Cooke, and Cottington.

No passage, indeed, in the career of Wentworth proves him to have been a vain man. His singular skill is never satisfied, without an unremitting application of means to any desired end, and the neglect of no circumstance, the most minute and apparently trivial, that may conduce to its success. Would he ensure his own return for a county, and smuggle in a ministerial candidate under the wing of his own popularity? He proceeds as though his personal merits could in no way influence the event, and all his hopes are founded on the activity of his friends, which he leaves no stone unturned to increase. *In one and the same day*, Sir Thomas Gower, high sheriff of York, is informed that, "Being, at the entreaty of some of my best friends, resolved to try the affections of my countrymen in the next election of knights for the shire, I could do no less than take hold of this fit occasion to write unto you these few lines, wherein I must first give you thanks for the good respect you have been pleased to show towards me, to some of my good friends who moved you for your just and equal favour at the time of the election; which, as I will be found ready to deserve and affectionately to requite, so must I here solicit you for the continuance of your good purposes towards me, and heartily desire to understand

zealously perform the best service for them that my means or understanding shall enable me unto. And having thus far upon this occasion declared myself, must take it as a great testimony of affection in them that shall afford me their voices, and those of their friends for Mr. Secretary Calvert in the prime, and myself in the second place. Particularly am I hereby to give you therefore thanks, and will so settledly lodge this favour in my heart, that I will not fail to remember and deserve it. *In my next letters I will likewise let Mr. Secretary know your good respect and kindness towards him, whereof I dare assure you he will not be unmindful.* The election day will fall out very unhappily upon Christmas-day; but it is irremediless, and therefore must be yielded unto. If you will please to honour me with the company of yourself and friends upon that day at dinner, I shall take it as a second and especial favour; in retribution whereof you shall find me still conversant, as occasion shall be ministered, in the unfeigned and constant offices of your very assured and affectionate friend." Sir Henry Savile instructed that "I have received your two letters, and in them both find matter to thank you for your respect and kindness towards me. The later of them I received just the afternoon I came out of town, *but I write effectually to Mr. Secretary for a burgess-ship for you at Richmond, in regard I knew my Lord of Cumberland was partly engaged; but I will amongst them work out one, or I will miss far of my aim.* So soon as I hear from Mr. Secretary, I will give you farther certainty herein; in the mean time, methinks it were not amiss if you tried your ancient power with them of Aldborow, which I leave to your better consideration, and in the mean time not labour the less to make it sure for you elsewhere, if these clowns chance to fail you. The writ, as I hear, is this week gone to the sheriff; so the next county day, which must, without hope of alteration, be that of the election, falls to be Christmas-day, which were to be wished otherwise; but the discommodity of our friends more upon that day than another makes the favour the greater, our obligation the more, and therefore I hope they will the rather dispense with it. If the old knight should but endanger it, 'faith, we might be reputed men of small power and esteem in the country! but the truth is, I fear him not. If your health serve you, I shall wish your company at York, and that yourself and friends would eat a Christmas pie with me there: I tell you there would be a hearty welcome, and I would take it as an especial favour, so value it, and as such a one remember it." Sir Matthew Boynton reminded that "The ancient and near acquaintance that hath been betwixt us causeth me to rank you in the number of my friends; and being moved by my friends to stand second with Mr. Secretary Calvert for knight of the shire at this next Parliament, I assure myself I might confidently address myself unto you for the voices of yourself and friends in the election, which falls out unfortunately to be upon Christmas-day. But as the trouble of my friends thereby will be the greater, so doth it add to my obligation. I hope likewise to enjoy your company and friends that day at dinner. You shall be in no place

better welcome." And Christopher Wandesford given notice that "the writ will be delivered by Mr. Radcliffe within these two days to the sheriff, to whom I have written, giving him thanks for his kindness, desiring the continuance thereof. And now, lest you should think me forgetful of that which concerns yourself, I hasten to let you know that I have got an absolute promise of my Lord Clifford, *that if I be chosen knight, you shall have a burgess-ship (reserved for me) at Appleby, wherewith I must confess I am not a little pleased, in regard we shall sit there, judge, and laugh together.*"

The reader will remember that all these, with many other letters, are written and despatched on the same day. No apology is necessary for the length at which I quote them; since, in rescuing them from false and distorted arrangement, much misconception is prevented, and a very valuable means of judgment furnished on Wentworth's general conduct.

He goes on to let Sir Thomas Fairfax know that "I was at London much entreated, and, indeed, at last enjoined, to stand with Mr. Secretary Calvert for to be knight of this shire the next Parliament, both by my Lord Clifford and himself; which, after I had assented unto, and despatched my letters, I perceived that some of your friends had motioned the like to Mr. Secretary on your behalf, and were therein engaged, which was the cause I writ no sooner unto you. Yet, hearing by my cousin Middleton that, he moving you in my behalf for your voices, you were not only pleased to give over that intendment, but freely to promise us your best assistance, I must confess I cannot forbear any longer to write unto you how much this courtesy deserves of me; and that I cannot choose but take it most kindly from you, as suitable with the ancient affection which you have always borne me and my house. And presuming of the continuance of your good respect towards me, I must entreat the company of yourself and friends with me at dinner on Christmas-day, being the day of the election, where I shall be most glad of you, and there give you farther thanks for your kind respects." And thus reports progress to Mr. Secretary himself: "May it please you, sir, the Parliament writ is delivered to the sheriff, and he by his faithful promise deeply engaged for you. I find the gentlemen of these parts generally ready to do you service. Sir Thomas Fairfax stirs not; but Sir John Savile, by his instruments exceeding busy, intimating to the common sort under-hand, that yourself, being not resiant in the county, cannot by law be chosen, and, being his majesty's secretary and a stranger, one not safe to be trusted by the country; but all this according to his manner so closely and cunningly as if he had no part therein; neither doth he as yet farther declare himself than only that he will be at York the day of the election; and thus, finding he cannot work them from me, labours only to supplant you. I endeavour to meet with him as well as I may, and omit nothing that my poor understanding tells me may do you service. My lord-president hath writ to his freeholders on your behalf, and seeing he will be in town on the election day, it were, I think, very good he would be pleased to show himself for you in the Cas-

tle-yard, and that you writ unto him a few lines, taking notice you hear of some opposition, and therefore desire his presence might secure you of fair carriage in the choice. *I have heard, that when Sir Francis Darcy opposed Sir Thomas Lake in a matter of like nature, the lords of the council writ to Sir Francis to desist. I know my lord-chancellor is very sensible of you in this business; a word to him, and such a letter, would make an end of all.* Sir, pardon me, I beseech you, for I protest I am in travail till all be sure for you, which imboldens me to propound these things, which, notwithstanding, I most humbly submit to your judgment. When you have resolved, be pleased to despatch the bearer back again with your answer, which I shall take care of. There is not any that labours more heartily for you than my Lord Darcy. Sir, I wish a better occasion wherein to testify the dutiful and affectionate respects your favours and nobleness may justly require from me." Sir Arthur Ingram is then apprized, in a letter which is full of character, that, "As touching the election, we now grow to some heat; Sir John Savile's instruments closely and cunningly suggesting under-hand Mr. Secretary's non-residence, his being the king's servant, and out of these reasons by law cannot, and in good discretion ought not, be chosen of the country; whereas himself is their martyr, having suffered for them; the patron of the clothiers; of all others the fittest to be relied on; and that he intends to be at York the day of the election—craftily avoiding to declare himself absolutely. And thus he works, having spread this jealousy, that albeit I persuade myself generally they would give me their prime voice, yet in good faith I think it very improbable we shall ever get the first place for Mr. Secretary; nay, I protest we shall have need of our strength to obtain him a second election: so as the likeliest way, so far as I am able to judge, to secure both, will be for me to stand for the prime, and so cast all my second voices upon him, which, notwithstanding, we may help by putting him first in the indenture. I am exceeding sorry that the foulness and length of the way put me out of hope of your company, and therefore, I pray you, let us have your advice herein by the bearer. Your letter to your friends in Halifax admits some question, because you desire their voices for Mr. Secretary and myself the rather for that Sir John Savile stands not; so, say they, if he stand, we are left to our liberty. You will therefore please to clear that doubt by another letter, which, delivered to this messenger, I will get sent unto them. I fear greatly they will give their second voice with Sir John. Mr. Leech promised me he would procure his lord's letter to the freeholders within Hallomshire and the honour of Pontefract; that my cousin Lascells, my lord's principal agent in these parts, should himself labour Hallomshire; Mr. Banister, the learned steward of Pontefract, do the like there; and both of them be present at the election, the better to secure those parts. I hear not anything of them. I pray you, press Mr. Leech to the performance of his promise, letting him know Sir John Savile's friends labour for him, and he declares in a manner he will stand, and get him to send the letters by this my servant. I

desire likewise he would entreat my cousin Lascells that he would take the pains to come over, and speak with me the Monday before Christmas-day here at my house. Sir, you see how bold I am to trouble you, and yet I must desire you would be pleased to afford me the commodity of your house for two nights, to entertain my friends. I shall, God willing, be most careful that nothing be impaired, and shall number this among many other your noble courtesies, which have inviolably knit me unto you." Sir Thomas Dawney is solicited to the same effect, and Sir Henry Slingsby informed that "The certainty I have of Sir John Savile's standing, and the various reports I hear of the country people's affection towards Mr. Secretary, makes me desirous to know how you find them inclined in your parts. For this wapentake, as also that of Osgodcross and Staincross, I certainly persuade myself will go wholly for us. In Skyrack I assure myself of a better part, and I will perform promise with Mr. Secretary, bringing a thousand voices of my own besides my friends. Some persuade me that the better way to secure both were for me to stand prime, cast all my second voices on Mr. Secretary, and put him first into the indenture. I pray you consider of it, and write me your opinion; *I would not lose substance for such a toyish ceremony.* There is danger both ways: for if Mr. Secretary stand first, it is much to be feared the country will not stand for him firm and entire against Sir John. *If I be first chosen, which I make no question but I could, then is it to be doubted the people might fly over to the other side, which, notwithstanding, in my conceit, of the two is the more unlikely; for, after they be once settled and engaged for me, they will not be so apt to stir.* And again, it may be so suddenly carried as they shall have no time to more. At a word, we shall need all our endeavours to make Mr. Secretary, and therefore, sir, I pray you gather up all you possibly can. I would gladly know how many you think we may expect from you. My Lord Clifford will be at Tadeaster upon Christmas-eve, about one of the clock: if that be your way, I am sure he would be glad yourself and friends would meet him there, *that so we might go into York the next day, vote, and dine together, where you shall be most heartily welcome.*" Sir Thomas Fairfax is again moved very earnestly to make "All the strength of friends and number you can to give their voices for us at the next election, falling to be upon Christmas-day; the rather, because *the old gallant of Hookey* intends certainly to stand, whom, indeed, albeit I should lightly weigh, were the matter betwixt him and me, yet I doubt Mr. Secretary (if his friends stand not closely to him) being not well known in the country. Sir, you have therefore hereby an opportunity offered to do us all an especial favour, which shall bind us to a ready and cheerful requital, when you shall have occasion to use any of us. My Lord Clifford will be, God willing, at Tadeaster upon Christmas-eve, about one of the clock, where I assure myself he will much desire that yourself and friends will be pleased to meet him, *that so we may go into York together; and myself earnestly entreat the company of yourself and them the next day at dinner, which I shall esteem as a double fa-*

vour." And his cousin Thomas Wentworth advertised that, "Being, as you know, engaged to stand with Mr. Secretary Calvert to be knights for this Parliament, and Sir John Savile our only opponent, I must make use of my friends, and entreat them to deal thoroughly for us, in regard the loss of it would much prejudice our estimations above. In which number I esteem yourself one of my best and fastest friends. The course my Lord Darcy and I hold is, *to entreat the high constables to desire the petty constables to set down the names of all freeholders within their townships, and which of them have promised to be at York and bestow their voices with us, so as we may keep the note as a testimony of their good affections, and know whom we are beholden unto*, desiring them farther to go along with us to York on Sunday, being Christmas-eve, or else meet us about two of the clock at Tadcaster. I desire you would please to deal effectually with your high constables, and hold the same course, that so we may be able to judge what number we may expect out of your wapentake. As I no ways doubt of your uttermost endeavours and pains in a matter of this nature, deeply touching my credit, so will I value it as a special testimony of your love towards me. I hope you will take the pains to go along with us, together with your friends, to York, *that so we may come all in together*, and take part of an ill dinner with me the next day, where yourself and friends shall be right heartily welcome."\*

It is not necessary to recall attention to the political principle, or the party views, which are evidenced in these letters;† but how singular and complete is the illustration they afford, of Wentworth's practice of letting slip no method, however ordinary, of compassing his designs! Is he interested, either, in the success of a lawsuit? we find that "he spent eight years' time, besides his pains and money, in soliciting the business and suits of his nephews Sir George and Sir William Savile, going every term to London about that only, without missing one term in thirty, as I verily believe. And all this merely in memory of the kindness which had passed betwixt him and his brother-in-law Sir George Savile, then deceased."‡ And so with all things that interested him.

To this head, then, the reader is asked to refer many proceedings, which hitherto have been cited in proof of an excessive vanity. They were rather the suggestions of a mind well aware of the influence of seeming trifles on the accomplishment of important purposes. The pompous enumeration of his heraldic honours in the preamble to his patent of nobility, and the "extraordinary pomp" with which he was created viscount and president of the North, were no unnecessary precaution against the surprise and disdain of an insolent herd of courtiers, and were yet ineffectual wholly to restrain their sarcasms.§ The unexampled

splendour of his after progress to the opening of the Irish Parliament was, no doubt, well calculated to "beget an awful admiration" in the minds of a body of men whose services he was then preparing to obtain by far more questionable means; and his fierce resentment of the slightest infringement of the etiquette he had succeeded in establishing, his minute arrangements with respect to the ceremony he conceived necessary to the powers he was intrusted with, have their censure on other grounds than any intrinsic absurdity they evince. It seems to me to be high time, in cases of this sort, to shift our censure to the grosser absurdity of the principles which require such means for their support. Ceremony in the abstract—the mere forms of etiquette, sinking through their own emptiness, sustaining no purpose, and unsustained by none—Wentworth regarded with a more supreme scorn than they were held in by any of his prudish opponents among his own party. "I confess," writes he on one occasion, "this matter of *PLACE* I have ever judged a *womanly thing*, and so love not to trouble myself therewith, more than needs must." He cares not, moreover, submitting cheerfully throughout to the king's unworthy arrangement, that himself should gather "golden opinions" by a liberal bestowment of honours in Ireland on the more troublesome of his suitors, while to his deputy was confided the ungracious task of interposing a veto on the royal benefaction, and receiving, in his own person, the curses of the disappointed.\* Against the bitterness of their discontent Wentworth had his unfailing resource. "I shall not neglect," he writes, "to preserve myself in good opinion with this people, in regard I become thereby better able to do my master's service; longer than it works to that purpose, I am very indifferent what they shall think or can say concerning me." Not the less scruple had he in complaining of the king's arrangement, when it was tortured to purposes he had never contemplated, and he discovered that the character of his government was become that of an iron rule, wherein reward had no place, even for its zealous supporters.† For the foolish gravity of the luckless king had continued to

\* *Dammy, if ever he comes to the King of England, I will turn rebel.*"—*Epistola Howelliana*, No. 34, edit. 1650.

\* See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 140.

† One instance, out of the many which strikingly illustrate Wentworth's character in this respect, may be subjoined. Lord Newburgh had procured for the king a promise of promotion for a young man in the Irish army, which the lord-deputy felt would be disadvantageous to the public service. Here are some passages of his remonstrance: "For if I be not favoured so far as that I may be able to make myself friends, and draw unto myself some dependance by the expectance men may have from me in these places, that so I may have assistance and cheerful countenance from some, as I have already purchased the sour and bent brow of some of them, I foresee I shall have little honour, comfort, or safety amongst them. For a man to enforce obedience by punishment only, and be deprived all means to reward some—to be always in vinegar, never to communicate of the sweet—is, in my estimation of it, the meanest, most ignoble condition any free spirit can be reduced unto. . . . The conclusion therefore is, I am confident his majesty will not debar me of what (be it spoken under favour) belongs to my place, for all the solicitation of the pretty busy Lord Newburgh, who, if a man should move his majesty for anything in the gift of the chancellor of the duchy, would as pertly cackle, and put himself in the way of complaint, as if he had all the merit and ability in the world to serve his master."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 130-142.

\* These various letters will be found in the *Strafford Papers*.

† The beginning of electioneering tactics is also curiously discernible in them.

‡ Radcliffe's Essay.

§ "The Duke of Buckingham himself flew not so high in so short a revolution of time. He was made a viscount with a great deal of high ceremony upon a Sunday, in the afternoon, at Whitehall. My Lord Powis, who affects him not much, being told that the heralds had fetched his pedigree from the blood royal, viz., from John of Gaunt, said,

pen epistle upon epistle, disposing of the most subordinate posts in the army, as well as the higher dignities of the Church. The system, in the first instance, however, was one which a proud man, certainly, might submit to, but a vain man would hardly acquiesce in.

I resume the progress of Wentworth's fortunes. His elevation became an instant subject of general remark; and it is not difficult to discover that, in his native county, where he was best known, the surprise excited by so sudden a change, after such violent opposition, was balanced by a greater surprise, on the other hand, that the honour should have been delayed so long. "Give me leave to inform you," writes Sir Richard Hutton,\* in a passage which is expressive of both these feelings, "that your late conferred honour is the subject of much discourse here in Yorkshire, which I conceive proceeds from the most, not out of any other cause than their known worth in you, which is thought merited it much sooner and greater; but this is only to entertain you a little longer; for I know that your actions are not justly liable to any censure, I am sure not to mine; for, being yours, it speaks them good to me, if not the best." The character of the important office intrusted to Wentworth included much that was especially grateful to him: enlarged by his desire, it presented power almost unlimited; freedom at the same time from the little annoyances of the court; and the opportunity of exhibiting his genius for despotic rule in his own county, where personal friends might witness its successes, and old adversaries, should the occasion offer, be made the objects of its triumph. To crown his cause of satisfaction, the Duke of Buckingham, who had still hung darkly over his approach to a perfect confidence and favour, was removed by the knife of Felton. Secret congratulations passed, within a few days after this event, between Wentworth and Weston. Everything seemed to favour his entrance into power, and a light rose upon the future. "You tell me," writes his friend Wandesford to him, "God hath blessed you much in these late proceedings. Truly I believe it, for by these circumstances we know, we may guess at them we know not."† This friend was not forgotten. Though so recently one of the active managers of the impeachment against Buckingham, he was at once received into favour, and Wentworth waited his opportunity to employ the services of others, equally dear and valuable, while he did not fail to improve his opportunities of intercourse among his new associates. Laud was the chief object of his concern in this respect, for he had observed Laud's rising influence with the king.

Wentworth wisely deferred his departure to the North until after the dissolution of Parliament. The powers that awaited him there, increased by his stipulations, I have described as nearly unlimited. The council of York, or of the North, whose jurisdiction extended over the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, over the cities of York and Hull, the bishopric of Durham, and the town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,‡ included within itself the powers of the courts of com-

mon law, of the Chancery, even of the Star Chamber. It had originated in the frequent northern rebellions which followed Henry VIII.'s suppression of the lesser monasteries. Before the scheme for the suppression of the greater monasteries was carried into effect, it was judged expedient, in consequence of such disturbances, to grant a commission to the Bishop of Llandaff and others, for the purpose of preserving the peace of these northern counties. This commission was, to all appearances, simply one of oyer and terminer; but a clause had been inserted in it, towards the conclusion, authorizing the commissioners to hear all causes, real and personal, when either or both of the parties laboured under poverty,\* and to decide according to sound discretion. This latter license, however, was soon afterward declared by all the judges to be illegal; and the power of hearing real and personal causes at all was rarely acted upon up to the second year of Elizabeth's reign, when it also was declared to be illegal, since causes regarding property, whether real or personal, could only be decided by the laws of the land. It was reserved for James to issue, over these decisions, a new commission, "very differing," says Clarendon, "from all that went before." The commissioners were no longer ordered to inquire "per sacramentum bonorum et legalium hominum," or to be controlled by any forms of law, but were referred merely to secret instructions, which, for the first time, were sent down to the council. This at once reduced the whole of the North to an absolute subjection, and that so flagrant, that the judges of the court of Common Pleas had the decent courage to protest actively against it, by issuing prohibitions on demand to the president and council; and James himself was obliged to have the instructions enrolled, that the people might, in some measure, be able to ascertain by what rules their conduct was to be regulated.†

One of Wentworth's first announcements, in succeeding to this enormous power, the very acceptance of which was a violation of the vital principles and enactments of the petition of right, was to declare that he would lay any man by the heels who ventured to sue out a prohibition in the courts at Westminster.‡ His excuse for such a course of proceeding was afterward boldly avowed.§ "It was a chaste ambition, if rightly placed, to have as much power as may be, that there may be power to do the more good for the place where a man serves." Now Wentworth's notion of good went straight to the establishment of absolute government; and to this, his one grand object, from the very first moment of his public authority, he bent every energy of his soul. He devoted himself, night and day, to the public business. Lord Scroop's|| arrears were

\* "Quando ambe partes, vel altera pars, gravata paupertate fuerit."—*Rushworth*, vol. ii., p. 162.

† An interesting account of the origin and practices of this council of York was given by Hyde (Lord Clarendon) in the Long Parliament. The speech is reported by *Rushworth*, vol. ii., p. 162-165. ‡ *Rushworth*, vol. ii., p. 159.

§ In his answers to the charges of his impeachment. See *Rushworth*, vol. ii., p. 161.

|| His predecessor in the government of York, afterward Earl of Sunderland. Wandesford speaks of him with great contempt, in a letter to Wentworth: "Your predecessor, like that candle hid under a bushel, while he lived in this place, darkened himself and all that were about him,

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 47.  
‡ *Rushworth*, vol. i., p. 162.

† *Ibid.*, p. 49.

speedily disposed of, an effective militia was imbedded and disciplined, and all possible means were resorted to for an increase of revenue. The fines on recusants, the compositions for knighthood, and the various exactions imposed by government, were rigorously enforced by him. At the same time, his hand, though heavy, was equal, and the reports of his government were, in consequence, found to be very various. The complainants contradicted each other. "Your proceeding with the recusants," writes Weston, "is here, where it is well understood, well taken, though there be different rumours; for it is said that you proceed with extreme rigour, valuing the goods and lands of the poorest at the highest rates, or rather above the value, without which you are not content to make any composition. This is not believed, especially by me, who know your wisdom and moderation; and your last, too, gave much satisfaction even to those who informed me, when they saw thereby that you had compounded with none but to their own contentment."\* Cottington, the chancellor of the exchequer, had expressed more characteristically, some days before, the approbation of the court. "For the business of the recusants, my lord-treasurer sent immediately your letter to the king (who is in his progress), from whom he received a notable approbation both of your intentions and proceedings, as he himself will tell your lordship in his own letters; for you are his mistress, and must be cherished and courted by none but himself." So early did the king deem it expedient to exhibit that peculiar sense of his minister's service. When the minister had bound himself up inextricably with the royal cause, it was thought to be less expedient!

In such a course as this which Wentworth had now entered on, it is quite clear that to have permitted the slightest disregard of the authority assumed must have proved fatal. I cannot see anything unnatural, therefore, in his conduct to Henry Bellasis, and in several other personal questions which at present come under notice. Nothing is apparent in it at variance with the system to be worked out, nothing outrageous or imprudent, as his party have been at some pains to allege. These matters are not to be discussed in the abstract. Despotism is the gist of the question; and if the phrase "unnatural" is to be used, let it fall upon that. The means employed to enforce it are obliged, as a matter of necessity, to partake of its own nature, or it would not for an instant be borne. One of Wentworth's first measures had been to claim for himself, as the representative of absolute royalty, the most absolute reverence and respect. On the occasion of a "solemn meeting," however, this young man Bellasis, the son of the Lord Faulconberg, manifested a somewhat impertinent disregard of these orders, entered the room without "showing any particular reverence" to the lord-president, remained there with his hat on, and as Wentworth himself passed out of the meeting "with his hat off, the king's mace-bearer before him, and all the rest of the com-

pany uncovered, Mr. Bellasis stood with his hat on his head, looking full upon his lordship without stirring his hat, or using any other reverence or civility." In a man of rank, this was the less to be overlooked. Bellasis was ordered before the council board, where he pleaded that his negligence had arisen from accident, that his look was turned the other way, that he was not aware of the lord-president's approach till he had passed, and, finally, that he meant no disrespect to the lord-president's dignity. He was required to express, in addition, his sorrow for having given offence to "Lord Wentworth." He refused to do this; but at last, after a month's imprisonment in the Gate House, was obliged to submit.\* Other cases of the same description occurred. A barrister at law, something disaffected to the lord-president's jurisdiction, expiated his offence in a lowly submission on his knees;† and a punishment fell on Sir David Foulis, heavier and more terrible, in proportion to Wentworth's sense of the conduct that had provoked it.

Sir David Foulis was a deputy lieutenant, a justice of the peace, and a member of the council of York. Holding this position in the county, he had, on various occasions, made very disrespectful mention of the council of York; had thrown out several invidious insinuations against its president; and had shown much activity and zeal in instigating persons not to pay the composition for knighthood, which he considered an illegal and oppressive exaction.‡ Wentworth immediately resolved to make him a signal example; and the extraordinary perseverance, and unscrupulous measures, by dint of which he at last secured this, are too singularly illustrative of his character to be passed over in silence. An information was immediately ordered to be exhibited in the Star Chamber against Sir David Foulis; against his son, who had shared in his offence, and against Sir Thomas Layton, the high sheriff of the county, who had sanctioned and assisted the disaffection. Some necessary delays put off the hearing of the cause till after Wentworth's departure to Dublin. But one of the last things with which he busied himself previous to his departure was the making sure of the issue. He wrote from Westminster to the lord-treasurer (one of the judges that were to try it!), who was then in Scotland, "I have perused all the examinations betwixt me and Foulis, and find all the material parts of the bill fully proved, so as I have him soundly upon the hip; but I desire it may not be spoken of, for albeit I may by order of the court see them, yet he

\* See the proceedings before the council board, Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 88. † See Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 100.

‡ Foulis had, in less important matters, equally sought to baffle the authority of the lord-president. I find the following passage in a letter to Wentworth, from Sir William Pennyman, one of his watchful retainers: "There was a constable under Sir David Foulis (who, by reason of some just excuse, as was pretended, appeared not) that refused to pay twelve pence to Captain Philips, and it was thus discovered. I bid one of the townsmen lay down twelve pence, and the constable should pay him again. He answered, That the constable told him, that Sir David Foulis had commanded him, that if any were demanded he should pay none; and of this I thought it but my part to acquaint your lordship; not that I would aggravate anything against Sir David Foulis, for it might only be some misprision in the constable, but that your lordship might know of the least passage which may have relation or reflection upon yourself."

and dieth towards us (excuse me for the phrase) like a saff unmanly left in a corner."—*Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 49.

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 52.

may not, till the end of the next term."\* Weston did not receive this hint at first very cordially; but Cottington, another of the judges, wrote to him a week or two after he had quitted London, "We say here that your lordship's cause against Foulis shall come to hearing this term, and I inquire much after it." Wentworth, though then much distracted by sickness and affairs, acted eagerly on this intimation, and sent over a special messenger to Cottington, with a short brief of the strong points of the case, written out by himself, and an extremely characteristic letter. He says boldly, "I must wholly recommend myself to your care of me in this, which I take to concern me as much, and to have therein as much the better, as I ever had in any other cause all the days of my life; so I trust a little help will serve the turn." It is clear, in point of fact, that Wentworth felt that much of his authority, in so far as personal claims sustained it—or, in other words, that much of his probable success or non-success in the new and desperate assumptions by which alone his schemes of government could be carried on—was concerned in the extent of punishment awarded in the present case, and the corresponding impression likely to be created. He omits no consideration in his letter, therefore, that is in any way likely to influence Cottington. He points out particularly how much the "king's service" is concerned, and that the arrow was "shot at him" in reality. "The sentencing of this man," he continues, "settles the right of knighting business bravely for the crown, for in your sentence you will certainly declare the undoubted right and prerogative the king hath therein by common law, statute law, and the undeniable practice of all times; and therefore I am a suitor by you to his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to recommend the cause to the lords, as well in his own right as in the right of his absent poor servant, and to wish them all to be there. You are like to begin the sentence, and I will be bold to tell you my opinion thereon. You have been pleased sometimes, as I sat by you, to ask me my conceit upon the cause then before us; admit me now to do it upon my own cause, for, by my troth, I will do it as clearly as if it concerned me not." An aggravation of every point in the case against Foulis and his son follows, with a curious citation of a number of precedents for a heavy punishment, and a strong personal appeal in behalf of his own character. "Much more I could say, if I were in the Star Chamber to speak in such a cause for my Lord Cottington; but I will conclude with this, that I protest to God, if it were in the person of another, I should in a cause so foul, the proof so clear, fine the father and the son, Sir David and Henry Foulis, in £2000 apiece to his majesty, and in £2000 apiece damages to myself for their scandal; and they both to be sent down to York, and there publicly, at York assizes next, to acknowledge, in the face of the whole country, the right his majesty hath to that duty of knightings, as also the wrong he hath done me; humbly craving pardon of his majesty, and expressing his sorrow so to have misrepresented his majesty's most gracious pro-

ceedings, even in that course of compounding where the law would have given him much more, as also for so falsely slandering and belying me without a cause. For Sir Thomas Layton, he is a fool, led on by the nose by the two former, nor was I willing to do him any hurt; and so let him go for a coxcomb as he is; and when he comes home, tell his neighbours it was well for him he had less wit than his fellows."\* As the hearing approached more nearly, Wentworth, regardless of the equivocal reception Weston had formerly given him, wrote again to the lord-treasurer. "My lord, I have to be heard this term a cause between Sir David Foulis and me in the Star Chamber, and a very good one, if I flatter not myself exceedingly: I do most earnestly beseech your lordship's presence, and that I may taste of the ordinary effects of your justice and favour towards me your faithful servant, albeit here removed in another kingdom."† Scarcely a member of that considerate court did he fail to solicit as earnestly.

How could the honest judges fail to perform all that had been so asked of them! Foulis was degraded from his various offices; fined £5000 to the king, £3000 to Wentworth; condemned to make a public acknowledgment of the most abject submissiveness "to his majesty and the Lord-viscount Wentworth, not only in this court, but in the court of York, and likewise at the open assizes in the same county;" and finally committed to the Fleet during his majesty's pleasure. His son was also imprisoned and heavily fined. Layton, the "fool," was presented with his acquittal. Wentworth's gratitude at this result overflowed in the most fervent expressions to his serviceable friends. Cottington was warmly thanked. "Such are your continued favours towards me," he wrote to Laud, "which you were pleased to manifest so far in the Star Chamber in that cause betwixt Sir David Foulis and me, not only by your justice, but by your affection too, as indeed, my lord, the best and greatest return I can make is to pray I may be able to deserve," &c. A long despatch to Cooke included an expression of the "obligation put upon me by the care you expressed for me in a suit this last term, which came to a hearing in the Star Chamber, betwixt Sir D. Foulis and me, and of the testimony your affection there gave me, much above my merit. Sir, I humbly thank you," &c., &c. A still more important and weighty despatch to Weston closed with, "I do most humbly thank your lordship for your noble presence and justice in the Star Chamber, being the business indeed, in my own estimation, which more concerned me than any that ever befel me hitherto in my whole life." And to his cousin the Earl of Cleveland he thus expressed himself: "I understand my cause in the Star Chamber hath had a fair evening, for which I am ever to acknowledge and reverence the justice of that great court to an absent man. Your lordship hath still been pleased to honour me with your presence when anything concerned me there; and believe me, if ever I

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 145, 146. A more remarkable opportunity was reserved for him, on the occasion of his own impeachment, to express his contempt of this Sir Thomas Layton. See *Rushworth*, vol. viii., p. 151.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 143.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 91.



be absent from the place where I may serve you, it shall be most extremely against my will. I see it must still be my fortune to work it out in a storm, and I find not myself yet so faint as to give over for that, or to abandon a good cause, be the wind never so loud or sour." One characteristic circumstance remains to be added. All the various letters and despatches in which the passages I have quoted are to be found, together with others to various noble lords, *bear the same date*.\* No one of those who had served Wentworth was left to speak of thanks that he only had received.†

In relief from this painful exhibition of a false public principle tyrannizing over private morals and affections, I turn to present the somewhat redeeming aspect of those uncontrolled regards which Wentworth could yet suffer himself to indulge. In consequence of incessant application to the duties of his office, he was now able to pass little of his time at the family seat; but he seems to have been anxious that his children, William and the little Lady Anne, should, for health's sake, continue to reside there. He had intrusted them, accordingly, to the charge of Sir William Pennymen, a person bound to his service by various strong obligations.‡ The Lady Arabella, then on the eve of confinement, remained with Wentworth. Pennymen appears to have had careful instructions to write constant accounts of the children, and it is interesting to observe the sort of details that were thought likely to prove most welcome to their father. "Now," he says, "to write that news that I have, which I presume will be most acceptable, your lordship's children are all very well, and your lord-

ship need not fear the going forward of your building, when you have so careful a steward as Mrs. Anne. She complained to me very much of two rainy days, which, as she said, hindered her from coming down, and the building from going up, because she was informed to keep her chamber, and could not overlook the workmen."\* This important little maiden, then between three and four years old, had certainly inherited the spirit of the Wentworths. "Mr. William and Mrs. Anne," Pennymen writes on another occasion, "are very well. They were not a little glad to receive their tokens, and yet they said they would be more glad to receive your lordship and their worthy mother. We all, with one vote, agreed in their opinion, and wished that your lordship's occasions might be as swift and speedy in their despatch as our thoughts and desires are in wishing them."† At the commencement of 1631, Wentworth's second son was born. This child, Thomas Wentworth, after eight months of uncertain health, died. At about this time the services of the lord-president seem to have been urgently required in London, and Weston wrote to him entreating his immediate presence.‡ The health of the Lady Arabella, however, who was again near the period of confinement, was now an object of deep anxiety to Wentworth, and he remained with her in Yorkshire. In October, a second daughter, the young Arabella, was born to him, and within the same month, on a Tuesday morning, says Radcliffe, "his dear wife, the Lady Arabella, died.§ I took this earl out of bed, and carried him to receive his last blessing from her."|| Wentworth deeply felt her loss, and never, at any time, through his after life, recalled her beauty, her accomplishments, or her virtue, without the most tender enthusiasm.¶

Some days after this sad event, Wentworth received intelligence from his friend and relation, Sir Edward Stanhope, of certain intrigues which, during his absence, had been moving against him in the court at London. "I received your letter," he writes back, "by which I perceive you have me in memory, albeit God hath taken from me your noblest cousin, the incomparable woman and wife my eyes shall ever behold. I must confess this kindness works with me much." After some allusions to Stanhope's intelligence, he proceeds: "Yet truly I cannot believe so ill of the propounders,

\* See the *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 169, 194, 202, 204, &c., &c.

† I may conclude the mention of this Foulis affair by quoting a characteristic note from one of Wentworth's voluminous private despatches to the Rev. Mr. Greenwood. After instructions of various sorts respecting his personal affairs in Yorkshire, which occupy eight closely-printed folio pages, the lord-deputy subjoins: "One word more I must of necessity mention, that is, the business betwixt me and Sir David Foulis. How this stands I know not; but I pray you inform yourself what lands I have received the rents of by virtue of the extent, and what money Richard Marria has received towards my £3000 damages and costs of suit; and that you will cause a perfect and half year's account to be kept of all the disbursements and receipts concerning this matter in a book precisely by itself. I beseech you set this business in a clear and certain course, for you may be sure, if any advantage or doubt can be raised, I shall be sure to hear of it."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 468. Letter from Dublin, dated Nov., 1635.

‡ His friends were constantly, but vainly, warning him of the dangers he incurred by this. "I long," writes his friend Mainwaring to him, "to hear of my lady's safe delivery, and of your lordship's coming up. . . Your lordship must give me leave to put you in mind of your health, for I hear you take no recreation at all."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 54.

§ This person afterward played his part at the impeachment. It may be worth while to quote a passage from one of his letters, written at the period referred to in the text, in illustration of the means which Wentworth employed to engage, as deeply as possible, the devotion of men who promised to be useful to him. "For my own part," writes Pennymen to the lord-president, "I hope shortly to pay my composition, and I wish I could as easily satisfy your debt, and compound with your lordship, as I can with the king. But it is a thing impossible. My best way, I think, is to do like the painter, who, when, after a great deal of pains, he could not describe the infinite sorrow of a weeping father, presented him on a table with his face covered, that the spectators might imagine that sorrow which he was not able to express. My debt, like his sorrow, is not to be described, much less my thanks and acknowledgments. Yet give me leave to tell your lordship that there is not one alive that more honours you than your lordship's most faithful and indebted servant."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 56.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 55.

† *Ibid.*, p. 57.

‡ "I hope," writes the lord-treasurer, "this bearer will find you well, well disposed, and the better, enduring so prudently as I hear you do, the loss of your younger son. We are glad here to hear you are in so good a temper, and that you receive it as a seasoning of human felicity, which God often sends where he loves best; but you need none of my philosophy; and therefore this is only to remember you of being here in the beginning of the term, according to your promise, and I entreat you to think it necessary to make haste. We want you now for your counsel and help in many things."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 56.

§ Essay. Mr. Mac Diarmid and other writers have fallen into the error of supposing that she died after the birth of the last boy.

|| Radcliffe here alludes, "by this earl," to the boy William, who was Earl of Strafford when his essay was written. Mr. Brodie whimsically turns it into Sir George Radcliffe carrying Wentworth himself out of bed to receive his wife's last blessing.—*Brit. Emp.*, vol. iii., p. 129.

¶ (She left him with three children—William, who in 1665 was restored to his father's titles; Anne, married to Edward Watson, Earl of Rockingham; and Arabella, married to John M'Carthy, Viscount Mountcashel, in Ireland.—C.)

both because in my own nature I am the man least suspicious alive, and that my heart tells me I never deserved but well of them—indeed, passing well. It is impossible it should be plotted for my ruin; sure at least impossible I can think so; and if there can be such mischief in the world, then is this confidence given me as a snare by God to punish me for my sins yet further, and to draw me yet more immediately and singly to look up to him, without leaving me anything below to trust or look to. The worst, sure, that can be is, with honour, profit, and contentment, to set me a little farther off from treading upon anything themselves desire; which granted, I am at the height of my ambitions, brought home to enjoy myself and friends, to leave my estate free and plentiful to your little cousin, and which is more than all this, quietly and in secret to serve my Maker, to commune with him more frequently, more profitably, I trust, for my soul than formerly.”\*

Of short duration was this composed attitude of mind! The ink was scarcely dry upon his letter when he reappeared in his court at York, pursued with startling energy some of his most resolute measures, and reassured his master in London of the invaluable nature of his services by sundry swellings of the royal revenue. Money, the main nerve that was to uphold the projected system, was still the grand object of Wentworth's care, and money he sent to Charles. The revenue, which, on his succeeding to the presidency of York, he had found no more in amount than £2000 a year, he had already raised to an annual return of £9500.†

Still, however, intriguers were busy against him, and a rumour was conveyed by them to Weston's ear that he had resolved to use his notoriously growing influence with the king to endeavour to win for himself the staff of the lord-treasurer. The trusty Wandesford discovered this, and despatched the intelligence to Wentworth. The next courier from Yorkshire brought a packet to Weston. “Let shame and confusion then cover me,” ran the characteristic letter it enclosed, “if I do not abhor the intolerable anxiety I well understand to wait inseparably upon that staff, if I should not take a serpent as soon into my bosom, and—if I once find so mean a thought of me can enter into your heart, as that to compass whatever I could take most delight in, I should go about beguilefully to supplant my ordinary man (how much more, then, impotently to catch at such a staff, and from my lord-treasurer!)—if I leave not the court instantly, betake myself to my private fortune, reposedly seek my contentment and quiet within my own doors, and follow the dictamen of my own reason and conscience, more according to nature and liberty than in those gyves which now pinch and hang upon me. Thus you see how easily you may be rid of me when you list, and, in good faith, with a thousand thanks: yet be pleased not to judge this proceeds out of any wayward weary humour in me either, for my endeavours are as vigorous and as cheerful to serve the crown and you as ever they were, nor shall you ever find them to faint or flaguer. I am none of those soft-tempered spirits; but I cannot endure to be mistaken, or

suffer my purer and more entire affections to be soiled, or in the least degree prejudiced, with the loathsome and odious attributes of covetousness and ambitious falsehood. Do me but right in this. Judge my watches to issue (as in faith they do) from clearer cisterns. I lay my hand under your foot, I despise danger, I laugh at labour. Command me in all difficulties, in all confidence, in all readiness. No, no, my lord,” continued Wentworth, lapsing into the philosophic tone he could assume so well, “No, no, my lord! they are those sovereign and great duties I owe his majesty and your lordship, which thus provoke me beyond my own nature rather to leave those cooler shades, wherein I took choicest pleasure, and thus put myself with you into the heat of the day, than poorly and meanly to start aside from my obligations, convinced in myself of the most wretched ingratitude in the whole world. God knows how little delight I take in the outwards of this life, how infinitely ill satisfied I am with myself, to find daily those calm and quiet retirements, wherein to contemplate some things more divine and sacred than this world can afford us, at every moment interrupted through the importunity of the affairs I have already. To heaven and earth I protest it, it grieves my very soul!”\* Weston's suspicions, which, had he known Wentworth better, would never for a moment have been entertained, could not but sink before such language as this; and the lord-president's speedy arrival in London exploded every hostile attempt that still lingered about the court against him.

Charles was now remodelling his counsels. The extraordinary success of Wentworth's northern presidency had inspired him with new hopes; his coffers had been filled without the hated help of the House of Commons; and that prospect of independent authority which he earnestly entertained, no longer seemed distant or hopeless. A conclusion of peace with France and Spain favoured the attempt. He offered Lord Wentworth the government of Ireland. His favourite scheme was to deliver up the three divisions of the kingdom to the superintendence of three favourite ministers, reserving to himself a general and not inactive control over all. Laud was the minister for England, and the affairs of Scotland were in the hands of the Marquess of Hamilton. Ireland, accepted by Wentworth, completed the proposed plan.

The condition of Ireland, at this moment, was in the highest degree difficult and dangerous. From the conquest of Henry the Second up to the government of Essex and Montjoy, her history had been a series of barbarous disasters. The English settlers, in a succession of ferocious conflicts, had depraved themselves below the level of the uncivilized Irish; for, instead of diffusing improvement and civilization, they had obstructed both. The system of government was, in consequence, become the mere occasional and discretionary calling of a Parliament by the lord-deputy for the time, composed entirely of delegates from within the English pale, whose duty began and closed in the sanctioning some new act of oppression, or the screening some new offender from punishment.

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. I., p. 61. † *Ibid.*, p. 60, 60.

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. I., p. 79, 60.

ment. One glimpse of a more beneficial purpose broke upon Ireland in the reign of Henry the Seventh, during the government of Sir Edward Poynings, who procured a decree from the Parliament, that all the laws theretofore enacted in England should have equal force in Ireland. With the determination of destroying, at the same time, the discretionary power that had been used, of summoning and dismissing Parliaments at pleasure, and of passing sudden laws for the purpose of occasional oppressions, Sir Edward Poynings procured the enactment of his famous bill, that a Parliament should not be summoned above once a year in Ireland, nor even then, till the propositions on which it was to decide had been seen and approved by the privy council of England. But the native Irish chiefs had been too fiercely hardened in their savage distrust of the English to reap any advantage from these measures. They retreated to their fastnesses, and only left them to cover the frontier with outrage and bloodshed.

Lord Montjoy at last subdued them, released the peasantry from their control, and framed a plan of impartial government. In the course of the ensuing reign new settlements of English were accordingly formed, the rude Irish customs were discountenanced, the laws of England everywhere enforced, courts of judicature established after the English model, and representatives from every part of the kingdom summoned to the Parliament. When England herself, however, began to groan under oppressions, Ireland felt them still more heavily, and was flung back with a greater shock. The arbitrary decrees of Charles's privy council, military exactions, and martial law, were strangling the liberties of Ireland in *their very birth*. Bitter, too, in its aggravation of other grievances, was Irish theological discord. The large majority of Papists, the sturdy old Protestants of the Pale, the new settlers of James, Presbyterians, and Puritans, all were in nearly open warfare, and the penalties enforced against recusants were equally hateful to all. The rigour of the Church courts, and the exaction of tithes, kept up these discontents by constant exasperation.

Such was the state of affairs when Charles sent Lord Falkland to Dublin. His lordship soon found that his government was little more than the name of one. The army had gradually sunk to 1350 foot and 200 horse; which mean force, divided into companies, was commanded by privy counsellors, who, managing to secure their own pay out of the receipts of the exchequer, compounded with the privates for a third or fourth part of the government allowance! Insignificant in numbers, such management had rendered the soldiers ten times more inefficient, and, utterly wanting in spirit or conduct, often, indeed, the mere menial servants of the officers, they excited only contempt. Over and over again Lord Falkland detailed this state of things to Charles, and prayed for assistance; but the difficulties in England, and the deficiencies in the Irish revenue, united to withhold it. At last, however, warned by imminent dangers that threatened, the king announced his resolution to augment the Irish forces to 6000 foot and 500 horse, and, unable

to supply the necessary charge from an empty treasury, he commanded the new levies to be quartered on the different towns and counties, each of which was to receive a certain portion of the troops, for three months in turn, and to supply them with the required necessaries. Alarmed by this project—and justly considering a great present sacrifice, with some chance of profit, better than to be burdened with a tax of horrible uncertainty, which yet gave them no reasonable reliance for the future—the Irish people instantly offered the king a liberal voluntary contribution, on condition of the redress of certain grievances. Catholics and Protestants concurred in this, and delegates from both parties laid the proposal before the king himself, in London. The money they offered first, in the shape of a voluntary contribution of £100,000, the largest sum ever yet returned by Ireland, and to be paid by instalments of £10,000 a quarter. Their list of grievances they produced next, desiring relief from the exactions of courts of justice, from military depredations, from trade monopolies, from the religious penal statutes, from retrospective inquiries into defective titles beyond a period of sixty years,\* and finally praying that the concessions should be confirmed by an Irish Parliament. Some of these conditions were intolerable to Charles. A Parliament was at all times hateful to him, and scarcely less convenient than the absence of Parliaments, to a prince who desired to be absolute, was the privilege of increasing the royal revenue, and obliging the minions of royalty, by discovering old flaws in titles. Glorious had been the opportunity of escheating large possessions to the crown, or of passing them over to new proprietors! Yet here was a present offer of money—an advantage not to be foreborne; whereas, so convenient was Charles's moral code, an assent to obnoxious matters was a thing to be withdrawn at the first convenient opportunity, and evaded at any time. The "graces," as the concessions were called, were accordingly promised to be acceded to; instalments of the money were paid; and writs were issued by Lord Falkland for a Parliament.

The joyful anticipations raised in consequence soon received a check. The writs were declared void by the English council, in consequence of the provisions of Poynings's law† not having been attended to by Lord Falkland, who was proved to have issued the writs on his own authority, without having previously transmitted to England a certificate of the laws to be brought forward in the proposed Parliament, with reasons for enacting them, and then, as he ought to have done, waited for his majesty's license of permission under the great seal. Still the people thought this a casual error, and they waited in confidence of its remedy. The Roman Catholic party, meanwhile, encouraged by the favourable reception of their delegates at court, and elated by a confidence of protection from the queen, proceeded to act at once in open de-

\* It had been usual to dispossess proprietors of estates for defects in their tenures as old as the original conquest of Ireland! No man was secure at his own hearth-stone. See Leland, vol. ii., p. 466-468.

† These provisions had received additional ratification by subsequent statutes, the 3d and 4th of Philip and Mary.

nance of the penal statutes. They seized churches for their own worship, thronged the streets of Dublin with their processions, erected an academy for the religious instruction of their youth, and re-enforced their clergy by supplies of young priests from the colleges of France and Spain. The extreme alarm of the Protestants at these manifestations induced Lord Falkland at last to issue a proclamation, prohibiting the Roman Catholic clergy from exercising any control over the people, and from celebrating their worship in public. The Roman Catholics, incensed at this step, now clamoured for the promised graces and Parliament; the Protestants had too many reasons to join them in the demand; and both parties united in declaring that payment of the contribution, under present circumstances, was an intolerable burden. In vain Lord Falkland offered to accept the payment in instalments of £5000 instead of £10,000 a year; the discontents daily increased, and, in the end, drove the lord-deputy from power. Lord Falkland, the object of censure that should have fallen elsewhere, returned to England.

A temporary administration, consisting of two lords-justices—the one, Lord-chancellor Viscount Ely, and the other, Lord-high-treasurer the Earl of Cork—was formed. Both these noblemen were zealously opposed to the Roman Catholics, and instantly, without waiting the king's orders, commenced a rigorous execution of the penal statutes against recusants. An intimation from England of the royal displeasure threw some shadow over these proceedings, but not till the opposition they had strengthened had succeeded in suppressing the academy and religious houses which had been erected by the Roman Catholics in Dublin. To complete the difficulties of the present state of affairs, the termination of the voluntary contribution now fast approached, and the temper of all parties left any hope of its renewal more than desperate.

Imminent, then, was the danger which now beset the government of Ireland. Without the advantage of internal strength, it had no prospect of external aid. The treasury in England could not afford a farthing to increase the army; the money designed for that purpose had been swallowed up in more immediate necessities, and the army sank daily into the most miserable inefficiency. Voluntary supply was out of the question, and compulsory exactions, without the help of soldiers, still more ridiculously vain. In the genius of the lord-president of the North, Charles had one hope remaining.\*

Wentworth received his commission in the early months of 1632. He resolved to defer his departure, however, till he had informed himself fully of the state of his government, and fortified himself with all the authorities that should be needful. The energy, the prudence, the various powers of resource with which he laboured to this end, are only to be appreciated by an examination of the original

documents, which still remain in evidence of all.\* They were most extraordinary. The first thing he did was to procure an order from the king in restriction of the authority of the government of lords-justices during his own absence from Dublin.† In answer, then, to various elaborate congratulations from the officers of the Irish government, he sent back cold, but peremptory requests for information of their various departments. The treasury necessities, and means of supply, were his primary care. The lords-justices declared that the only possible resource, in that respect, was to levy rigorously the penalties imposed by statute on the Roman Catholics for absence from public worship. The cabinet in London, powerless of expedient, saw no chance of avoiding this, when Lord Cottington received from York one of Wentworth's vigorous despatches.

"Now, my lord," reasoned the new lord-deputy, "I am not ignorant that what hath been may happen out again, and how much every good Englishman ought, as well in reason of state as conscience, to desire that kingdom were well reduced to conformity of religion with us here—as, indeed, shutting up the postern gate, hitherto open to many a dangerous inconvenience and mischief, which have over-lately laid too near us, exhausted our treasures, consumed our men, busied the perplexed minds of her late majesty and all her ministers. Yet, my lord, it is a great business, hath many a root lying deep, and far within ground, which would be first thoroughly opened before we judge what height it may shoot up unto, when it shall feel itself once struck at, to be loosened and pulled up; nor, at this distance, can I advise it should be at all attempted, until the payment for the king's army be elsewhere and surer sold than either upon the voluntary gift of the subjects, or upon the casual income of the twelvemonth a Sunday. Before this fruit grows ripe for gathering, the army must not live *præcarie*, fetching in every morsel of bread upon their swords' point. Nor will I so far ground myself with an implicit faith upon the all-foreseeing providence of the Earl of Cork as to receive the contrary opinion from him in *terbo magistri*, when I am sure that if such a rush as this should set that kingdom in pieces again, I must be the man that am like to bear the heat of the day, and to be also accountable for the success, not he. Blame me not, then, where it concerns me so nearly, both in honour and safety, if I much rather desire to hold it in suspense, and to be at liberty upon the place to make my own election, than thus be closed up by the choice and admission of strangers, whom I know not how they stand affected either to me or the king's service. Therefore let me beseech you to consult this business seriously with his majesty and with

\* See the Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 61-97.

† *Id. ibid.*, p. 63. After intimating to the lords-justices Wentworth's appointment, the royal order proceeds: "We have, therefore, in the mean time, thought fit hereby to require you not to pass any pardons, offices, lands, or church livings by grant under our great seal of that our kingdom, nor to confer the honour of knighthood upon any, or to dispose of any company of horse or foot there: only you are required in this interim to look to the ordinary administration of civil justice, and to the good government of our subjects and army there."

\* Ample authorities for this rapid summary of Irish affairs will be found in Leland's History, vol. ii., p. 107, to the end, and vol. iii., p. 1-10, edition of 1733. I have also availed myself of Mr. MacDiarmid's account, *Lives of British Statesmen*, vol. ii., p. 123-133.

my lord-treasurer. Admit me here, with all submission, to express myself upon this point; and finally, be pleased to draw it to some present resolution, which, the shortness of time considered, must instantly be put in action. I do conceive, then, what difficulties—nay, what impossibility soever the council of Ireland hath pretended, *that it is a very easy work to continue the contribution upon the country for a year longer, which will be of infinite advantage to his majesty's affairs; for we look very ill about us if in that time we find not the means either to establish that revenue in the crown, or raise some other equivalent thereunto.* And this we gain, too, without hazarding the public peace of the subject by any new apprehensions, which commonly accompany such fresh undertakings, especially being so general as is the twelvemonth upon the absentees." The despatch then went on to suggest that the very representations of the lords-justices might be used for the purpose of dispensing with their propositions, and to draw out, for the instruction of the council, a succinct plan of effecting this.\*

Distrustful, notwithstanding, of the energy of Cottington and his associates, Wentworth followed his despatch in person, arrived in London,† prevailed with the council to enter into his design, and had a letter immediately sent off to the lords-justices, bitterly complaining of all the evils they had set forth, of the impossibility of raising voluntary supplies, and the consequent necessity of exacting the penalties. "Seeing," added the king, by Wentworth's dictation, "seeing you conceive there is so much difficulty in the settlement of the payments, and considering the small hopes you mention in your letters of farther improvement there, *we must be constrained, if they be not freely and thankfully continued, to straighten our former graces vouchsafed during those contributions, and make use more strictly of our legal rights and profits to be employed for so good and necessary a work.*" Leaving this letter, with other secret instructions, to work their effects, Wentworth next despatched a private and confidential agent to Ireland, himself a Roman Catholic, to represent to his brethren personally and in secret the lord-deputy's regard for them, his willingness to act as a mediator, and his hope that a moderate voluntary contribution might be accepted in release of their heavy fines; in one word, he sent this person "a little to feel their pulse under-hand."‡ "The instrument I employed," Wentworth afterward wrote to Cottington, "was himself a Papist, and knows no other than that the resolution of the state here is set upon that course [of exacting the recusant fines], and that I do this privately, in favour and well-wishing, to divert the present storm, which else would fall heavy upon them all, being a thing framed and prosecuted by the Earl of Cork, which makes the man labour it in good earnest, taking it to be a cause *pro aris et focis.*" The first thing this agent discovered and communicated to his employer was that his temporary representatives, the lords-justi-

ces, were seeking to counteract his purpose, and had utterly neglected the instructions of the last letter that had been despatched to them from the king. With characteristic energy, Wentworth seized this incident for a double purpose of advantage.

There would be little hazard in supposing that their lordships of Ely and Cork were indebted to the extraordinary letter, from which I shall quote the opening passages, for the strongest sensation their official lives had known. "Your lordships," wrote Wentworth, "heretofore received a letter from his majesty, directed to yourselves alone, of the 14th April last; a letter of exceeding much weight and consequence; a letter most weightily and maturely consulted, and ordered by his majesty himself; a letter that your lordships were expressly appointed you should presently cause to be entered in the council book, and also in the signet office; to the end there might be public and uniform notice taken of his majesty's pleasure so signified by all his ministers, and others there, whom it might concern. How is it, then, that I understand this letter hath, by your lordships' order, lain ever since (and still doth, for anything I know) sealed up in silence at the council table! Not once published or entered, as was precisely directed, and expected from your lordships! copies denied to all men! and yet not so much as the least reason or colour certified over hither for your neglect, or (to term it more mildly) forbearance to comply with his majesty's directions in that behalf! Believe me, my lords, I fear this will not be well taken if it come to be known on this side, and in itself lies open enough to very hard and ill construction, reflecting and trenching deeper than at first may be apprehended. And pardon me, my lords, if in the discharge of my own duty I be transported beyond my natural modesty and moderation, and the respects I personally bear your lordships, plainly to let you know I shall not connive at such a presumption in you thus to evacuate my master's directions, nor contain myself in silence, seeing them before my face so slighted, or at least laid aside, it seems, very little regarded. Therefore I must, in a just contemplation of his majesty's honour and wisdom, crave leave to advise you forthwith to mend your error by entering and publishing that letter as is commanded you, or I must, for my own safety, acquaint his majesty with all; and I pray God the keeping it close all this while be not, in the sequel, imputed unto you as a mighty disservice to his majesty, and which you may be highly answerable for."\* The next communication from his popish agent informed Wentworth that the omissions complained of had been repaired, and, farther, that all parties had agreed to "continue on the contribution as now it is," till his coming. The deputy was thus left to complete, without embarrassment, his already meditated financial projects; and the lords-justices, with their friends, had leisure to consider, and amene themselves to, the new and most peremptory lord who was shortly to appear among them!

Ireland was hereafter to be the scene of an absolute government—the government of a

\* See Strafford papers, vol. i., p. 75-77.

† This is evident from a subsequent despatch to Cottington, in which he reminds him that the resolution I am about to describe was taken finally "in presence of the treasurer, your lordship, the Secretary Cooke, and myself."—Vol. i., p. 74.

‡ See Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 73, 74.

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 77

comprehensive mind, but directed to a narrow and mistaken purpose. The first grand object of Wentworth's exertions was to be accomplished in rendering the king's power uncontrollable. Beyond this, other schemes arose. The natural advantages of Ireland, worked to the purpose of her own revenue, might be farther pressed to the aid of the English treasury; and a scheme of absolute power successfully established in Ireland, promised still greater service to the Royalist side in the English struggle.

The union of singular capacity with the most determined vigour which characterized every present movement of Wentworth, while it already, in itself, seemed a forecast of vast though indefinable success, left the king no objection to urge against any of the powers he demanded. The following stipulations were at once assented to. They are all characteristic of Wentworth, of his sagacity no less than his ambition. They open with the evident assumption that the debts of the Irish establishment will soon be settled, and with consequent cautious exceptions against the rapacity of those numerous courtiers, who waited, as Wentworth well knew, to pounce upon the first vacant office, or even the first vacant shilling. The lord-deputy demanded,

"That his majesty may declare his express pleasure, that no Irish suit, by way of reward, be moved for by any of his servants, or others, before the ordinary revenue there become able to sustain the necessary charge of that crown, and the debts thereof be fully cleared. That there be an express caveat entered with the secretaries, signet, privy seal, and great seal here, that no grant, of what nature soever, concerning Ireland, be suffered to pass till the deputy be made acquainted, and it hath first passed the great seal of that kingdom, according to the usual manner. That his majesty signify his pleasure that especial care be taken hereafter that sufficient and credible persons be chosen to supply such bishoprics as shall fall void, to be admitted of his privy council, to sit as judges, and serve of his learned council there; that he will vouchsafe to hear the advice of his deputy before he resolve of any in these cases; and that the deputy be commanded to inform his majesty truly and impartially of every man's particular diligence and care in his service there, to the end his majesty may timely and graciously reward the well deserving, by calling them home to better preferments here. That no particular complaint of injustice or oppression be admitted here against any, unless it appear the party made his first address to the deputy. That no confirmation of any reversion of offices within that kingdom be had, or any new grant of a reversion hereafter to pass. That no new office be erected within that kingdom before such time as the deputy be therewith acquainted, his opinion first required, and certified back accordingly. That the places in the deputy's gift, as well of the civil as the martial list, be left freely to his dispose; and that his majesty will be graciously pleased not to pass them to any upon suit made unto him here."\*

\* I have already alluded to the limitation under which this proposition was acceded to by the king. Charles was

Lord Wentworth farther required and obtained, in the shape of supplementary private propositions, the following:

"That all propositions moving from the deputy touching matters of revenue may be directed to the lord-treasurer of England, without acquainting the rest of the committee for Irish affairs.\* That the address of all other despatches for that kingdom be, by special direction of his majesty, applied to one of the secretaries singly.† That the Lord-viscount Falkland be required to deliver in writing in what condition he conceives his majesty's revenue and the government of that kingdom now stand, together with a particular of such designs for advancing his majesty's service as were either unbegun or unperfected by him when he left the place, as also his advice how they may be best pursued and effected."

Not even content with these vast and extraordinary powers and precautions, Lord Wentworth engaged for another condition—the most potent and remarkable of all—that he was to consider them changeable on the spot whenever the advancement of his majesty's affairs required. "Your lordship may rest assured," writes Secretary Cooke, "that no mediation shall prevail with his majesty to exempt the Lord Balfour from the rest of the opposers of the contributions, but that he will be left with the rest to the censure of your justice. And I am persuaded, that in this and all the rest of your proceedings for his service, his princely resolution will support you, if the rest of your friends here do their duties in their true representation thereof unto him. As your speedy passage for Ireland is most necessary for that government, so your safety concerneth his majesty's honour no less than your own. It is therefore found reasonable that you expect Captain Plumleigh, who, with this fair weather, will come about in a short time, (so as it may be hoped) he will prevent your coming to that port, where you appoint to come aboard. Your instructions (as you know), as well as the establishment, are changeable upon occasions for advancement of the affairs. And as you will be careful not to change without cause, so, when you find it necessary, his majesty will conform them by his wisdom to that he findeth fit upon your advice. For my service in anything that may tend to farther your noble ends, besides the duty of my place and trust, the confidence you repose in me, and the testimony you give thereof, are so obligatory, that I must forget myself much if you find not my professions made good. For the Yorkshire business, in the castigation of those mad men and fools‡

to make the grants conditionally to the applicants, and Wentworth was to concede or refuse them, as the good of the service required. "Yet so too," stipulated the king, "as I may have thanks howsoever; that if there be anything to be denied, you may do it, not I."—*Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 140.

\* Reasons are subjoined to each proposition. As a specimen, I quote from the few lines appended to the above: "Thus shall his majesty's profits go more stilly and speedily to their ends without being unreasonably vented as they pass along; and the deputy not only preserved, but encouraged to deliver his opinion freely and plainly upon all occasions, when he is assured to have it kept secret, and in few and safe hands."

† "This I will have done by Secretary Cooke," so written by the king himself upon the original paper.

‡ These "mad men and fools" were "Sir John Bouchier

which are so apt to fall upon you, that course which yourself, the Lord Cottington, and Mr. Attorney resolve upon, is here also taken, that prosecution may be made in both courts. I find your vice-president a young man of good understanding and counsellable, and very forward to promote his majesty's service.\* The secretary is also a discreet, well-tempered man."†

Wentworth, notwithstanding his new dignities, had resolved not to resign the presidency of Yorkshire. And here we see, in the midst of his extraordinary preparations for his Irish government, he had yet found time to prosecute every necessary measure that had a view to the security of his old powers in the North. We gather from this letter of the secretary their general character. He celebrated his departure by some acts of vigorous power, and he wrung from the council of London such amplifications even of his large and unusual presidential commission as might compensate for the failure of personal influence and energy consequent on his own departure.‡ He

and his complacencies," who soon received their most unjust judgment. This passage will serve to prove the value of Wentworth's answer to this matter, also urged against him afterward on his impeachment. "For the sentence against Sir John Boucher, the defendant was not at all acquainted with it, being then in Ireland."—See *Rushworth*, vol. ii., p. 161. It is to be observed, at the same time, that the Commons had not the advantage of the present evidence.

\* Edward (Ingham) had been finally chosen by Wentworth. A passage in the following extract from a letter of Sir William Pausymann shows that the latter had been previously thought of for the office: "My servant can best satisfy your lordship of the good health of Mr. William and Mrs. Anne, for he saw them both before his journey; they have been very well, and I trust will continue so. I am most willing—I wish I could say able too—to be your lordship's vice-president, but the defect of this must be supplied with the surplussage of the other."

† *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 93. The allusion to Lord Balfour, with which the above despatch opens, requires explanation. Wentworth, who had already possessed himself of the most intimate knowledge of the state of parties and disputes in his new government, had written thus some days before to Cooke: "I have sent here likewise unto you a letter from the lords-justices, together with all the examinations taken of the Lord Balfour, and the rest which refused the contribution in the county of Fermanagh, by all which you will find plainly how busy the sheriff and Sir William Cole have been in mutinying the country against the king's service; and I beseech you acquaint his majesty therewithal, and for the rest leave it to me when I come on the other side, and believe me, I will teach both them and others better grounds of duty and obedience to his majesty than they have shown in this wanton and saucy boldness of theirs. And so much the more careful must we be to correct this peccant humour in the first beginnings, in regard this is a great revenue, which his majesty's affairs cannot subsist without; so that we must either continue that to the crown, or get something from that people of as much value another way; wherein I conceive it most necessary to proceed most severely in the punishment of this offence, which will still all men else for a many years after; and, therefore, if the king or yourself conceive otherwise, help me in time, or else I shall be sure to lay it on them soundly. My Lord Balfour excuses his fault, and will certainly make means to his majesty for favour, wherein under correction, if his majesty intend to prosecute the rest, I conceive it is clearly best for the service to leave him entirely to run a common fortune, as he is in a common case with the rest of those delinquents."—*Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 87.

‡ The obtaining of such a commission formed one of the articles of his after impeachment, and his answer was, that he had never sat as president after the articles were framed. But he did not deny that the power they vested was exercised by his vice-president, on the lord-president's behalf, and consequently with the full responsibility of the latter. His instrumentality in obtaining these instructions, indeed, was not directly proved; but it was proved that on one occasion "the president fell upon his knees and desired his majesty to enlarge his powers, or that he might

pressed more especially for the settlement of a dispute with Lord Faulconberg by a peremptory punishment of the latter: "for this you know," he wrote to the secretary, "is a public business, and myself being to leave this government for a while, desirous to settle and establish this council in their just powers and credits, which is fit for the king's service, would fain see ourselves righted upon this arrogant lord, and so discipline all the rest upon his shoulders, as I might well hope they should exercise their jurisdiction in peace during the time of my absence."\* Lord Wentworth's fiercest prosecution of apparent personal resentments was, in all cases, the simple carrying out of that despotic principle in its length and breadth, and with reference to its ulterior aims, which had become the very law of his being. In this point of view only can they be justly or intelligibly considered. The cruelties associated with the name now about to be introduced have their exaggeration or their excuse, according as the feelings of the reader may determine—but, at all events, have their rational and philosophical solution—in this point of view alone.

The Lord Mountnorris held at this time the office of vice-treasurer, which in effect was that of treasurer of Ireland. Clarendon observes of him, "He was a man of great industry, activity, and experience in the affairs of Ireland, having raised himself from a very private mean condition (having been an inferior servant to

have leave to go home and lay his bones in his own cottage."—*Rushworth*, vol. ii., p. 161. The commission was granted immediately after. Its most terrible article was that which in every case, in distinct terms, wrested from the subject the privilege of protection in Westminster Hall, and cut him off from any share in the rights, poor and confined as they were, of the rest of his fellow-subjects. During Wentworth's absence in Ireland, one judge of the Chequer, Vernon, dared to move in defiance of these monstrous restrictions. The lord-deputy instantly wrote to Cottington, described Vernon's conduct, and thus proceeded: "If this were not a goodly example in the face of a country living under the government of the president and council, for the respect and obedience due to the authority set over them by his majesty, of that awful reverence and duty which we all owe to his majesty's declared good-will and pleasure under the great seal, I am much mistaken. I do, therefore, most humbly beseech this judge may be convicted at the council board, and charged with these two great misdemeanors; which if he deny, I pray you say openly in council I am the person will undertake to prove them against him, and withal affirm that by these strange extravagant courses he distracts his majesty's government and affairs more than ever he will be of use unto them, and that, therefore, I am a most earnest suitor to his majesty and their lordships that he be not admitted to go that circuit hereafter; and, indeed, I do most earnestly beseech his majesty by you, that we may be troubled no more with such a perversish, indiscreet piece of flesh. I confess, I disdain to see the gentlemen in this sort hang their noses over the flowers of the crown, blow and smudge upon them till they take both scent and beauty off them, or to have them put such a prejudice upon all other sorts of men as if none were able or worthy to be intrusted with honour and administration of justice but themselves." This is surely a characteristic betrayal of Wentworth's interest in the powers of the new commission! Some difficulties appear to have been encountered in the way of the course he proposed against this judge, for we find him at a subsequent date writing thus to the lord-treasurer: "If Mr. Justice Vernon be either removed or amended in his circuit, I am very well content, being by me only considered as he is in relation to his majesty's service in those parts—the gentleman otherwise unknown to me by injury or benefit."—See *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 139, 295.

\* A note subjoined to this is too characteristic to be omitted: "There is like to be a good fine gotten of him (Lord Faulconberg) for the king, which, considering the manner of his life, were wonderful ill lost; and lost it will be, if I be not here: therefore I pray you let me have my directions with all possible speed."

Lord Chichester) to the degree of a viscount and a privy counsellor, and to a very ample revenue in lands and offices; and had always, by servile flattery and sordid application, wrought himself into trust and nearness with all deputies at their first entrance upon their charge, informing them of the defects and oversights of their predecessors; and after the determination of their commands and return into England, informing the state here, and those enemies they usually contracted in that time, of whatsoever they had done or suffered to be done amiss, whereby they either suffered disgrace or damage as soon as they were recalled from those honours. In this manner he began with his own master, the Lord Chichester, and continued the same arts upon the Lord Grandison and the Lord Falkland, who succeeded; and, upon that score, procured admission and trust with the Earl of Strafford, upon his first admission to that government.\* This is quoted here for the purpose of introducing a letter of Wentworth's, which was written about this time, and which appears to me not only to corroborate Clarendon's account, but (in opposition to those who have urged, as Mr. Brodie,† that Wentworth began his official connexion with Mountnorris by "courting" the latter) to give, at the same time, the noble vice-treasurer and informer-general fair warning of the character and intentions of the lord-deputy he had thereafter to deal with. Mountnorris had previously allied himself with Wentworth by marriage with a near relation of his deceased wife, the Lady Arabella. "I was not a little troubled," runs Wentworth's letter, "when my servant, returning from Dublin, brought back with him the enclosed, together with the certainty of your lordship's yet abode at West-Chester. I have hereupon instantly despatched this footman expressly to find you out, and to solicit you most earnestly to pass yourself over on the other side; for besides that the moneys which I expect from you (which I confess you might some other ways provide for), the customs there, you know how loose they lie; our only confidence here being in you." Several other details are pressed with great earnestness. "Therefore," he continues, "for the love of God, linger no longer, but leaving your lady with my Lady Cholmondely, in case her present estate will not admit her to pass along with you—I will, God willing, not fail to wait on her ladyship over myself, and deliver her safe to you at Dublin; the rather for that, to tell your lordship plainly, which I beseech you keep very private to yourself, it will be impossible for me to despatch the king's business, and my own, and get hence before the end of November at the soonest. My Lord Ranelagh will be here, I believe, within this day or two; and, in regard of his and my Lord Dungarvan's being here before, I hold it fit to communicate with your lordship the occasion, which is this, that there being a proposition made to me for a marriage with my Lord of Cork's daughter,‡

I, that had no thought such a way, did nevertheless move a match between the young lord and my Lord Clifford's daughter, which was by them accepted; and so he comes now, I believe, to treat farther of this matter with my Lord Clifford. But this I must entreat you to keep private; with this, that albeit the house of Cumberland is to me, as all the world knows that knows me, in next esteem to my own family, yet be you well assured this alliance shall not decline me from those more sovereign duties I owe my master, or those other faiths I owe my other friends." Some other expressions of courtesy are then followed by this remarkable passage. "*It is enough said amongst honest men; and you may easily believe me; but look you, be secret and true to me, and that no suspicion possess you; which else in time may turn to both our disadvantages.*" For God's sake, my lord, let me again press your departure for Ireland. And let me have £2000 of my entertainment sent me over with all possible speed, for I have entered fondly enough on a purchase here of £14,000, and the want of that would very foully disappoint me." It is clear to me in this that Wentworth had resolved, from the first, to watch Mountnorris narrowly, and, on the earliest intimation of any possible renewal of his old treacheries, to crush him and them for ever.

Lady Mountnorris would possibly be startled in hearing from her lord that the sorrowing widower of the Lady Arabella was already speaking of the negotiation of another marriage. The entire truth would have startled her still more. Lord Wentworth had at this very time, though a year had not passed since the death of his last wife, whom he appears to have loved with fervent and continuing affection, "married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Godfrey Rhodes,\* privately." Such is the statement of Sir George Radcliffe.

Since Radcliffe wrote, however, some curious letters relating to this marriage have been discovered in the Thoresby museum. Sir George says that the marriage took place in October. I am now about to quote a letter which bears the date of October in the same year (the 30th), and which goes to prove that, supposing the statement in question correct, Wentworth must have sent the lady off to a distance from himself immediately after the ceremony. Nor is this the only singular cir-

the Earl of Carlisle: "Young Mr. Goring is gone to travel, having run himself out of £8000, which he purposeth to redeem by his frugality abroad, unless my Lord of Cork can be induced to put to his helping hand, which I have undertaken to solicit for him the best I can, and shall do it with all the power and care my credit and wit shall anywhere suggest unto me. In the mean time, his lady is gone to the bath to put herself in state to be got with child, and when all things are prepared, she is like to want the principal guest. Was ever willing creature so disappointed! In truth, it is something ominous, if you mark it, yet all may do well enough, if her father will be persuaded, and then, if she be not as well done to as any of her kin, Mr. Goring loath a friend of me forever. You may say now, if you will, I put a shrewd task upon a young man, there being no better stuff to work upon; but it is the more charity in us that wish it, and the most of all in him that shall perform it *et bon et gentil cavalier.*" Such, I may remark, is the (to him unusual) tone of levity which he seldom failed to employ in writing to this Earl of Carlisle, whose wife, the famous countess, had secretly become his mistress. This earl died in 1636. The countess will be spoken of shortly. See, also, Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 119.

\* [Of Great Houghton, in Yorkshire.—C.]

\* Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i., p. 175.

† Hist. of Brit. Empire, vol. iii., p. 70.

‡ This lady, whom Wentworth, for excellent reasons, declined marrying, afterward married George Goring, son of the Earl of Norwich. This was the lord-deputy's management. Some eight or nine months after, he writes to



cumstance suggested by this letter. Even Sir George Radcliffe, probably, did not know all.

"Madam," Wentworth writes, "I have, in little, much to say to you, and in short terms to profess that which I must appear all my life long, or else one of us must be much to blame. But, in truth, I have that confidence in you, and that assurance in myself, as to rest secure the fault will never be made on either side. *Well, then, this little and this much, this short and this long, which I aim at, is no more than to give you this first written testimony that I am your husband; and that husband of yours, that will ever discharge those duties of love and respect towards you which good women may expect, and are justly due from good men to discharge them, with a halloved care and continued perseverance in them; and this is not only much, but all which belongs me; and wherein I shall tread out the remainder of life which is left me. More I cannot say, nor perform much more for the present; the rest must dwell in hope until I have made it up in the balance, but I am and must be no other than your loving husband.*" A postscript\* closes the letter, referring to some paste for the teeth, which proves that the lady was in London. Wentworth himself was at York, and, it is evident from his letters, had not quitted the country during the whole of that month. The lady's answer to this letter would seem to have been humbly affectionate, and to have conveyed to Wentworth a lowly but fervent expression of thankfulness—for that her new husband had promised not to cast her off as a deserted mistress! His reply (dated about a fortnight after his first letter) is in excellent spirit, and highly characteristic: "Dear Besse," he begins, with the encouragement of tender words, "your first lines were wellcum unto me, and I will keep them, in regard I take them to be full, as of kindness, so of truth. *It is no presumption for you to write unto me; the fellowship of marriage ought to carry with it more of love and equality than any other apprehension. Soe I desire it may ever be betwixt us, nor shall it break of my parte.* Virtue is the highest value we can set upon ourselves in this world, and the chiefe which others are to esteem us by. That preserved, we become capable of the noblest impressions which can be imparted unto us. You succeed in this family two of the rarest ladies of their time. Equal them in those excellent dispositions of your mind, and you become every ways equally worthy of anything that they had, or that the rest of the world can give. And be you ever assured to be by me cherished and assisted the best I can, thorow the whole course of my life, wherein I shall be no other to you than I was to them, to wit, your loving husband, Wentworth." Still, however, Wentworth did not acknowledge her pub-

licly; still he kept her, for some time, at a distance, and finally sent her over to Ireland, in the charge of Sir George Radcliffe, some time before he himself quitted England. She arrived in Dublin with Radcliffe in January, 1633,\* and was not joined by Wentworth till the July of that year, when his lordship at last ventured to acknowledge her.† Laud, upon this, seems to have put some questions to the lord-deputy, whose answer may be supposed, from the following passage in the archbishop's rejoinder, to have been made up of explanations and apologies, and a concluding hint of advice. "And now, my lord, I heartily wish you and your lady all mutual content that may be; and I did never doubt that you undertook that course but upon mature consideration, and you have been pleased to express to me a very good one, in which God bless you and your posterity, *though I did not write anything to you as an examiner. For myself, I must needs confess to your lordship my weakness, that having been married to a very troublesome and unquiet wife before, I should be so ill advised as now, being about sixty, to go marry another of a more wayward and troublesome generation.*"‡ There will not be any farther occasion to remark upon the early circumstances of this marriage, which in its subsequent results presented nothing of a striking or unusual description, but I shall here add, for the guidance of the reader in his judgment of these particulars of Wentworth's conduct, some few considerations, which in justice ought not to be omitted.

Lord Wentworth was a man of intrigue, and the mention of this is not to be avoided in such a view of the bearings of his conduct and character as it has been here attempted, for the first time, to convey. It is at all times a delicate matter to touch upon this portion of men's histories, partly from the nature of the subject, and partly from a kind of soreness which the community feel upon it, owing to the inconsistencies between their opinions and practices, and to certain strange perplexities at the heart of those inconsistencies, which it remains for some bolder and more philosophical generation even to discuss. Meantime it is pretty generally understood, that fidelity to the marriage bed is not apt to be most prevalent where leisure and luxury most abound; and, for the same reason, there is a tendency in the richer classes to look upon the licenses they take, and to talk of them with one another, and so, by a thousand means, to increase and perpetuate the tendency, of which the rest of society have little conception, unless it be, indeed, among the extremely poor; for similar effects result from being either above or below a dependance upon other people's opinions. When it was public-

\* Radcliffe's Essay.

† "If you will speak to my cousin Radcliffe for the paste I told you on for your teeth, and desire him to speak to Dr. Moore, in my name, for two pots of it, and that the doctor will see it be good, for this last indeed was not so, you may bring me one down, and keep the other yourself." On the back of this letter the following words are written, in a delicate female hand: "Tom was born the 17th of September, being Wednesday, in the morning, betwixt two and three o'clock, and was christened of the 7th of October, 1634." There is another letter of Wentworth's to Lady Wentworth, dated from Sligo, in 1635, in the same museum, wherein he sends his blessing to "little Tom." This child died, but Elizabeth Rhodes afterward bore Lord Strafford a girl, who was yet an infant at her father's death.

‡ His friends were instant in their congratulation, and, in a profusion of compliments, sought to intimate to his lordship, that in this marriage of one so far beneath him in rank and consideration, he had only furnished another proof of his own real and independent greatness. There is something pleasant in the Earl of Leicester's note, who simply regrets that he "had not the good fortune to be one of the throng that crowded to tell you how glad they were that you had passed your journey and landed safely in your government, or (which I conceive a greater occasion of rejoicing with you) that you were happily and healthfully arrived in the arms of a fair and beloved wife."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 157.

§ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 125.

ly brought out, therefore, that Wentworth, as well as gayer men of the court, had had his "levities," as the grave Lord-chancellor Clarendon calls them, it naturally told against him with the more serious part of the nation; not, however, without some recoil, in the opinions of candid observers, against the ingenuousness of those who told it, because the latter, as men moving in the same ranks themselves, or on the borders of them, must have known the license secretly prevailing, and probably partook of it far more than was supposed. Lady Carlisle, one of the favourites of Wentworth, subsequently became the mistress of Pym himself. Lord Clarendon, backed with the more avowed toleration, or, rather, impudent unfeelingness which took place in the subsequent reign, not only makes use of the term just quoted in speaking of intrigue, but ventures, with a sort of pick-thank chuckle of old good-humour, to confess that, in his youth, he conducted himself in these matters much as others did, though with a wariness proportionate to his understanding. "*Cauté*," says he, in the quotation popular at the time, and used by Wentworth himself, "*si non caste*."

We are also to take into consideration, that if the court of Charles the First had more sentiment and reserve than that of his heartless son, it was far from being so superior to courts in general in this respect, as the solemn shadow which attends his image with posterity naturally enough leads people to conclude. The better taste of the poetry-and-picture-loving monarch did but refine, and throw a veil over, the grosser habits of the court of his father James. Pleasure was a Silenus in the court of James. In that of Charles the Second, it was a vulgar satyr. Under Charles the First, it was still of the breed, but it was a god Pan, and the muses piped among his nymphs.

Far from wondering, therefore, that Wentworth, notwithstanding the gravity of his bearing and the solemn violence of his ambition, allowed himself to indulge in the fashionable license of the times, it was to be expected that he would do so, not only from the self-indulgence natural to his will in all things, but from the love of power itself, and that he might be in no respect behindhand with any grounds which he could furnish himself with for having the highest possible opinion of his faculties for ascendancy. As nine tenths of common gallantry is pure vanity, so a like proportion of the graver offence of deliberate seduction is owing to pure will and the love of power—the love of obtaining a strong and sovereign sense of an existence not very sensitive, at any price to the existence of another. And thus, without supposing him guilty to that extent, might the common gallantries of the *recherché* and dominant Strafford be owing greatly to the pure pride of his will, and to that same love of conquest and superiority which actuated him in his public life.

A greater cause for wonder might be found in the tenderness with which he treated the wives to whom he was unfaithful, and especially the one, this Elizabeth Rhodes, who was comparatively lowly in birth. But so mixed a thing is human nature, as at present constituted, that the vices as well as virtues of the man might

come into play in this very tenderness, and help to corroborate it; for, in addition to the noble and kindly thoughts which never ceased to be mixed up with his more violent ones, he would think that the wife of a Wentworth was of necessity a personage to be greatly and tenderly considered on all occasions; and even his marriage into an obscure family would be reconciled to his pride by the instinct which leads men of that complexion to think it equally difficult for themselves to be lowered by anything they choose to do, and for the object of their attention not to be elevated by the same process of self-reference.

Nor—to quit this delicate subject, which I could not but touch on, to assist the reader, with what has gone before, to a proper judgment of facts that are yet to be mentioned, and which, in truth, contains matter for the profoundest reflection of those who might choose to consider it by itself—will it be thought extraordinary by such as have at all looked into the nature of their fellow-creatures, that a man like Wentworth should have treated his wives tenderly at the very times at which he was most unfaithful to them; for, whether influenced by love or by awe, they do not appear to have offended him at any time by their complaints, or even to have taken notice of his conduct; and they were, in truth, excellent women, worthy of his best and most real love; so as to render it probable that his infidelities were but heats of will and appetite, never, perhaps, occasioning even a diminution of the better affections, or, if they did, ending in the additional tenderness occasioned by remorse. It is a vulgar spirit only that can despise a woman for making no remonstrances, and a brutal one that can ill treat her for it. A heart with any nobleness left in it keeps its sacreddest and dearest corner for a kindness so angelical; and Wentworth's pride had enough sentiment to help his virtues to a due appreciation of the generosity, if it existed, or to give it the benefit of supposing that it would have done so, in favour of such a man as he, beloved by wives of so sweet a nature.

The Lord Wentworth was of a tall and graceful person, though much sickness had early bent an originally sensitive frame, which continued to sink more rapidly in after life under the weight of greater cares. Habitual pain had increased the dark hue and deep contractions of a brow, formed and used to "threaten and command," and no less effective in enforcing obedience than the loud and impressive voice that required it. He alludes to this sportively in a letter to the Earl of Exeter, wherein he writes, "*This bent and ill-favoured brow of mine was never prosperous in the favour of ladies; yet did they know how perfectly I do honour, and how much I value, that excellent and gracious sex, I am persuaded I should become a favourite amongst them—tush, my lord, tush, there are few of them know how gentle a garçon I am.*"\* Happy,

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 178, 180. His letters to Lord Exeter and his wife are all very pleasant, and, in their deep sense of personal attentions during illness, touching. "Be not so venturesome on my occasion," he writes, dissuading Exeter from a winter journey to discharge such offices of friendship, "be not so venturesome on my occasion, till this churlish season of the year be past, and the spring well come on. There is old age in years as well as

as it is evident, is the opposite consciousness, out of which such pleasant complaining flows! Whereupon Lord Exeter rejoins with justice, in a passage which may serve to redeem his lordship amply from the stupidity that is wont to be charged to him, "My lord, I could be angry with you, were you not so far off, for wronging of your bent brow, as you term it in your letter; *for, you had been cursed with a meek brow and an arch of white hair upon it, never to have governed Ireland nor Yorkshire so well as you do, where your lawful commands have gotten you an exact obedience. Content yourself with that brave, commanding part of your face, which shoveth gravity without dulness, severity without cruelty, clemency without easiness, and love without extravagancy.*" An ungallant consolation under female displeasure follows: "And if it should be any impeachment unto your favour with that sex you so much honour, you should be no loser; for they that have known them so long as I have done, have found them nothing less than *diabolos blancos*;" which Lady Exeter judges fit to dispense with in a postscript: "I cannot consent to the opinion of the lord that spake last, neither do I believe that it was his own, but rather vented as a chastisement to my particular. To your lordship all our sex in general are obliged, myself infinitely, who can return you nothing but my perpetual well wishes, with admiration of your virtues, and my heartiest desire that all your employments and fortunes may be answerable."\* Wentworth, indeed, had not needed this assurance, under a remark which May's happy quotation,

"Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses,  
Et tamen equoreas torisit amore Deas,"

has long since shown to be uncalled for. The intense passion of a Mirabeau or a Strafford will hardly make shipwreck for the want of a "smooth dispose."

Wentworth had much wronged his "bent brow," and he knew that he had wronged it. It was sufficiently notorious about the court, that whenever it relaxed in favour of any of the court dames, its owner was seldom left to hope in vain. The Lady Carlile,† the Lady

in bodies: January and February are the hoar hairs of the year, and the more quietly, the more within doors we keep them, we with the year grow the sooner young again in the spring." "To neither of you," he concludes, "with this new year I can wish anything of new, but that you may tread still round the ancient and beaten paths of that happiness you mutually communicate the one with the other."

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 241.

† This extraordinary woman, whom Dryden called the "Helen of her country," and from whom Waller borrowed a compliment for Venus ("the bright Carlile of the court of heaven"), played a conspicuous part in the public affairs of the time. "She was thought to be as deeply concerned in the counsels of the court, and afterward of the Parliament, as any in England." After the death of Strafford she had become the mistress of Pym. Yet her passions were not extreme! Sir Toby Matthews lets us into her character: "She is of too high a mind and dignity not only to seek, but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature: *they whom she is pleased to chuse are such as are of the most eminent condition, both for power and employments; not with any design towards her own particular, either of advantage or curiosity; but her nature values fortunate persons as virtuous.*" The writer of Waller's life (the countess was aunt to the poet's Saccarissa), in the Biographia Britannica, says that several letters of hers are printed in the "Strafford Papers." This is a mistake; but we find frequent allusions to her throughout the correspondence. If any one wished to know of Wentworth's health, they applied to Lady Carlile. "I hope you are now recovered of your gout, which my Lady of Carlile told me you had" (ii.,

Carnarvon, the young Lady Loftus, were not, if written letters and general rumours deserve trust, the only evidences of this.

Sad indeed were the consequences of Wentworth's casual appearances in the queen's withdrawing-room! "Now if I were a good poet," writes the Lord Conway to the lord-deputy himself, "I should, with Chaucer, call upon Melpomene

"To help me to indite  
Verses that weepen as I write."

"My Lady of Carnarvon, *being well in the favour and belief of her father and husband*, came with her husband to the court, and it was determined she should have been all this year at London, her lodgings in the Cockpit; but my Lord Wentworth had been at court, and in the queen's withdrawing-room was a constant looker upon my lady, as if that only were his business, for which cause, as it is thought, my Lord of Carnarvon went home, and my lord-chamberlain preached often of honour and truth. One of the sermons I and my Lady Killegrew, or my Lady Stafford, which you please, were at; it lasted from the beginning to the end of supper; the text was, that . . . When supper was ended, and we were where we durst speak, my Lady Killegrew swore by G—d that my lord-chamberlain meant not anybody but her and my Lord of Dorset. But my Lady Carnarvon is sent down to her husband, and the night before she went was with her father in his chamber till past twelve, he chiding and she weeping, and when she will return no man knows; if it be not till her face do secure their jealousy, she had as good stay for ever. *Some think that my Lord Wentworth did this rather to do a despatch to her father and husband than for any great love to her.*"\*

Sir George Radcliffe, indeed, in his Essay, observes on this head: "He was defamed for incontinence, wherein I have reason to believe that he was exceedingly much wronged. I had occasion of some speech with him about the state of his soul several times, but twice esape-

124). If any one wanted favour at court, they wrote to Wentworth to bespeak the interest of Lady Carlile. We find even Laud, for a particular purpose, condescending to this: "I will write to my Lady of Carlile." Wentworth writes back, "as your grace appoints me. In good sadness I judge her ladyship very considerable; for she is often in place, and is extremely well skilled how to speak with advantage and spirit for those friends she professeth unto, which will not be many. There is this farther in her disposition, she will not seem to be the person she is not, an ingenuity I have always observed and honoured her for." (Papers, vol. ii., p. 120.) And again, out of many I could put before the reader: "I have writ fully to my Lady of Carlile, and am very confident, if it be in her ladyship's power, she will express the esteem she hath your lordship in to a very great height." (Vol. ii., p. 128.)

\* Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 47. Lord Conway's letters to Wentworth are extremely amusing. They record with particular care the unlucky courtships of Vandike: "It was thought," he writes on one occasion to the lord-deputy, "that the Lord Cottingham should have married my Lady Stanhope; I believe there were intentions in him, but the lady is, as they say, in love with Carey Raleigh. You were so often with Sir Anthony Vandike, that you could not but know his gallantries for the love of that lady; but he is come off with a coglioneria, for he disputed with her about the price of her picture, and sent her word that if she would not give the price he demanded, he would sell it to another that would give more. This week every one will be at London; the queen is very weary of Hampton Court, and will be brought to bed at St. James's; then my Lady of Carlile will be a constant courtier; her dog hath lately written a sonnet in her praise, which Harry Percy burned, or you had now had it."

cially, when I verily believe he did lay open unto me the very bottom of his heart. Once was, when he was in a very great affliction upon the death of his second wife, and then for some days and nights I was very few minutes out of his company; the other time was at Dublin, on a Good Friday (his birthday), when he was preparing himself to receive the blessed sacrament on Easter-day following. At both these times I received such satisfaction as left no scruple with me at all, but much assurance of his chastity. I knew his ways long and intimately, and though I cannot clear him of all frailties (for who can justify the most innocent man!), yet I must give him the testimony of conscientiousness in his ways, that he kept himself from gross sins, and endeavoured to approve himself rather unto God than unto man, to be religious inwardly and in truth, rather than outwardly and in show." What has been quoted from Lord Conway's letter, however—and, were it necessary to my purpose, many letters more, and of stronger meaning, are to be produced—does not come within Radcliffe's rebuke of the "defamation" employed against Strafford. The only tendency of what Sir George says, therefore, is to confirm the charge in its warrantable view (with which alone I have dwelt upon it) of illustrating duly private conduct and character. Far different was Pym's great object when, instancing in the House of Commons, as Clarendon informs us, "some high and imperious actions done by Strafford in England and Ireland, some proud and over-confident expressions in discourse, and some passionate advices he had given in the most secret councils and debates of the affairs of state, he added some lighter passages of his vanity and amours, that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion."\*

These words may recall me to the actual progress of Strafford's life and thoughts. Prudence and discretion—whatever his great associate of the third Parliament might afterward think right, or just, or necessary to his fatal purposes, to urge—still, so far as they may be associated in a grand project of despotism, eminently characterized every movement of Lord Wentworth. The king had now become extremely anxious for his departure, which the winding up of certain private affairs alone delayed.† On the completion of these he arrived

in London, for the purpose of setting sail immediately. Here, however, he was unexpectedly delayed by the necessity of waiting the arrival of a man of war; for so dangerously was the Irish Channel at that time infested with pirates, that the lord-deputy could not venture to pass over without convoy. "The winds fall out so contrary," he writes in answer to the secretaries, who, with the king and court, were engaged in a progress, "that the king's ship cannot be gotten as yet forth of Rochester River; but so soon as we can speed it away, and I have notice from Captain Plumleigh that he is ready for my transportation, I will not stay an hour, desiring extremely now to be upon the place where I owe his majesty so great an account, as one that am against all non-residents, as well lay as ecclesiastical." Wentworth took care, at the same time, to avail himself of some opportunities offered him by this delay. He completed some pending arrangements; secured finally the close counsel and assistance of Laud;\* established a private and direct correspondence with the king himself for the sanction of his more delicate measures; instructed a gossiping person, a hired retainer of his own, the Rev. Mr. Garrard, to furnish him, in monthly packets of news, with all the private scandal, and rumours, and secret affairs of the court, and of London generally; and obtained the appointment of his friends Wandesford and Radcliffe to official situations, and to seats in the privy council, reserving them as a sort of select cabinet of his own, with whom everything might be secretly discussed.† These things settled,

*sought after; it being no advantage either to the tenant or landlord to suffer arrears to run longer.*

\* A few months after his departure, Laud was created Archbishop of Canterbury. Wentworth had foreseen this. "One advantage your lordship will have," writes Lord Falkland, in a somewhat pettish letter, "that I wanted in the time of my government, an Archbishop of Canterbury to friend; who is, withal, a person of episcopal power to assist you in that part which shall concern the Church government, the third and principal member of the kingdom; for the translation of the late archbishop into heaven, and of the late Bishop of London unto the see of Canterbury, makes that no riddle, being so plain." The sort of stipulations for mutual service which passed between the lord-deputy and Laud may be gathered from two out of twenty requests of the latter which reached Dublin Castle before Wentworth himself had arrived there. They are equally characteristic of the sincerity and atrocity of the bigotry of Laud. "I humbly pray your lordship to remember what you have promised me concerning the church at Dublin, which hath for divers years been used for a stable by your predecessors, and to vindicate it to God's service, as you shall there examine and find the merits of the cause." And again: "There is one Christopher Sands, who, as I am informed, dwells now in Londonderry, and teaches an English school there, and I do much fear he doth many things there to the dishonour of God, and the endangering of many poor souls. For the party is a Jew, and denies both Christ and his Gospel, as I shall be able to prove, if I had him here. I humbly pray your lordship that he may be seized on by authority, and sent over in safe custody, and delivered either to myself or Mr. Motterhead, the register of the high commission, that he may not live there to infect his majesty's subjects."—Vol. i., p. 81, 82.

† He found great advantage in this; and a few months after his arrival in Dublin wrote to the lord-treasurer some strenuous advice, suggested by his experience, "that too many be not taken into counsel on that side, and that your resolutions, whatever they be, be kept secret: for, believe me, there can be nothing more prejudicial to the good success of those affairs than their being understood aforehand by them here. So prejudicial I hold it, indeed, that on my faith there is not a minister on this side that knows anything I either write or intend, excepting the Master of the Rolls and Sir George Radcliffe, for whose assistance in this government, and comfort to myself amidst this generation,

\* Clarendon, Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i., p. 137.

† A note from Radcliffe's Essay will show that the energetic method and despatch which made the difficulties of the public business sink before him were no less serviceable in the conduct of his private affairs. "In the managing of his estate and domestical affairs, he used the advice of two friends, Ch. Gr. and G. R., and two servants, Richard Marria his steward, and Peter Man his solicitor. Before every term they met, and Peter Man brought a note of all things to be considered of: which being taken into consideration one by one, and every one's opinion heard, resolution was had and set down in writing, whereof his lordship kept one copy and Peter Man another: at the next meeting, an account was taken of all that was done in pursuance of the former orders, and a new note made of all that rested to be done, with an addition of such things as did arise since the last meeting, and were requisite to be consulted of. His whole accounts were ordered to be made up twice every year, one half ending the 30th of September, the other the 30th of March: for by that time the former half year's rents were commonly received, or else the arrears were fit to be

he now himself became anxious for his departure, which, with some farther delay, and not without some personal loss,\* he at last accomplished.

Lord Wentworth arrived in Dublin in July, 1633. His very arrival, it is justly said, formed a new era in the government of Ireland. He ordered the ceremonial of the British court to be observed within the castle; a guard, an institution theretofore unknown, was established; and the proudest of the Irish lords were at once taught to feel the "immense distance" which separated them from the representative of their sovereign.†

An extract from the lord-deputy's first despatch, written about a week after his arrival, and duplicates of which he forwarded at the same time, with his customary zeal, to Cooke and Cottington, is too characteristic to be omitted. "I find them in this place," he writes, "a company of men the most intent upon their own ends that I ever met with, and so as those speed, they consider other things at a very great distance. I take the crown to have been very ill served, and altogether impossible for me to remedy, *unless I be entirely trusted*, and lively assisted and countenanced by his majesty, which I am bold to write unto your lord-

I am not able sufficiently to pour forth my humble acknowledgments to his majesty. Sure I were the most solitary man without them that ever served a king in such a place."—Vol. i., p. 193, 194, &c. Wandesford's office was that of Master of the Rolls.

\* "They write me lamentable news forth of Ireland," he informs the secretary, in one of his last letters before his departure, "what spoil is done there by the pirates. There is one lyes upon the Welch coast, which it seems is the greatest vessel, commanded by Norinan; another in a vessel of some sixty tons, called the Pickpocket of Dover, lyes in sight of Dublin; and another lyes near Voughall—who do so infest every quarter, as the farmers have already lost in their customs a thousand pounds at least, all trade being at this means at a stand. The pirate that lyes before Dublin took, on the 20th of the last month, a bark of Liverpool, with goods worth £4000, and amongst them as much linen as cost me £500; and, in good faith, I fear I have lost my apparel too; which if it be so, will be as much loss more unto me, besides the inconvenience which lights upon me by being disappointed of my provisions upon the place. By my faith, this is but a cold welcome they bring me withal to that coast, and yet I am glad at least that they escaped my plate; but the fear I had to be thought to linger here unprofitably forced me to make this venture, where now I wish I had had little more care of my goods, as well as of my person."—Vol. i., p. 90.

† See Strafford's Papers, vol. i., p. 200, 201. In the various orders he procured, he invariably distinguished between the demands of his place and the courtesies due to his person. In this despatch to Cooke, a number of minute instructions are prayed for, which were instantly granted. Among others, he demanded "instructions to call upon the nobility and others to attend the deputy upon all solemn processions to church, and such like. This is not so well observed as it ought, and they grow generally more negligent than is fit they were, *not truly, I trust, in any distaste to me, for to my person they give as much respect as I desire from them; but I know not how, in point of greatness, some of them think it too much perchance to be tied to anything of duty, rather desirous it might be taken as a courtesy.* It would do, therefore, very well, his majesty were graciously pleased by letter to signify what the attendance is he requires at their hands." These he specifies accordingly, with a vast quantity of laborious and ceremonious regulations, adding, "I confess I might, without more, do these things; but where I may seem to take anything to myself, I am naturally modest, and should be extreme unwilling to be held supercilious or imperious amongst them; so as I cannot do therein as I both could and would, where I were commanded. Therefore, if these be held duties fit to be paid to his majesty's greatness, which is alike operative, and to be revered thorough every part of his dominions, I crave such a direction in these as in the other, that so they may know it to be his pleasure; *otherwise I shall be well content they may be spared, having, in truth, no such vanity in myself as to be delighted with any of these observances.*"

ship once for all, not for any end of my own, but singly for his majesty's service. Besides, what is to be done must be speedily executed, *it being the genius of this country to obey a deputy better upon his entrance than upon his departure from them*; and therefore I promise your lordship I will take my time; for while they take me to be a person of much more power with the king, and of stronger abilities in myself, than indeed I have reason either in fact or right to judge myself to be, I shall, it may be, do the king some service; *but if my weakness therein once happen to be discovered among them in this kingdom, for the love of God, my lord, let me be taken home*; for I shall but lose the king's affairs, and my own time afterward; and my unprofitableness in the former, I confess, will grieve me much more than any prejudice which may happen to my own particular by the expense of the latter. The army I conceive to be extremely out of frame; an army rather in name than in deed, whether you consider their numbers, their weapons, or their discipline. And so, in truth, not to flatter myself, must I look to find all things else, so as it doth almost affright me at first sight, yet you shall see I will not meanly desert the duties I owe my master and myself; howbeit, without the arm of his majesty's counsel and support, it is impossible for me to go through with this work, and therein I must crave leave to use your lordship only as my mediator, so often as I shall have occasion. I send your lordship the original herein enclosed, of the offer for this next year's contribution, and to the secretary but the copy, judging it might be thought fitter for your lordship to present it to his majesty than the other. You will be pleased to send it me safely back, there being many particulars contained therein of which I shall be able to make very good use hereafter, if I do not much mistake myself."\*

Wentworth, in fact, extraordinary as were the powers with which he had been invested, had still reason for distrust in the weakness and insincerity of the king, and thus sought to impress upon his council, as the first and grand consideration of all, that, unless unlimited authority was secured to him, he could and would do nothing. One thing, he saw at once, stood in the way of his scheme of government. In the old time, while Ireland continued to be governed only as a conquered country, the lord-deputy and council had used their discretion in superseding the common law courts, and assuming the decision of private civil causes. During the weaker governments which succeeded, however, this privilege was surrendered; and Lord Falkland himself had confirmed the surrender by an express prohibition. The common law and its authority had, in consequence, gained some little strength at the period of Wentworth's arrival. He had not

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 96, 97. In the lord-treasurer's copy of this despatch is the following characteristic note on a money transaction in which Weston thought he had been somewhat sharply dealt with: "Your lordship is pleased to term my last letter you received in Scotland an angry one; but, by my troth, your lordship, under favour, was mistaken; for I neither was, nor conceived I had cause to be angry; only I was desirous you might truly understand the state of my accounts, without any other thought at all." Secure of Laud's influence, Wentworth had become careless of Weston.

rested many days in his state chair before this prohibition was suspended, and the old privilege restored.\* At all risks, even the most fatal, Wentworth silenced the objectors in both countries. He had visions before him which they dared not to contemplate! Their notion of government was one of sordid scheming: not the less was the subject to be wronged, but the more should the instruments of wrong avoid the responsibility of it; they saw nothing but their own good, and sought to prevent nothing save their own harm. Wentworth was a despot, but of a different metal. He shrunk from no avowal in shrinking from no wrong; and, confident of the plans he proposed to execute, felt that the individual injury he inflicted at present would be redeemed and forgotten in the general prosperity of the future. "These lawyers," he writes to the lord-marshal, "would monopolize to themselves all judicature, as if no honour or justice could be rightly administered but under one of their bencher's gowns. *I am sure they little understand the unsettled state of this kingdom, that could advise the king to lessen the power of his deputy, indeed his own, until it were brought into that stayed temper of obedience and conformity with that of England, or at least till the benches here were better provided with judges, than God knows as yet they are.* Therefore, if your lordship's judgment approve of my reasons, I beseech you assist me therein, or, rather, the king's service, and I shall be answerable with my head."† Equal in all his exactions, he had suspected also from the first that the great complainants against his government would be men of rank; and now, in farther organization of his powers, procured an order from the king, that none of the nobility, none of the principal officers, "none of those that hath either office or estate here," should presume to quit the kingdom without the license of the lord-deputy.‡ When his use of this power was afterward spoken against, he silenced the objectors by a stern and sarcastical reference to one of the graces they had themselves solicited, which seemed indeed to warrant the authority, but had been proposed with a far different purpose, that of preventing men of large fortunes from deserting their estates, and wasting their revenues abroad!

Wentworth called his first privy council. The members of this body had hitherto borne great sway in the government of the island—

\* "I find that my Lord Falkland was restrained by proclamation not to meddle in any cause betwixt party and party, which certainly did lessen his power extremely; I know very well the common lawyers will be passionately against it, who are wont to put such a prejudice upon all other professions, as if none were to be trusted, or capable to administer justice, but themselves; yet how well this suits with monarchy, when they monopolize all to be governed by their peer-bench, you in England have a costly experience; and I am sure his majesty's absolute power is not weaker in this kingdom, where hitherto the deputy and council-board have had a stroke with them." Such is an extract from a remarkable despatch to Cooke, which fills nearly ten closely-printed folio pages, written soon after the lord-deputy's arrival, and filled with reasoning of the most profound and subtle character, in reference to his contemplated schemes and purposes. See vol. i., p. 194.

† *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 332.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 262, and see p. 348.

§ The lord-justices were the chief leaders of this body. Wentworth, in one of his despatches, had written thus: "On Thursday seven-night last, in the morning, I visited both the justices at their own houses, which albeit not for-

greater, indeed, than the lords-deputies themselves—and they were now, for the first time, to see their authority broken, and their rank and influence set at scorn. Only a select number of them were summoned, a practice usual in England,\* but in Ireland quite unheard of. But the mortifications reserved for those that had been honoured by a summons were almost greater than were felt by the absent counselors! Having assembled at the minute appointed, they were obliged to wait several hours upon the leisure of the deputy, and, when he arrived at last, were treated with no particle of the consideration which deliberative duties claim.

Wentworth laid before them a provision for the immediate necessities of government, and more especially for the maintenance of the army. The views of the lord-deputy, somewhat more reaching than their own, startled them not a little. Sir Adam Loftus, the son of the lord-chancellor, broke a sullen silence by proposing that the voluntary contribution should be continued for another year, and that a Parliament should meantime be prayed for. "After this followed again a long silence," when the lord-deputy called on Sir William Parsons, the master of the wards, to deliver his opinion. It was unfavourable. "I was then put to my last refuge," says Wentworth, "which was plainly to declare that there was no necessity which induced me to take them to counsel in this business, for rather than fail in so necessary a duty to my master, I would undertake, upon the peril of my head, to make the king's army able to subsist, and to provide for itself amongst them without their help. Howbeit, forth of my respect to themselves I had been persuaded to put this fair occasion into their hands, not only to express their ready affections and duties to his majesty, and so to have in their own particular a share in the honour and thanks of so noble a work, but also that the proposition of this next contribution might move from the Protestants, as it did this year from the Papists, and so these no more in show than substance to go before those in their cheerfulness and readiness to serve his majesty; . . . so as my advice should be unto them, to make an offer under their hands to his majesty of this next year's contribution, with the desire of a Parliament, in such sort as is contained in their offer, which herewith I send you enclosed. They are so horribly afraid that the contribution money should be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, as they would redeem it at any rate, so as upon the name of a Parliament thus proposed, it was something strange to see how instantly they gave consent to this proposition, with all the cheerfulness possible, and agreed to have the letter drawn,

merly done by other deputies, yet I conceived it was a duty I owed them, being as then but a private person, as also to show an example to others what would always become them to the supreme governor, whom it should please his majesty to set over them." This was a subtle distinction, which their lordships did not afterward find they had much profited by.

\* "I desire," Wentworth had demanded of Cooke, "that the orders set down for the privy council of England might be sent unto us, with this addition, that no man speak covered save the deputy, and that their speech may not be directed one to another, but only to the deputy; as also, taking notice of their negligent meetings upon committees, which, indeed, is passing ill, to command me straitly to cause them to attend those services as in duty they ought."

which you have here signed with all their hands."\*

A "Parliament!" This word, Wentworth knew, would sound harshly in the ear of Charles, who had, by this time, prohibited its very mention in England. But he saw, from what had occurred in the council, in what consideration the mere name was held there; and he saw, moreover, abroad among the nation, a feeling in favour of it, which might, by a bold movement, be even wrested to the purpose of tyranny, but could never, with any safety to that cause, be altogether avoided.

Nor was this aspect of affairs forced upon Wentworth by necessity alone. He had certainly entered Ireland with one paramount object, that of making his master "the most absolute prince in Christendom," in so far as regarded that "conquered country." Wealthier he meant her to become, even in the midst of his exactions; but a slave he had resolved to make her, in so far as the popular control was to be admitted over her government. Yet it has been shown that Wentworth was not a vain man; that he was ever ready to receive the suggestions of the occasion and the time; and it is clear that he entered Ireland by no means assured of being able to carry his purposes into effect by the simple and straightforward machinery of an absolute despotism. The king might see in Parliaments nothing but an unnecessary obstruction to the free exercise of his royal will, and might have directed Wentworth to "put them off handsomely," or otherwise. But Wentworth had impressions of his own which were not to be so got rid of. These Parliaments—which had been only hurriedly glanced at by the averted eye of Charles, on some occasion when he had been forced to "come at the year's end with his hat in his hand," and to whom the notion they had conveyed was simply the strengthening his conviction that "such assemblies were of the nature of cats, they ever grew cursed with age"—these Parliaments were known thoroughly, and were remembered profoundly by Wentworth. He had been conversant with the measures, and connected with the men. He had been the associate of Pym, and had spoken and voted in the same ranks with Eliot. Such an experience might be abhorred, but could not be made light of; and that mighty power, of which he had been the sometime portion, never deserted the mind of Wentworth. He boldly suffered its image to confront him, that he might the better resist its spirit and divert its tendency.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 98, 99. With characteristic purpose Wentworth subjoins to this despatch a private note to Cooke: "I should humbly advise that in some part of your next letter you would be pleased to give a touch with your pen concerning Sir Adam Loftus, such as I might show him, for he deserves it; and it will encourage the well-affected, and affright the other, when they shall see their actions are rightly understood by his majesty; and also some good words for the lord-chancellor, the Lord Cork, the Lord of Ormond, and the Lord Mountnorris; and chiefly to express in your despatch that his majesty will think of their desire for a Parliament, and betwixt this and Christmas give them a fair and gracious answer, for the very hope of it will give them great contentment, and make them go on very willingly with their payments." Had none of these men afterward thwarted him in his great despotic projects, Wentworth would have sought every means of covering them with rewards, to which he recognised no stint or measure, when called for by his notion of public service.

When he arrived in Ireland, therefore, he was quite prepared for the mention of Parliament—even for the obligation of granting it. He had not watched human nature superficially, though, unfortunately, he missed of the final knowledge. He would have retained that engine whose wondrous effects he had witnessed, and had even assisted in producing. He would have compelled it to be as efficient in the service of its new master, as of late in withstanding his pleasure. And Wentworth could not but feel, probably, that the foundation for so vast a scheme as his, which was to embody so many far-stretching assumptions, might be not unsafely propped at the first with a little reverence of authority.\* He would set up a Parliament, for instance, which should make itself "eminent to posterity as the very basis and foundation of the greatest happiness and prosperity that ever befell this nation"—by the extraordinary and notable process of being forced to confirm the king's claim to unlimited prerogative! That "way of Parliaments," it is evident from many passages in his despatches, he could not but covet, even while he spoke of leaving "such forms," and betaking himself to "his majesty's undoubted privilege." Power, indeed, was the great law of Wentworth's being; but from all this it may be fairly supposed, that even over the days of his highest and most palmy state lingered the uneasy fear that he might, after all, have mistaken the nature of power, and be doomed as a sacrifice at last to its truer, and grander, and more lasting issues. The fatal danger he frequently challenged—the "at peril of my head," which so often occurs in his despatches—must have unpleasantly betrayed this to his confederates in London.

A Parliament, then, he acknowledged to himself, must ultimately be summoned in Ireland. But he was cautious in communicating this to the English council. "My opinion as touching a Parliament," he writes to Cooke, "I am still gathering for, but shall be very cautious and cunctative in a business of so great weight, naturally distrusting my judgment, and more here, where I am in a sort yet a stranger, than in places where I had been bred, versed, and acquainted in the affairs and with the conditions of men; so as I shall hardly be ready so soon to deliver myself therein as formerly I writ; but, God willing, I shall transmit that and my judgment upon many other the chief services of his majesty betwixt this and Christmas. I protest unto you it is never a day I do not beat my brains about them some hours, well foreseeing that the chief success of all my labours will consist

\* On one occasion, it may be remarked, when the attorney-general in England much wished, as he fancied, to strengthen the famous Prynnes' act by an abolition of certain incidents attached to it, Wentworth opposed him in an elaborate argument. I quote a remarkable passage from the despatch: "Truly I am of opinion, that in these matters of form it is the best not to be wiser than those that went before us, but 'stare super vias antiquas.' For better it is to follow the old track in this particular, than question the validity of all the statutes enacted since Poyning's act; for if this which is done in conformity therunto be not sufficient to warrant the summons of this present Parliament, then were all those Parliaments upon the same grounds unlawfully assembled, and consequently all their acts void; which is a point far better to sleep in peace, than unnecessarily or farther to be awakened."—Vol. i., p. 269.

much in providently and discreetly choosing and saddening my first ground; for if that chance to be mislaid or left loose, the higher I go, the greater and more sudden will be the downcome."\* Some short time, however, after the date of this letter, he forwarded an elaborate despatch to the secretary for the consideration of the king. In this despatch he insisted very strongly on the wide distinction between English and Irish Parliaments which had been planted by the act of Poynings,† he dwelt on the exigencies of the state, and alleged various powerful reasons in that regard. He claimed also the permission to issue the writs instantly; for if they were deferred till the voluntary contribution should again be about to terminate, they would appear, he ar-

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 134. More genuine and characteristic still was a letter he enclosed by the same messenger to Lord Carlile: "I am yet ingathering with all possible circumspection my observations, where, upon what, and when to advise a reformation, and to set myself into the way of it, under God's good blessing, and the conduct of his majesty's wisdom. I shall, before it be long, be ripe to return the fruit of my labours to be examined and considered on that side, and then rightly disposed to set them on work and pursue them here with effect, taking along with me those two great household gods, which ought always to be revered in the courts, and away in the actions of princes—honour and justice. These councils, I confess, are secret ones, it being one of my chiefest cares to conceal my intentions from them all here, as they, with the same industry, pry into me, and sift every corner for them; and this I do, to the end I might, if it be possible, win from them ingenious and clear advice, which I am sure never to have if they once discover how I stand affected; for then it is the genius of this place to soothe the deputy, be he in the right or wrong, till they have insinuated themselves into the fruition of their own ends, and then at after to accuse him, even of those things wherein themselves had a principal share, as well in the counsel as in the execution. God deliver me from this ill sort of men, and give me grace so far to see into them beforehand, as that neither my master's service or myself suffer by them. My lord, I ever weary you when I begin, and judge how I should have troubled you if the wind had stood offener for England." The Earl of Strafford had melancholy and disastrous proof of the truth of that account by Wentworth "of the genius of that place." Some of the men who hunted him most fiercely to the scaffold were men that had been willing instruments of his worst power in Ireland.

† The origin of this act has been already adverted to. The popular leaders in England declaimed strongly against Wentworth's interpretation of it. If measures were produced, they maintained, of sufficient weight to satisfy the king and council, the intention of the law was fulfilled; for, they argued, it was never designed to preclude the members of Parliament, when once assembled, from introducing such other topics as they might deem expedient for the general welfare. Wentworth, on the other hand, strenuously contended that the express letter of the law was not to be thus evaded; that the previous approbation of the king and council was distinctly required to each proposition; and that no other measures could ever be made the subject of discussion. Surely, however, looking at the origin of the measure, the popular is the just construction. The act was designed, with a beneficial purpose, to lodge the initiative power of Parliament in the English council, as a protection against the tyranny of lords and deputies. But once establish this power, and the restraint was designed to terminate. Great was the opportunity, however, for Wentworth, and he made the most of it. Poynings' act was his shield. "I am of opinion," he writes to Cooke, "there cannot be anything invaded, which in reason of state ought to be by his majesty's deputy preserved with a more hallowed care, than Poynings' act, and which I shall never willingly suffer to be touched or blemished, more than my right eye."—Vol. i., p. 379. Again, when the English attorney proposed something which the lord-deputy feared might work against the stability of the Poynings' bill, Wentworth described it, "A mighty power gotten by the wisdom of former times; and it would be imputed to this age, I fear, as a mighty *lachesé* by those that shall still succeed, should we now be so imprudent as to lose it; and, for my own part, so zealous am I for the prerogatives of my master, so infinitely in love with this in especial, that my hand shall never be had as an instrument of so fatal a disservice to the crown as I judge the remittal or weakening this power would be."

gued, to issue from necessity, the Parliament would be imboldened to clog their grants with conditions, "and conditions are not to be admitted with any subjects, much less with this people, where your majesty's absolute sovereignty goes much higher than it is taken (perhaps) to be in England." A detailed plan succeeded his many and most emphatic reasons, which unquestionably "clinched" them. The Parliament that was to be summoned, Wentworth pledged himself should be divided into two sessions, the first of which should be exclusively devoted to the subject of supplies, while the second, which might be held six months afterward, should be occupied with the confirmation of the "graces," and other national measures, which his majesty so fearfully apprehended. Now the Parliament, Wentworth reasoned, would, in its first session, in all probability, grant a sufficient supply for the expenditure of three years, and this once secured, the "graces" might be flung over, if necessary. Farther, the lord-deputy pledged himself that he would procure the return of a nearly equal number of Protestants and Catholics to the House of Commons, in order that both parties, being nearly balanced against each other, might be more easily managed. He proposed, moreover, to obtain qualifications for a sufficient number of military officers, whose situations would render them dependant on propitiating the pleasure of the lord-deputy. Then, he urged, with the parties nearly equal, they might easily be kept in an equal condition of restraint and harmlessness, since the Catholics might be privately warned, that if no other provision was made for the maintenance of the army, it would be necessary to levy on them the legal fines; while all that was necessary to keep the Protestants in check would be to hint to them that, until a regular revenue was established, the king could not let go the voluntary contributions, or irritate the recusants by the enforcement of the penal statutes. "In the higher house," Wentworth concluded, "your majesty will have, I trust, the bishops wholly for you; the titular lords, rather than come over themselves, will put their proxies into such safe hands as may be thought of on this side; and in the rest, your majesty hath such interest, what out of duty to the crown, and obnoxiousness in themselves, as I do not apprehend much, indeed any, difficulty amongst them."

The whole of this extraordinary document is given in an appendix, and the reader is requested to turn to it there.

Let him turn afterward to the dying words of its author, and sympathize, if he can, with the declaration they conveyed, that "he was so far from being against Parliaments, that he did always think Parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom and nation, and the best means, under God, to make the king and his people happy." In what sense these words were intended, under what dark veil their real object was concealed, the reader may now judge. It is uplifted before him. Those five sections by which Charles is "fully persuaded to condescend to the present calling of a Parliament"—the notice of the villainous juggle of the "two sessions," with which the



wretched people are to be gulled—the chuckling mention of the advantage to be taken of “the frightful apprehension which at this time makes their hearts beat”—the complacent provision made for the alternative of their “starting aside”—the king who is to be able, and the minister who is to be ready, “to chastise such forgetfulness,” and “justly to punish so great a forfeit as this must needs be judged to be in them”—all these things have long ago been expiated by Wentworth and his master; but their damning record remains against those who would proclaim that expiation to have been unjustly demanded.

Overwhelmed by his minister's project, Charles at last yielded.\* Still, even while, reluctantly, he consented, he could not see altogether clearly the necessity for “these things being done these ways,” and all the assurances of the lord-deputy could not prevent Charles bidding him, “as for that hydra, take good heed; for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have a great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give. This I would not say if I had not confidence in your courage and dexterity; that, in that case, you would set me down there an example what to do here.”

Wentworth now issued his writs for a Parliament to be instantly held in Dublin, and great joy prevailed among the people. The privy council were summoned, in conformity with the provisions of the law of Poynings, to deliberate on the propositions to be transmitted to England as subjects for discussion in the session. “To gain this first entrance into the work,” Wentworth observes, “I thought it fit to intrust it in this manner with a committee, not only to expedite the thing itself the more, but also better to discover how their pulses beat, wherein I conceived they would deliver themselves more freely than if I had been present amongst them myself.” Soon, however, while the lord-deputy waited without, he was rejoined by his trusty counsellors Wandesford and Radcliffe, with the news that their associates were restive; that they were proposing all sorts of popular laws as necessary to conciliate the houses; and that, as to subsidies, they quite objected to transmitting a bill with blanks to be filled up at discretion, and were of opinion that the amount should be specified, and confined within the strictest limits of necessity. “I not knowing what this might grow to,” writes Wentworth, “went instantly unto them, where they were in council, and told them plainly I feared they began at the wrong end, thus consulting what might please the people in a Parliament, when it would better become a privy council to consider what might please the king, and induce him to call one.” The imperious deputy next addressed them in a very long and able speech, pressed upon them the necessities of the nation, and the only modes of arresting them. “The king therefore desires,” he continued, “this great work

may be set on his right foot, settled by Parliament as the more beaten path he covets to walk in, yet not more legal than if done by his prerogative royal, where the ordinary way fails him. If this people, then, can be so unwise as to cast off his gracious proposals and their own safety, it must be done without them; and for myself, as their true friend, I must let them know that I cannot doubt but they will altogether save me the trouble, hasten in their advice, and afford their best means for the fulfilling these his so good intentions. That, as a faithful servant to my master, I shall counsel his majesty to attempt it first by the ordinary means; disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not, in a cause so just and necessary, deny to appear for him in the head of that army, and there either persuade them fully his majesty had reason on his side, or else think it a great honour to die in the pursuit of that wherein both justice and piety had so far convinced my judgment as not left me wherewithal to make one argument for denying myself unto commands so justly called for and laid upon me.” In conclusion, Wentworth gave them a still more characteristic warning: “Again I did beseech them to look well about, and be wise by others' harms. They were not ignorant of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years; that therefore they were not to strike their foot upon the same stone of distrust which had so often broken them; for I could tell them as one that had, it may be, held my eyes as open upon those proceedings as another man, that what other accident this mischief might be ascribed unto, there was nothing else that brought it upon us but the king's standing justly to have the honour of trust from his people, and an ill-grounded, narrow suspicion of theirs, which would not be ever entreated, albeit it stood with all the reason and wisdom in the world. This was that spirit of the air that walked in darkness betwixt them, abusing both, whereon if once one beam of light and truth had happily reflected, it had vanished like smoke before it!”

The council could not hold to one of their purposes in the presence of such overawing energy, “whereupon they did, with all cheerfulness, assent unto the council; professed they would entirely conform themselves unto it; acknowledged it was most reasonable this

\* See Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 226-241, for the despatch, in which these things are all most happily described. Laud, in a subsequent letter, gives Wentworth some account of the way in which the despatch had been received. I extract one amusing passage: “The next day, at Greenwich, your despatch to Secretary Cooke was read to the committee, the king present, order given for us to meet, and for speed of our answer to you. If speed be not made to your mind, I am not in fault, and I hope you will have all things in time. Everybody liked your carriage and discourse to the council, but thought it too long, and that too much strength was put upon it; but you may see what it is to be an able speaker. Your old friend says he had rather see you talk something into the exchequer, but he pleases himself extremely to see how able Brutus is in the senate-house! And wot you what! When we came to this passage in your despatch, ‘Again I did beseech them to look well about, and to be wise by others' harms; they were not ignorant of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years,’ &c. Here a good friend of yours interposed, ‘*quorum pars magna fui*.’ I hope you will charge this home upon my Lord Cottington; he hath so many Spanish tricks, that I cannot tell how to trust him for anything but making of legs to fair ladies.”—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 255, 256.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 231.

kingdom should defray itself; that they would not offer the pardon, or any other act that might bear the interpretation of a condition; that they would send over no other laws but such as I should like; nay, if I pleased, they would send over the bill of subsidy alone."<sup>\*</sup>

Another obstruction remained, which was as fiercely and immediately disposed of. The council had ventured to suggest to the lord-deputy the existence of an ancient custom, whereby the Lords of the Pale claimed the right of being consulted respecting the projected measures, but which Wentworth had at once silenced by "a direct and round answer." Four days after this, however, the Earl of Fingal, on behalf of his brother peers, obtained an interview, and, as the deputy described, "very gravely, and in a kind of elaborate way, told me," &c., &c. It is simply necessary to add, that so peremptory and supremely contemptuous was Wentworth's reception of these traditional claims, that the Lord Fingal was fain to escape from his presence with a submissive apology.<sup>†</sup>

Nothing remained now but the elections. Some difficulty attended them at the first, but one or two resolute measures quelled it.‡ In July, 1634, an admirably balanced party of Catholics and Protestants assembled in the Irish House of Commons.

With extraordinary pomp and ceremony§ the lord-deputy proceeded to meet them. His speech, however, was more startling than his splendour. He began by telling them that two sessions should be held; and that the first, "according to the natural order," should be devoted to the sovereign, and the second to the subject. "In demanding supplies," he continued, "I only require you to provide for your own safety; I expect, therefore, your

contributions will be both liberal and permanent: that is, there must be a standing revenue (mark it well) provided by you to supply and settle the constant payments of the army; for it is far below my great master to come at every year's end, with his hat in his hand, to entreat that you would be pleased to preserve yourselves." Moreover, he told them that, if they expected constant protection without contributing towards it, they looked for more than had ever been the portion of a "conquered kingdom." A bitter warning succeeded this of the fate of English Parliaments. "Take heed," he said, in a lesson from his own patriotic experiences, "take heed of private meetings and consultations in your chambers, by design and privily aforehand to contrive how to discourse and carry the public affairs when you come into the houses; for, besides that they are in themselves unlawful, and punishable in a grievous measure, I never knew them in all my experience to do any good to the public or to any particular man. I have often known them do much harm to both." With these were mingled some just entreatments. "Divide not nationally betwixt English and Irish. The king makes no distinction betwixt you, but reposes you all without prejudice, and that upon safe and true grounds, I assure myself, his good and faithful subjects. And madness it were in you, then, to raise that wall of separation amongst yourselves. If you should, you know who the old proverb deems likeliest to go to the wall; and, believe me, England will not prove the weakest. But, above all, divide not between the interests of the king and his people, as if there were one being of the king, and another being of his people." He concluded with a distinct statement, that their conduct during the session should be attended, according to its results, with punishment or reward.\*

Not in words only, but equally in the manner of its delivery, did this speech proclaim the despotic genius of Lord Wentworth. Here he resorted to all those arts which, as I have before remarked, are essentially necessary to the success of the despot; and illustrated, by conduct which to such superficial statesmen as my Lord Cottington seemed vain and unnecessary, his profound knowledge of character. "Well," he writes to his more relying friend the Archbishop of Canterbury, "well, spoken it is since, good or bad I cannot tell whether; but sure I am not able yet to help myself to a copy of it. But as it was, I spake it not betwixt my teeth, but so loud and heartily that I protest unto you I was faint withal at the present, and the worse for it two or three days after. It makes no matter, for this way I was assured they should have sound at least, with how little weight soever it should be attended. And the success was answerable; for had it been low and mildly delivered, I might perchance have gotten from them, it was pretty well; whereas this way, filling one of their senses with noise, and amusing the rest with earnestness and vehemence, they swear (yet forgive them, they know not what they say!) it was the best spoken they ever heard in their lives. Let Cottington crack me that nut now."<sup>†</sup>

Secure of his measures, Wentworth demanded at once the enormous grant of six subsi-

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 255. To this Wentworth shrewdly subjoins, "But I, not thinking it fit it should come so singly from the king without some expression of care for the good government of his people, have caused it to be accompanied, as you will receive it, by this express."

† See the deputy's own account, Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 246, 247.

§ "The priests and Jesuits here," writes Wentworth, in a very able despatch to Cooke, "are very busy in the election of knights and burgesses for this Parliament, call the people to their masses, and there charge them, on pain of excommunication, to give their voice with no Protestant. I purpose hereafter to question some of them, being, indeed, a very insufferable thing for them thus to interpose in causes which are purely civil, and of passing ill consequence to warn and inflame the subjects one against another; and, in the last resort, to bring it to a direct party of Protestant and Papist, which surely is to be avoided as much as may be, unless our numbers were the greater. A sheriff that, being set on by these fellows, carried himself mutinously in the election of burgesses for this town, we brought into the Castle Chamber upon an *ore tenus*, where, upon what he had set under his hand, we fined him £200, and £300 more for his contempt in refusing to set his hand to another part of his examination, both at the council board and in open court, disabling him for ever bearing that office hereafter in this city; which wrought so good an effect, as giving order presently for choosing of a new sheriff, and going on the next day with the election again, the voices were all orderly taken; and the conformable proving the greater number. Cullen, the king's sergeant and recorder of this town, and Alderman Barry, a Protestant, were chosen; the former whereof I intend to make the speaker, being a very able man for that purpose, and one I assure myself will in all things apply himself to his majesty's service."—Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 260.

¶ "It was the greatest civility and splendour," writes Wentworth, "Ireland ever saw. A very gallant nobility and gentry appeared, far above that I expected."—Vol. i., p. 276. See a programme in the *Biog. Brit.*, vol. vii., p. 4184, 4185.

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 287-290.

† *Ibid.*, p. 272.

dies.\* With the view, at the same time, of preventing the possibility of the parties communicating in any way with each other, and so cutting from beneath them every ground of mutual reliance, he introduced the proposition to the House on the second day of their meeting. Ignorant of each other's sentiments—incapable of anything like a plan of opposition—nothing was left for Protestants and Catholics but to seek to rival each other, as it were, in the devotion of loyalty. The subsidies were voted unconditionally,† and one voice of profound respect for the lord-deputy rose from all.‡ Not less successful was his management of the convocation of Irish clergy, which had been summoned with Parliament, and from whom eight subsidies were ultimately procured. Fortified with his money bills, and just as the session was on the eve of closing, Wentworth turned with contempt to the proceedings of the House of Lords.§ Here had been opposition

\* He had great difficulty in inducing the privy council to accede to this. At last he prevailed: "Sir Adam Loftus," as he writes to Cooke, "first beginning the dance, which is now the second time he hath done the king passing good service in this kind."—Vol. i., p. 259. Not a single service did Lord Wentworth ever receive without acknowledging it strongly to the king, accompanied by the special naming of those who had so served him.

† These were the first "settled subsidies" that had ever been paid in Ireland. See Papers, vol. i., p. 307.

‡ See Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 277-279. One restive member there was, and one only. This was Sir Robert Talbot; who, having mentioned Wentworth without a sufficiently awful respect, was instantly expelled, and committed to custody till, on his knees, he begged pardon of the deputy. Commons' Journ., vol. i., p. 116. Leland, vol. iii., p. 18. One case may be added to this of a very different character, in proof that, when Wentworth saw the means of advancing the public service, even at the cost of some personal consideration, he did not care to waive the latter. Among the proclamations he had issued to regulate the Parliamentary sitting, he expressly forbade the entrance of any member of either house with his sword, and all obeyed this except the young Earl of Ormond, who told the usher of the black rod that he should have no sword of his except through his body. Equally resolute was his answer to the fiery questioning of the lord-deputy himself, quietly producing his majesty's writ, which had called him to Parliament "cinctum cum gladio," or "per cincturam gladii." The doubt then occurred to the deputy of the superior value of young Ormond's service to his enmity; and, after consultation with his two friends, Sir George Radcliffe and Mr. Wandesford, the youth was taken into favour. I am obliged to Mr. Crofton Croker for the favour of this note, which I find in a manuscript translation he has been good enough to lend me, of the Irish portion of the travels of a gasconading coxcomb of a Frenchman, *Sieur de la Boullaye-le-Gouz*, who honoured the island with his company in 1644, and obliged the world with a most amusing account of his visit. This very Ormond was then viceroy, and the part he had himself played to Lord Wentworth was curiously enough rivalled on this occasion by the illustrious *Le Gouz*. "I followed the train," observes our traveller, in Mr. Croker's happy translation, "in order to enter more freely into the castle, but at the door they ordered me to lay down my sword, which I would not do, saying that, being born of a condition to carry it before the king, I would rather not see the castle than part with my arms. A gentleman in the suite of the viceroy, seeing from my gallant bearing that I was a Frenchman, took me by the hand, saying, 'Strangers shall on this occasion be more favoured than residents,' and he brought me in. I replied to him that his civility equalled—that of the French towards his nation, when they met them in France!"

§ It was one of the strokes of the lord-deputy's policy to aggravate every difference between the two houses. He describes, with singular sarcasm, in one of his despatches, a difference of this sort. "The Commons would not confer with the Lords unless they might sit and be covered as well as their lordships, which the other would by no means admit. For my part I did not lay it very near my heart to agree them, as having heretofore seen the effects which follow when they are in strict understanding, or at difference amongst the selves. I saw plainly that keeping them at distance I did avoid their joining in a petition for the *graces*."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 279.

—the positive enactment of various salutary regulations—the consideration of grievances! "I let them alone," says one of his despatches, "till the last day that I came into the House to conclude the session; but then, being very jealous lest in my time anything might creep in, and grow upon the king's prerogative in this tender and important particular,\* I clearly declared they had therein proceeded farther than they had warrant for . . . and did beseech their lordships to be better advised for the future, and not to exceed that power which was left them by that law, to wit, a liberty only to offer by petition to the deputy and council such considerations as they might conceive to be good for the Commonwealth, by them to be transmitted for laws, or staid, as to them should seem best; wherunto they condescended without any opposition."

The English ministers were rapt in delight and astonishment! As the time approached, however, for the second session—the session of "graces"—a shadow fell over their congratulations. Bucklered with his law of Poyning's, the lord-deputy bravely reassured them. "For my own part," he wrote to Cooke, in the apt simile of an amusement which he was then, in the intervals of his bodily infirmities, ardently given to, "for my own part, I see not any harm in it, considering that we have this lym—hounded in our power, still to take off when we please; which is not so easy with your Parliaments of England, where sometimes they huddle loose, forth of command, choose and give over their own game as they list themselves." Farther, however, to quiet the apprehensions of Charles, and induce him to suffer the continuance of Parliament, Wentworth wrote to the king, telling him that the lord-deputy and his council meant to take on themselves the whole responsibility and blame of refusing the obnoxious graces, while the whole merit of granting such as might be granted safely should be given to his majesty.†

Wentworth redeemed his pledge. It is unnecessary to describe the proceedings of that session at any length. Suffice it to say, that the arts and energy of the first session were redoubled to a greater success in the second. None of the obnoxious graces were accorded. He openly told the Parliament that he had refused even to transmit them to England, and asserted his right to do this under the law of Poyning's.§ For a time, the overbearing ener-

\* The law of Poyning's.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 305. Wentworth preserved through life, notwithstanding his frightful illnesses, the most passionate fondness for hunting and hawking. It is curious to observe, in his accounts of these amusements, on occasional letting out of another object he may have had in them, besides that of personal enjoyment. They gave him an opportunity of display. "Your defeat of your hawk in Wiltshire," he writes at about this time to Cottington, "is nothing like to mine; for (as the man you wot said by the pigeons here hath not been a partridge in memory of man, so as having a passing high-flying tawny) am even setting him down, and to-morrow purpose, will cast or two of spar-hawks, to betake myself to fly at his birds, ever and anon taking them on the pate with a tre. It is excellent sport, *there bring sometimes 200 horses on field looking upon us*, where the Lord of Fonsail drops of doors with a poor falconer or two; and if Sir R. Wind and Gabriel Epsley be gotten along, it is a regal."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 163.

‡ See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 328. And see the despatch to Cooke, vol. i., p. 338.

§ See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 345, et seq.

of his measures forced the members to the silence of fear; but this was broken by the Catholic party, who, having suffered the most grievous wrong in the deception, at last made a feeble show of resistance. Wentworth instantly flung all his influence for the first time among the Protestants, and precipitated the Catholics into a trial of their strength, unadvised with each other, and utterly unprepared. They were at once defeated. The Protestants then claimed their reward, and with an earnestness which was only finally subdued by the lord-deputy's threats of worse terrors than those which their wrongs included.\* He had nothing left now but to write one of his most pleasing despatches to his royal master, containing "at once a clear and full relation of the issue of this second session, which was, through the wayward frowardness of the Popish party, so troublesome upon the first access, but is now recovered and determined by the good assistance of the Protestants, with great advantage to your majesty, by those excellent and beneficial laws which, with much tugging, are gotten from them; and all the graces prejudicial to the crown laid also so sound asleep as I am confident they are never to be awakened more."† In the next despatch he had the satisfaction of assuring his majesty that the privilege of impeachment had been wrested both from Lords and Commons;‡ in the next, that certain troubles of the convocation had been most emphatically silenced;§ and in the next, that his majesty was now, in the person of his humble deputy, the uncontrolled disposer of the destinies of Ireland! "So now I can say," wrote Wentworth at the close of a long despatch, which by the same messenger he had forwarded to Laud, and which contains a remarkable summary of the many important services he had rendered

to the crown, "so now I can say the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be still, if it be not spoiled on that side; for so long as his majesty shall have here a deputy of faith and understanding, and that he be preserved in credit, and independent upon any but the king himself, let it be laid as a ground, it is the deputy's fault if the king be denied any reasonable desire."

This was grateful news to Laud. Of all the suggesters of the infamous counsels of Charles, Laud and Wentworth were the most sincere: Laud, from the intense faith with which he looked forward to the possible supremacy of the ecclesiastical power, and to which he was bent upon going "thorough," through every obstacle; Wentworth, from that strong sense with which birth and education had perverted his genius, of the superior excellence of despotic rule. Their friendship, in consequence, notwithstanding Wentworth's immense superiority in point of intellect,\* continued tolerably firm and steady—most firm, indeed, considering the nature of their public connexion.† The letters which passed between them partook of a more intimate character, in respect of the avowal of ulterior designs, than either of them, probably, chose to avow elsewhere; and though many of their secrets have been effectually concealed from us by their frequent use of ciphers, sufficient remain to shadow forth the extreme purposes of both.

Laud had to regret his position in England, contrasted with that of the Irish deputy. "My lord," he writes to Wentworth, speaking of the general affairs of Church and State, "to speak freely, you may easily promise more in either kind than I can perform: for as for the Church, it is so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man, to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. For your lordship sees, no man clearer, that they which have gotten so much power in and over the Church will not let go their hold; they have, indeed, fangs with a witness, whatsoever I was once said in a passion to have. And for the State, indeed, my lord, I am for thorough; but I see that both thick and thin stays somebody, where I conceive it should not; and it is impossible for me to go thorough alone. Besides, private ends are such blocks in the public way, and lie so thick, that you may promise what you will, and I must perform what I can,

\* "I readily and earnestly told them I was very indifferent what resolution the House should fall upon, serving no rest and gracious a master ever to fear to be answerable for the success of affairs in contingency, so long as I did sincerely and faithfully endeavour that which I conceived to be for the best. That there were two ends I had my eye on, and the one I would infallibly attain unto—either a submission of the people to his majesty's just demands, or a just occasion of breach, and either would content the king. The first was miserably and evidently best for them; but could my master in his goodness consider himself apart from his subjects, as these become so ingrate, I spoke it confidently upon the peril of my head, a breach should be better for him than any apply they could give him in Parliament. And therefore I did deem that no man should deceive himself: my master was not to seek in his counsels, nor was he a prince that either could or would be denied just things." For the various incidents of this session, see *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 320, 321, 322, 329, 341, 342, 344, 345, 349, 353.

† In the same despatch (which see in *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 341), Wentworth urges upon the king the necessity of his surrendering matters of patronage and so forth more immediately into his lord-deputy's hands: "The fewer matters in the service, the fewer there will be to press for rewards, to the lessening of your majesty's profit, and the more entire will the benefit be preserved for your own crown; which must, in all these affairs, and shall, be my principal, nay, indeed, my sole end."

‡ See the case of Sir Vincent Cookin, *Papers*, vol. i., p. 369 and 393. Wentworth established by this case, that, under *Poyning's* law, acts of judicature no less than of legislation were prohibited, save by consent of the deputy and his council.

§ See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 342-345. "I am not ignorant," subjoined Wentworth to this despatch, with a sort of involuntary forecast of an after reckoning, which he threw off in a self-deceiving jest, "I am not ignorant that my turning herein will be strangely reported, and censured on that side; and how I shall be able to sustain myself against your *Fryances*, *Pims*, and *Hens*, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, the Lord knows."

\* It is amusing, at times, to observe the commissions to which Wentworth descended for the gratification of Laud, laughing at them secretly while he gravely disavowed them. The archbishop himself, however, had an occasional suspicion of this, and is to be seen at times insinuating, from beneath velvet words, a cat-like claw: "I perceive you mean to build," he writes to the lord-deputy on one occasion, "but as yet your materials are not come in; but if that work do come to me before Christmas, as you promise it shall, I will rifle every corner in it: and you know, my good lord, after all your bragging, how I served you at York, and your church work there: especially, I pray, provide a good riding house, if there be ever a decayed body of a church to make it in, and then you shall be well fitted, for you know one is made your stable already, if you have not reformed it, of which I did look for an account according to my remembrances before this time."—Vol. i., p. 156. Wentworth had forgotten one of his friend's first commissions, which the reader will recollect to have been quoted.

† A curious and instructive essay might be gleaned from the *Strafford Papers* on the subject of the friendships of statesmen, or, rather say, of a king's advisers, for the majority of these men did not deserve the name of statesmen.

and no more."\* To this Wentworth answers in a letter which is not preserved. Its import, however, may be gathered from this remarkable passage in Laud's rejoinder: "I am very glad to read your lordship so resolute, and more to hear you affirm that the footing of them which go thorough for our master's service is not now upon fee, as it hath been. But you are withal upon so many *ifs*, that by their help you may preserve any man upon ice, be it never so slippery. As, first, *if* the common lawyers may be contained within their ancient and sober bounds; *if* the word *thorough* be not left out (as I am certain it is); *if* we grow not faint; *if* we ourselves be not in fault; *if* it come not to *peccatum ex te Israel*; *if* others will do their parts as thoroughly as you promise for yourself, and justly conceive of me. Now, I pray, with so many and such *ifs* as these, what may not be done, and in a brave and noble way! But can you tell when these *ifs* will meet, or be brought together!"† Satisfactory is the lord-deputy's returning assurance: "For the *ifs* your lordship is pleased to impute unto me, you shall hereafter have more positive doctrine. I know no reason, then, but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England, as I, poor beagle, do here; and yet that I do, and will do, in all that concerns my master's service, upon the peril of my head. I am confident that the king, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able, by his wisdom and ministers, to carry any just and honourable action thorough all imaginary opposition, for real there can be none; that to start aside for such panic fears, fantastic apparitions, as a Prynne or an Eliot shall set up, were the meanest folly in the whole world; that the debts of the crown taken off, you may govern as you please; and most resolute I am that work may be done, without borrowing any help forth of the king's lodgings, and that is as downright a *peccatum ex te Israel* as ever was, if all this be not effected with speed and ease."‡

Resolutely did the lord-deputy, as I have shown, realize these principles, and every new act of despotism which struck terror into Ireland shot comfort to the heart of Laud. "As for my marginal note," exclaims the archbishop, "I see you deciphered it well, and I see you make use of it too; do so still—thorow and thorow. Oh that I were where I might go so too! but I am shackled between delays and uncertainties. You have a great deal of honour here for your proceedings. Go on a God's name!"§ And on Wentworth went, stopping at no gratuitous quarrel that had the slightest chance of pleasing the archbishop, even to the demolishing the family tomb of the Earl of Cork, since his grace, among his select ecclesiastical researches, had discovered that the spot occupied by my Lord of Cork's family monuments was precisely that spot upon which the communion-table, to answer the purposes of heaven, ought to stand!|| To minister to

their mutual purposes, Wentworth also introduced into Ireland the Court of High Commission, and wrested it to various notable purposes, political as well as religious.

The distinction between him and his confederate during all these proceedings is, nevertheless, to be discerned as widely as the difference of their respective intellects. Wentworth was a despot, but his despotism included many noble, though misguided purposes. Even with this High Commission Court, unjustifiable as were the means, he unquestionably effected an increase to the respectability and usefulness of the clergy, and reformed the ecclesiastical courts, while, at the same time, he never lost sight of the great present object of his government, that it should, "in the way to all these, raise, perhaps, a good revenue to the crown."¶ So, while Laud, in England, was, by a series of horrible persecutions, torturing and mutilating the Puritans,† the deputy of Ireland could boast with perfect truth that, "since I had the honour to be employed in this place, no hair of any man's head hath been touched for the free exercise of his conscience."‡

It is also due to Wentworth to observe, that while, at this time, with a view to the furtherance of his general scheme of government, he conceived the vast and unattainable project of reducing all the people of Ireland to a conformity in religion, the measures by which he sought to accomplish that project were, many of them, conceived in the profoundest spirit of a large and wide-reaching policy. Theological strife he knew the useless horrors of; and he soon discovered, by his "experience of both houses," that "the root of all disorders in this kingdom is the universal dependance of the popish faction upon Jesuits and friars."§ He speedily declared his determination to the king himself. "I judge it, without all question, far the greatest service that can be done unto your crowns

illustrating, in a remarkable degree, the general features of his character. I may refer the reader respecting this affair of the Earl of Cork to the *Stafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 156, 200, 216, 222, 257, 298, 379, 459, and to vol. ii., p. 270 and p. 338. Lord Cork hit upon an ingenious plan of thwarting the lord-deputy, though it failed in consequence of the superior influence of the latter. He wrote to the Lord-treasurer Weston, then notoriously jealous of Wentworth, and opposed to him and Laud, "entreating his favour, for that under this monument the bones of a Weston was entombed."

\* *Stafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 157.  
† "Mr. Prynne, prisoner in the Tower, who hath got his ears sewed on that they grew again as before to his head, is relapsed into new errors."—*Letter of his news-monger, Gerrard, to Wentworth, Stafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 266. Again Prynne's ears expiated those "new errors." Laud's own notice in his diary (Nov. 1630) of the punishment of Leighton, a Scotch divine, the father of Bishop Leighton, is more horrible: "Friday, Nov. 16, part of his sentence was executed upon him in this manner, in the new palace at Westminster, in term time. 1. He was severely whipped before he was put in the pillory. 2. Being set in the pillory, he had one of his ears cut off. 3. One side of his nose slit. 4. Branded on one cheek with a red-hot iron, with the letters S S. And, on that day seavennight, his sores upon his back, ear, nose, and face being not cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in Cheapside, and there had the remainder of his sentence executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, slitting the other side of the nose, and branding the other cheek." Leighton was released, after ten years' captivity, by the Long Parliament, having by that time lost his sight, his hearing, and the use of his limbs.

‡ See his letter to Com, the popish resident, *Stafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 112. His correspondences with this person are in all respects curious, and, to me, significant of a purpose which his death prevented the open disclosure of.  
§ *Stafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 431, 452.

\* *Stafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 111.

† *Ibid.*, p. 155.

‡ *Stafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 173. Following this passage, in the same letter, is the language which it would be a gross outrage of decency to quote. The archbishop appears to have relished it exceedingly.

§ *Stafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 329.

|| It would be impossible to notice in detail the various personal contests in which Wentworth engaged, though none of them passed, not even the most trifling, without

on this side, to draw Ireland into a conformity of religion with England; which, indeed, would undoubtedly set your majesty in greater strength and safety within your own dominions than anything now left by the great and happy wisdom of yourself and blessed father unaccomplished, to make us an happy and secure people within ourselves; and yet, this being a work rather to be effected by judgment and degrees than by a giddy zeal and haste, whenever it shall seem good in your wisdom to attempt it (for I am confident it is left as a means whereby to glorify your majesty's piety to posterity), there will, in the way towards it, many things fall continually in debate and consideration at the board, with which it will be very unfit any of the contrary religion be acquainted.\*

Urged by the English council, he set about the great work. Undisguised was the astonishment of the archbishop, however, at the slow and gradual means proposed by the lord-deputy. His grace had fancied that the trouts who had been so completely tickled out of their money† might be as easily tickled out of their religion, or anything else. The Lord Wentworth thought differently. "It will be ever far forth of my heart," he wrote, in answer to urgent pressings of the question, accompanied with especial requests for the enforcing of fines for nonconformity, "to conceive that a conformity in religion is not above all other things principally to be intended; for, undoubtedly, till we be brought all under one form of divine service, the crown is never safe on this side; but yet the time and circumstances may very well be discoursed, and sure I do not hold this a fit season to disquiet or sting them in this kind; and my reasons are divers. This course alone will never bring them to church, being rather an engine to drain money out of their pockets than to raise a right belief and faith in their hearts, and so doth not, indeed, tend to that end it sets forth. The subsidies are now in paying, which were given with a universal alacrity; and very graceful it will be in the king to indulge them otherwise as much as may be till they be paid. It were too much at once to distemper them by bringing plantations upon them, and disturbing them in the exercise of their religion, so long as it be without scandal. And so, indeed, very inconsiderate, as I conceive, to move in this latter, till that former be fully settled, and by that means the Protestant party become by much the stronger, which, in truth, as yet I do not conceive it to be. Lastly, the great work of reformation ought not, in my opinion, to be fallen upon till all incidents be fully provided for, the army rightly furnished, the forts repaired, money in the coffers, and such a preparation in view as might deter any malevolent licentious spirit to stir up ill humour in opposition to his majesty's pious intendments therein; nor ought the execution of this to proceed by step or degrees, but all rightly dispersed, to be undertaken and gone through withal at once. And certainly, in the mean time, the less you call the conceit

of it into their memory, the better it will be for us, and themselves the quieter; so, as if there were no wiser than I, the bishops should be privately required to forbear these ecclesiastical censures till they understood farther of his majesty's pleasure therein.\*\*

Steadily he proceeded, as if already, in the far but not uncertain distance, he saw the accomplishment of this extraordinary design. He began at what he conceived to be the root of the evil. The churches had fallen to ruin; the Church revenues had been cut to pieces by long leases and fraudulent appropriations; and the offices of the Church had been given into the hands of the ignorant, since to such only the abject poverty of her means offered any of the inducements of service.† "Now," wrote Wentworth to the still precipitate archbishop, "to attempt the reducing of this kingdom to a conformity in religion with the Church of England, before the decays of the material churches here be repaired, an able clergy be provided, so that there might be both wherewith to receive, instruct, and keep the people, were as a man going to warfare without munition or arms. It being, therefore, most certain that this to be wished reformation must first work from ourselves, I am bold to transmit over to your grace these few propositions, for the better ordering this poor Church, which hath thus long laid in the silent dark. The best entrance to the cure will be clearly to discover the state of the patient, which I find many ways distempered: an unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any ways revered or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught through the non-residency of the clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with cure of souls, which they hold by commendams; the rites and ceremonies of the Church run over without all decency of habit, order, or gravity, in the course of their service; the possessions of the Church, to a great proportion, in lay hands; the bishops farming out their jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons;" and so, through all the sources of the evil, in a despatch of elaborate learning and profound suggestion, the lord-deputy proceeds, enforcing upon the archbishop, finally, that he must surrender his present hopes of any immediate result. "It would be a brainsick zeal and a goodly reformation, truly," he exclaims, in a supplementary despatch of yet greater energy and earnestness, "to force a conformity to a religion, whereas yet there is hardly to be found a church to receive, or an able minister to teach the people. No, no; let us fit ourselves in these two, and settle his majesty's payments for the army, discharge his debts, and then have with them and spare not! I believe the hottest will not set his foot faster or farther on

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 49.

† The reader will be startled, probably, to hear the value of some of the Irish bishoprics in that day. "The old Bishop of Kilfenora," writes Wentworth to Laud, "is dead, and his bishopric one of those which, when it falls, goes a begging for a new husband, being not worth above fourscore pounds to the last man; yet in the handling of an unstanding prelate it might purchase grow to be worth hundred pounds, but then it will cost money in settling." *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 172.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 307.

† "Now, lie upon it, if the salmon of that river be bad, yet your loss is the less, since you have so many trouts that may be tickled into anything, or anything out of them."—*Laud to Wentworth, Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 329.

than I shall do. In the mean time, I appeal to any equal-minded man whether they or I be more in the right."

Unparalleled were the confidence and self-possessed resource with which Wentworth's great schemes now ran side by side. At one and the same moment he forced the revenue by which his projected buildings in the Church were to be raised, and cleared away the obstructions which still covered the sites he had selected. The decision of ecclesiastical rights was removed by him from the courts of common law to the Castle-chamber; the Earl of Cork was forced to restore an annual revenue of £2000 which had been originally wrested from the Church; and, understanding that the Bishop of Killala had been meddling with underhand bargains to defraud his see, he sent for him to the presence chamber, and told him, with open and bitter severity, that he deserved to have his surplice pulled over his ears, and to be turned out of the Church on a stipend of four nobles a year!\* His usual success followed these measures; lands and tithes came pouring into his hands; and he issued a commission for the repair of churches, and won for it a ready obedience.†

In the midst of his labours, Wentworth turned aside, for a moment, to prefer a personal suit to the king. Consideration in the eyes of those over whom he held so strict and stern a hand was beyond all things valuable to him. It was, indeed, the very material of his scheme of government. He appears, therefore, to have felt at this time that some sudden and great promotion from the king to himself would give his government an exaltation in the eyes of that "wild and rude people," of infinite importance to its security. His claims upon the king were immeasurable, as his services had been admitted to be. He wrote to him to solicit an earldom. "The ambition," he said, "which moves me powerfully to serve your majesty, as my obligations are above those that preceded in this employment, suggests unto me an hope I may be more enabled in these restless desires of mine, if I might, before our meeting again in Parliament, receive so great a mark of your favour as to have this family honoured with an earldom. I have chosen, therefore, with all humbleness, to address these lines immediately to yourself, as one utterly purposed to acknowledge all to your princely grace, and without deriving the least of the privacy of thanks elsewhere." A characteristic desire closed the letter, that "no other person know hereafter your majesty found it in your wisdom not fit to be done."‡ And such was Charles's shortsighted and selfish wisdom! He refused the request. It was sufficient for his purpose that Wentworth was now indissolubly bound to him, since the personal hatred his measures had al-

ready excited in the English popular party precluded the possibility of his return to *them*. Nor had Wentworth provoked the hatred of the popular party alone. Under his superior tyranny, the lords of petty despotism had been crushed,\* and incapable oppressors had become the lord-deputy's fiercest accusers of oppression. To please the king, moreover, he had taken upon himself the refusal of various offices to his more importunate courtiers, careless of the odium he provoked and scorned. To heap upon him any marks of personal favour, under such circumstances, was an act of courage and honesty which the weak monarch did not dare attempt. Such wretched tools as Buckingham were more to his personal liking, though less in the balance of his treasury! "I desire you not to think," he wrote, after refusing the lord-deputy's suit, "that I am displeased with the asking, though for the present I grant it not; for I acknowledge that noble minds are always accompanied with lawful ambitions. And be confident that your services have moved me more than it is possible for any eloquence or importunity to do; so that your letter was not the first proposer of putting marks of favour on you; and I am certain that you will willingly stay my time, now ye know my mind so freely, that I may do all things *a mi modo*."†

This refusal was sorely felt by Wentworth. Covering their allusion to the king, he threw into his next despatch to Cottington some expressions of uneasy regret. "I spend more here than I have of entertainments from his majesty; I suffer extremely in my own private at home; I spend my body and spirits with extreme toil; I sometimes undergo the misconstructions of those I conceived should not, would not have used me so. . . . But I am resolved to complain of nothing. I have been something unprosperous, slowly heard, and am coldly answered that way. I will either subsist by the integrity of my own actions, or I will perish."‡

The lord-deputy's relief was in the measures with which his enterprising genius had surrounded him. I have alluded to his repression of certain turbulences that had arisen in the convocation: he now, by his personal influence, prevailed with the learned Usher to surrender

\* His inquiries into questionable titles and church grants had exploded many a little tyrant, though in this way much private wrong was done. The servants of the English court, however, could never exactly understand his policy in respect of opposition to the aristocracy, and especially his habit of sternly refusing any presents or conciliatory favours from them. I quote a characteristic passage from a despatch of the Secretary Windesbank: "Though, while we had the happiness and honour to have your assistance here at the council board, you made many ill faces with your pen (*pardon, I beseech your lordship, the over free course of your Vandyking*), and worse oftentimes with your speeches, especially in the business of the Lord Falconberg, Sir Thomas Gore, Vermuyden, and others, yet I understand you make worse there in Ireland, and there never appeared a worse face under a cork upon a bottle, than your lordship hath caused some to make in disgorging such church livings as their zeal had eaten up. Another remarkable error of your lordship, which makes much noise here, is that you refuse all presents, for which, in one particular, you had your reward: for it is said that a servant bringing you a present from his master, and your lordship refusing it, the servant likewise would have none of your reward. By this your lordship may perceive how circumspect you have reason to be of your ways, considering how many malicious eyes are upon you, and what interpretations they make of your actions."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 161.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 322.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

\* See the *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 151–156, 171, 380, &c.

† One or two of the most remarkable of the measures he projected incidental to this purpose of conformity may be mentioned here. The reader must examine Wentworth's various despatches, if he desires to master the knowledge of them all. He took resolute steps to prevent the children of Catholics from being sent to foreign convents for their education. He proposed the erection of a vast number of Protestant schools throughout Ireland, with large endowments and able teachers. He enforced the most rigorous penalties upon non-residence. See *Papers*, vol. i., p. 393; vol. ii., p. 7.

‡ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 301, 302.

the ecclesiastical articles he had forwarded to Ireland, and which were anything but acceptable to Laud; he forced upon the clergy a series of hateful metropolitan canons; and, by a series of measures similar in spirit to those which had subdued the Parliament, he confounded and subdued the restless parsons.\* In an early despatch, he had to boast of only one dissentient voice from a new and most astounding "Protestant uniformity!"

The Irish common lawyers now received some farther proofs of his care, with intelligible hints of his prospective schemes. He presented them with the majority of the English statutes that had been passed since the time of Poynings, but exacted from them certain conditions, at the same time, which soon enabled him to describe to the king, in the following terms, his Irish ministers of justice: "Not declined to serve other men's unwarrantable purposes by any importunity or application; never in so much power and estimation in the state and with the subject as now, and yet contained in that due subordination to the crown as is fit; ministering wholly to uphold the sovereignty; carrying a direct aspect upon the prerogatives of his majesty, without squinting aside upon the vulgar and vain opinions of the populace."†

The army next engaged his attention. He supplied them with clothes, with arms, with ammunition; he redeemed them from licentiousness,‡ and strengthened them in numbers and in discipline. He completed several regiments of foot, collected together some most efficient cavalry, and, in a very short time, astonished the court in England by returns of a richly-appointed and well-marshalled force. They heard with still greater astonishment that the lord-deputy himself could find time to visit the whole army, and to inspect every individual in it! And he farther declared to them, that he held himself ever ready to mount horse at a moment's warning, and lead a troop of his own, raised and accounted at his own charge, to repress, by sudden movement, any popular commotion.§ Vainly, however, he strove to communicate energy enough to Charles to procure his seconding some wider schemes projected by him in reference to the army. The army was the keystone of that vast building which the imagination of Wentworth had already raised in the distance. The army was to hang in potent control over everything, to be "the great peacemaker betwixt the British and the natives, betwixt the Protestant and the Papist, and the

chief securer, under God and his majesty, of the future and past plantations." But Wentworth was foiled, by the indolent envy of his English coadjutors, from realizing the great desire he held, "that his majesty breed up and have a seminary of soldiers in some part or other of his dominions."\*

Indolent envy and active opposition notwithstanding, the general reputation of the lord-deputy of Ireland increased daily. "Mr. Secretary Cooke," wrote Lord Cottington to him, "is so diligent and careful to give your lordship an account of all your despatches and answers to them, as there is nothing for me to say, but that, for aught I can discern, everybody else is so too. My lord-marshal is your own, my Lord of Canterbury your chaplain, Secretary Windebank your man, the king your favourite, and I your good lord. In earnest you have a mighty stock of opinion amongst us, which must of necessity make you damnable proud, if you take not heed."† The Lord-treasurer Weston alone, the old propitiator of the king's regards to the quondam supporter of the petition of rights, but now bitterly jealous of Wentworth's friendship with Laud, scarcely cared to conceal his animosity.‡ A fatal attack of illness, however, at this time removed Weston; and the only alloy which served to dash the secret satisfaction with which the news of this event was received by Wentworth, was the existence of very decided rumours that the vacant staff would be offered to himself.§

I have already touched on the many objections which Wentworth entertained to an office of this sort, and he now sought by every means, and with characteristic energy, to prevent its being offered to him at all. To his friends who wrote to him urging its acceptance, he peremptorily answered; and, at the same time, by the same messenger, forwarded various requests to several of them, that they would take on themselves to intimate in every quarter, as plainly as possible, their knowledge of his objection to it. In farther promotion of this object, he practised a very singular piece of deception. His retained gossip, Mr. Garrard—who continued faithfully and regularly, in the absence of a newspaper, to fulfil all the duties of one, and to retail to the deputy all the occurrences and scandal of the court and the city—had given him, from time to time, most minute accounts of the illness of Weston

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 198. † *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 430.

‡ The truth is, I conceive my lord-treasurer some time before his death wished me no good, being grown extreme jealous of my often writing to my Lord of Canterbury, and myself, out of a sturdiness of nature, not so gently passing by his unkind usage as a man of a softer and wiser temper might have done; for I confess I did stomach it very much to be so meanly suspected (being as innocent and clear of crime towards him as the day), considering that I had, upon my coming from court, given him as strong a testimony of my faith and boldness in his affairs—nay, indeed, a stronger, than any other friend he had durst, or, at least, would do for him. So as finding myself thus disappointed of the confidence I had in his professions at our parting, I grew so impatient as to profess even to himself I would borrow a being from no man living but my master, and there I would fasten myself as surely as I could. So as by his death it is not altogether improbable that I am delivered of the heaviest adversary I ever had."—*Wentworth to the Earl of Newcastle*, *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 411. See, also, a letter of Laud's, vol. i., p. 329.

§ See Garrard's letter, in *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 368, 369.

\* See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 342-344.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 18.

‡ "Whence it is that the soldier is now welcome in every place, where before they were an abomination to the inhabitants; that by this means the army in true account may be said to be of double the strength it had been apprehended."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 17.

§ "For myself, I had a dead stock in horses, furniture, and arms for my troop, that stood me in £6000, and all in readiness upon an hour's warning to march. Nor did I this out of vanity, but really in regard I did conceive it became me not to represent so great a majesty meanly in the sight of the people; that it was of mighty reputation to the service of the crown, when they saw me in such a posture, as that I was upon an hour's warning able to put myself on horseback, and to deliver, in spite of all opposition, a letter in any part of the kingdom; and lastly, in regard men should see I did not exact so much duty from any private captain as I did myself upon my myself, being their general."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 18.



through its progressive stages, and finally had reported his death.\* It was Wentworth's policy, however, to convey to the court, that, so indifferent was he in respect of Weston's office, he had never troubled himself to inquire the probable issue of his illness, and, indeed, had never heard of it. As soon, therefore, as an official intimation of the occurrence was sent to him from Cottington, we find him answering thus: "My very good lord, I was never more surprised in my life than upon the reading of your last letter, *not having had any notice of my lord-treasurer's least indisposition before.* And how it happens I know not, but I am sure I was never well since almost, and that Monday night last I swooned twice before they could get off my clothes."† And again, assuring Lord Newcastle: "Yet I protest, I ever wished well to his person, and am heartily sorry for his death, which was signified unto me by my Lord Cottington *before I heard anything of his sickness, and took me, in a manner, by surprise.*"‡

These precautions were successful. Left settled in his government of Ireland, he next sought, by every possible resource, to establish a permanent revenue. In this pursuit, he exhausted his industry, his energy, his genius. Under his superintendence, the produce of the customs rose, within four years, from £12,000 a year to £40,000, and continued to advance rapidly. Nor were the means by which it was accomplished other than just and honourable. He improved the method of collection, protected the coasts, swept the Channel and the harbours of pirates, and, in fine, lifted the commerce and the shipping of Ireland into a rich prosperity, by freeing it from danger. "My humble advice," observes Wentworth, "for the increase of trade was, that his majesty should not suffer any act of hostility to be offered to any merchants or their goods within the Channel, which was to be preserved and privileged, as the greatest of his majesty's ports, in the same nature and property as the Venetian state do their Gulf, and the King of Denmark his Sound; and therefore I humbly besought his majesty and their lordships that it might accordingly be remembered and provided for in all future treaties with foreign princes." In completion of this scheme, the lord-deputy struggled hard to rescue the trade of Ireland from several absurd restrictions and monopolies; and in this, having partially succeeded, his government left a claim for gratitude which is remaining still.§

In resorting to just measures occasionally,

however, when they were not found to interfere with his ulterior schemes, Wentworth had taught himself no lesson of refraining from what was unjust. Money was to be had somehow: if justly, well; if not, it was to be had no less. He now, for instance, imposed a license upon the retail of tobacco, and himself farmed the privilege for an annual rent of £7000, and finally of £12,000. A tax was laid also on brewing, by way of feeler for the introduction of the excise—an object of mortal hatred with the Irish.

The statutes of wills and uses were introduced, no less beneficial to the crown, and, happily, more just to the subject. They strengthened the tenure of property, fixed a remedy against fraudulent conveyances, restored widows to their jointures, and heirs to their inheritances. What was vastly more important to Wentworth, they increased the king's fines in the Court of Wards by £10,000 a year! A mint, also, was erected in Ireland, in spite of desperate opposition from the officers of the English Mint, with the view of remedying the excessive scarcity of coin; workmen were introduced from England, to sink in various parts of the island for saltpetre, which Wentworth fancied might be obtained to commercial purposes; and he made several successful efforts to work the silver mines and marble quarries.\*

Greater projects, too, than these, occupied the mind of the lord-deputy. Before he set foot in Ireland,† he had conceived the noble scheme of opening a victualling trade between Ireland and Spain. The distrust with which the patriotic party regarded Spain may have influenced him first, as if in defiance, to rise superior to such "vain apprehensions;" but be that as it might, his despatches vindicate his plan. They show how admirably the commodities and the wants of the respective kingdoms correspond, and how closely reciprocal are their interests. They even supply a statement, drawn up with enormous pains from the information of various commercial agents, of the commodities which each port in Spain could either receive from Ireland, or give back in return. In one matter especially Wentworth saw the source of enormous advantage, since the great annual fleets to the colonies, which were so often detained in the Spanish harbours for want of provisions, could clearly be supplied far more conveniently and cheaply from Ireland than from any other country in Europe. Contemporaneously with this measure, the lord-deputy had resolved to attempt two other proj-

\* See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 343, 374, 387, &c.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 393.

‡ *Strafford Papers*, p. 411. Cottington himself was a candidate for the office, and never forgave Laud his disappointment, which the profits of the mastership of the records were by no means sufficient to heal over. The treasury was administered by commission for twelve months, when it was placed by Laud, to the astonishment of all who were still unacquainted with the archbishop's designs for the state advancement of the Church, in the hands of Juxon, bishop of London. Laud, recording the appointment in his *Diary* (March, 1636), observes, that "No churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time;" and adds, "Now if the Church will not hold themselves up under God, I can do no more."

§ For the various measures, and the elaborate reasoning with which the lord-deputy supported them, see *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 67, 90, 106, 302, 308, 393, 307, 400, 521, 192, 351, 366, 386, 405, 174, 340, 299, &c., &c.; and vol. ii., p. 18, 198, 137, 20, 60, 135, 42, 151, &c., &c.

\* I have already supplied various authorities for these measures, to which I must refer the reader. With one of his packets to the king, Wentworth forwarded "an ingot of silver of 300 ounces, being the first that ever was got in Ireland;" accompanying it with a proud expression of his hope that "this kingdom now at length, in these latter ages, may not only fill up the greatness and dominion, but even the coffers and exchequer of the crown of England. Sure I am, it becomes not this little one that her breasts should ever be dry, nor ought she with a sparing hand to communicate of her strength and wealth there, considering with what mass of treasure and streams of blood she hath been redeemed and preserved by that her elder and more excellent sister. May your majesty's days be as lasting and glorious as the best and purest of metals, and God Almighty prosper and accomplish all your princely thoughts and counsels, be they old or new."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 174.

† See *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 93, 94. That remarkable despatch was written while waiting at Westminster for the ship that was to convey him to Dublin.

ects. "And surely, sir," he wrote to the king, "if we be able to furnish, and go through with this undertaking—*increase the growth and set up the manufactory of hemp and flax in that your kingdom—I will hope to leave your subjects there in much happier condition than I found them, without the least prejudice to your subjects here. For this is a ground I take with me, that to serve your majesty completely well in Ireland, we must not only endeavour to enrich them, but make sure still to hold them dependant upon the crown, and not able to subsist without us, which will be effected by wholly laying aside the manufacture of wools into cloth or stuff there, and by furnishing them from this kingdom, and then making your majesty sole merchant of all salts on that side; for thus shall they not only have their cloathing, the improvement of all their native commodities (which are principally preserved by salt), and their victual itself from hence (strong ties and enforcements upon their allegiance and obedience to your majesty), but a means found, I trust, much to advance your majesty's revenue upon salt, and to improve your customs. The wools there grown, and the cloths there worn, thus paying double duties to your crown in both kingdoms, and the salt outward here, both inward and outward there.*"\* In such principles as these, as through the majority of Wentworth's despotic schemes, some good wrestled with the evil. The linen manufacture, for instance, springing out of this monstrous intention, turned out to be a blessing to the island. Having learned, on his arrival in the country, that no article for export was manufactured there except a small quantity of coarse woollen yarn, and unwilling, by encouraging this branch, to interfere with the staple of England, he instantly resolved, by introducing the general cultivation of flax, to induce the manufacture of linen. At his own charge and adventure he imported and sowed a quantity of superior flax seed; the next year, his first crop having outgone his expectation, he expended £1000 on the same venture, erected a vast number of looms, procured workmen from France and Flanders, and at last sent forth a ship to Spain, at his own risk,† with the first investment of linen that had ever been exported from Ireland. Sanguine of hopes so well laid, Wentworth then hazarded a prediction which has since been amply realized. "Very ambitious am I," writes he to Sir William Boswell, "to set up a trade of linen-cloathing in these parts, which, if God, bless so as it be effected, will, I dare say, be the greatest enriching to this kingdom that ever befell it."‡ The other project he had set up along with this happily fell to the ground for want of encouragement. In proposing to monopolize the sale of salt, without which the Irish could neither carry on their victualling trade nor cure their ordinary provisions, and which was at that time either manufactured by patentees or imported from abroad, Lord Wentworth reckoned on a considerable increase of revenue, and the reduction of the Irish to a

state of complete dependance. The internal manufacture abolished, it would be next to impossible to smuggle a commodity so bulky and so perishable by sea, and yet, he urged, "again of so absolute necessity as it cannot possibly stay upon his majesty's hand, but must be had whether they will or no, and may at all times be raised in price so far forth as his majesty shall judge to stand with reason and honour. Witness the Gabelles of salt in France."\* This once accomplished, Wentworth felt he would have in his own hands the disposal of the food and the clothing of the Irish, and he pressed it with all his vehemence. "Holding them," exclaimed he, "from the manufacture of wool (which, unless otherwise directed, I shall by all means discourage), and then enforcing them to fetch their cloathing from thence, and to take their salt from the king (being that which preserves and gives value to all their native staple commodities), how can they depart from us without nakedness and beggary! which in itself is so weighty a consideration as a small profit should not bear down!" The small profit, however, in consequence of the jealousies of Weston, did bear it down, and the lord-deputy was obliged at last to surrender it.

The embarrassments of the Irish treasury had now vanished; no anticipations any longer weakened it; every charge of government was paid to a day; and, in the fifth year of his power, Lord Wentworth announced to the king that the annual revenue would exceed the expenditure by £60,000.

This, then, was being "crowned with the completest success!" for, according to such political reasoners as M. de Lally-Tolendal, the prosperity of the exchequer is the true test of the wellbeing of the state, and as long as a wretched people can be flattered or terrified into "coining their hearts" in sums, the king is ably served, and the minister is borne out in his exactions. Yet Wentworth deserves better advocates; and it is perhaps due to his fame as a statesman to keep in mind that we do not view his system in a perfect state, since the ground, as it were, had only been cleared for the building when Death struck down the builder.

Yorkshire, meanwhile, and Wentworth Woodhouse, had not been forgotten by the lord-deputy! If he had been living simply as a private gentleman in Ireland, instead of being the immediate manager and director of schemes which would have overwhelmed the strength of a dozen ordinary men, he could not have attended with greater minuteness and apparent ease to his private affairs in England. I cannot resist extracting here some passages from an extraordinary letter to his early tutor, Mr. Greenwood, which occasion has already been taken to refer to. It is one of the most singular proofs that could be found anywhere of the compatibility of a comprehensive genius with a vigilant attention to the most minute details. From his viceroyalty the Lord Wentworth can signify his desire "that my tenants use their grounds and houses as honest men and good husbands ought to do, according to their sev-

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 93, 94.

† See his characteristic letter to the Duke of Medina, *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 109, 110.

‡ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 473.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 192, 193; and see p. 182, 333, 340.

eral leases; that my woods be preserved, and at due seasons felled and sold to the best profit—spring-woods I mean; that the hedges and fences be preserved; that the ponds, pheasants, partridges, and parks be preserved, and as much profit made of the herbage of Tankersly Park as may be without hurt to the deer; that fires be kept in the houses at Woodhouse and Tankersly, and that the housekeepers preserve the rooms sweet, and the stuff without spoil, and principally that the houses be kept dry from taking of rain;” that “the keeper of Tankersly must have the more immediate care of the woods belonging to Tankersly, especially those within the park, and to see that the pond-heads there be kept up, and the water to have a large and open passage to run away in the time of flood, and the grates so cleansed and firm as they break not, nor yet choke up, in which cases all the fish will be sure to go away with the flood.” And again, that “none of my demains be plowed in any case. I understand in this Richard Marris hath not followed my direction, which indeed, now and then, if a man would never so fain, he would have done. But if, upon advice taken with you and Robin Rockley, you find at any time good for the grounds they were broken up, then would I have them plowed for my own use (*for I know right well the profit of those new rift grounds*), taking still care that they be well limed and manured, and so left as fat and full in heart as might be, to which purpose I would have no cost spared, *for I would have the grounds about my houses kept aloft, so as there may be beauty and pleasure communicated even from them to the houses themselves*.” With these desires are conveyed a vast host of minor directions respecting the servants he would have Greenwood reward, promote, confide in, or distrust. Nor does he forget to “beseech you to cause my new study there, which looks into the hall, to be glazed, strong doors and locks to be set upon it; and such boxes being made as are at Woodhouse, which Richard Forster will, upon your direction, give notice for, the evidence may be put into those boxes, and set in that study, where they will be more safe and handsomely kept than where they are now. If you could cause like locks to be made for that study as are at Woodhouse, so that one key might open the locks in both places, it were much the better, and advising a little with Richard Forster, he might so order the matter as to have them so;” and to beg that “the red damask bed, with stools, canopies, chairs, &c., belonging thereunto, be carefully looked unto.” We learn also from this omniscient despatch, that the death of his steward, Richard Marris, “troubles me not so much, albeit in truth I loved him very well, as the sadness and indeed fearfulness of the misfortune thorough which he was lost—most grievous, God knows, for him, and scandalous to all that have relation to him; amongst the rest, I am sure to have my share. *Nor do I think that he was drowned as you write, for then how should one pocket be dry? But rather that, heavy with drink, he dropped from his horse near the place where his cloak lay, and, so it may be, amazed with the fall, was dragged by the horse, and the girths loosing, left in that wet place, where he was found dead*, and where,

doubtless for want of company, and in a cold night and lodging, stormed to death. But enough of so woful a subject, which I wish might never be mentioned or remembered again, farther than to consider in it the just judgments of God, and to deter us from this swinish vice, and all other which may draw down upon ourselves like punishments.” Subjoining this, the course to be pursued with respect to the brother and heir of the deceased is laid down at great length, and in all its possible bearings, coupled with the following characteristic notice: “I pray you in any case if it may be, let him be drawn to this by fair and still means; but if that work not with him then would I have you let him know that, until the account be declared betwixt me and his brother, which I am most willing and desirous may be before the next spring fairly examined by auditors indifferently chosen betwixt us, *will hold the possession both of lands and goods, that I will assign my debt to the king, and so extend and keep in extent the whole estate, till I be honestly and truly satisfied*; as also that I will perform that last office in accomplishment of that which I know was his brother’s intention, to see all his other creditors justly paid before he meddle with the estate, but that then at after I will not be his loss, by the help of God, one farthing. And I pray you, if the first milder way take not (which, if there be either honesty or conscience in the man, methinks it should), then to proceed roundly the other way, holding all you have, putting the bonds of Darcy Wentworth and Pieter Man in suit upon the land, and keeping all in the state you have already so well settled them, till my coming over.” The reverend gentleman had previously been given to understand that, “as for all my rents, the course I desire to be held is thus: A month after every rent day, I would have a time appointed when yourself and Robert Rockley may meet, and all the bailiffs be appointed to attend you: there receive their accounts, giving them strict charge to gather what shall be behind, and to bring the remainder and finish their account at Thornhill within a month after. And I beseech you give them no sparing, for I have suffered very much by it; however, I never could perceive my tenants were a groat the better; besides, when they find they shall be distrained upon, they will observe their day carefully, so as within a rent day or two, this course strictly observed, the rents will come in without any stop.” The whole production is, indeed, impressed with the peculiarities of Wentworth’s subtle and energetic genius; nor was there reason for Mr. Greenwood to doubt, as he is at the close assured, that the writer “upon a good occasion would not deny his life to him.”

So also, burdened with his mighty schemes, the lord-deputy found time for every office of private service, of friendship, and of scholar-like amusement. He made his newsmen, Mr. Garrard, forward him copies of Dr. Donne’s poetry,\* which he was amazingly fond of; gathered antiquities for the king;† vanquished Inigo Jones in a discussion on architecture;‡ reared a young greyhound among his own chil-

\* *Strefford Papers*, vol. i., p. 338, &c.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 62.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

or the little Prince of York;\* corre-  
d with old friends in Yorkshire;† dis-  
with Vandyke on various marbles;  
, hawked,‡ and played at the games of  
and mayo. "He played excellently  
ays Radcliffe; "and for company sake,  
stmas, and after supper, he would play  
nes; yet he never was much taken with  
used it excessively, but as a recreation  
be used. His chief recreation was after  
when, if he had company which were  
unto him, that is, honest, cheerful men,  
ld retire into an inner room, and set  
three hours, *taking tobacco and telling  
with great pleasantness and freedom*; and  
used constantly, with all familiarity in  
, laying then aside all state and that due  
which in public he would expect."

or for a single instant, however, were  
dic affairs suffered to wait his leisure.  
hreatened now to demand more than  
y care, for the king had resolutely  
ad the deputy in his desire to continue  
ritament. "My reasons," he wrote,  
ounded upon my experience of them  
They are of the nature of cats—they  
ow curst with age; so that if ye will  
ood of them, put them off handsomely  
hey come to any age, for young ones  
r most tractable. . . . Now that we are  
et us content ourselves therewith."§  
t, at the same time, had urged upon his  
r the preferable course of following out  
ans (which were far more favoured with  
than even a submissive Irish Parlia-  
of increasing the estates of the crown  
arch after defective titles. Wentworth,  
ia, set resolutely to work. He exam-  
rrious old records, and discovered that  
ole province of Connaught, on the for-  
of its Irish chieftain, had lapsed, many  
go, to the crown. It had, indeed, even  
at time, again been granted away, but  
rt lawyers now either found flaws in  
veyances or made them. It will be  
ted that a recognition of the validity  
t titles formed one of the obnoxious  
a" which Wentworth had laid to sleep  
dly.

ging himself at once to the king, there-  
at he would reduce Connaught to the  
s possession of the crown, the lord-  
proceeded into the county of Roscom-  
moned a jury composed of "persons  
means as might answer the king a

Countess of Dorset had preferred the request, to  
Wentworth instantly answered: "I did, with all  
receive from your ladyship, by this bearer, the  
sands it ever pleased our young master to honour  
l, and before Christmas I will not fail to furnish  
you with the finest greyhound this kingdom af-  
f I then I shall humbly crave his highness's pardon;  
d any before I may have convenient time, under my  
to be sure he is of a safe and gentle disposition,  
I may try him here first, how he shall behave him-  
get my own children, were the greatest indiscre-  
etudness in me possible. And albeit I assure my  
ladyship's care and other his highness's attend-  
d be such as the dog should do no harm, yet that  
banks to me."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 303.  
ford Papers, vol. i., p. 116.

his later days," Radcliffe observes, "he got little  
ee his hawks fly, though he always kept good

ford Papers, vol. i., p. 365. Wentworth's previ-  
as for a prorogation will be found at p. 353.

round fine in the Castle-chamber in case they  
should prevaricate, and who, in all seeming,  
even out of that reason, would be more fearful  
to tread shamefully and impudently aside from  
the truth than such as had less, or nothing to  
lose,"\* told them that his present appeal to  
them was a mere act of courtesy, and, in re-  
turn for a series of deep and significant threats,  
received a ready obedience. The same scenes,  
with the same results, were acted in Mayo and  
Sligo, and Lord Wentworth went on to Galway.

Here he was prepared for opposition. The  
people, chiefly Roman Catholics, were sup-  
ported by a formidable body of priests, and had  
the strenuous countenance and assistance of  
their hereditary lord, the Earl of St. Alban's  
and Clanricarde, a nobleman of esteem at the  
English court. The spirit of Wentworth rose  
at the prospect, and he prepared the court, in  
a memorable despatch, for the measures they  
were to expect from him: "If it be followed  
with just severity," he wrote, "this opposition  
will prove of great use to the crown, as any  
one thing that hath happened since this plan-  
tation fell in proposition. It shall not only,  
with a considerable addition of revenue, bring  
security to this county, which of the whole  
kingdom most requires it, but make all the  
succeeding plantations pass with the greatest  
quietness that can be desired; whereas, if this  
froward humour be negligently or loosely han-  
dled, it will not only blemish the honour and  
comeliness of that which is effected already,  
but cut off all hope for the future." He sum-  
moned a jury on the same principle as in the  
preceding counties. They were obstinate in  
their refusal to obey him. The sheriff who  
had selected them was instantly fined £1000;  
the jurors themselves were cited into the Cas-  
tle-chamber, and fined £4000 each; and the  
Earl of Clanricarde† received a heavy reprimand from the court, and was made to suffer  
severely. Bitter murmurs were heard in Ire-  
land, and men spoke out more strongly in Eng-  
land. But the deputy knew no fear. "This  
comfort I have to support me against the mal-  
ice of this race of sturdy beggars, that howbeit  
they threaten me with a Felton or a Ravillac,  
yet my master is pleased graciously to accept  
of my endeavours, and to say publicly at coun-  
cil-board the crown of England was never so  
well served on this side as since my coming to  
the government."‡

Exasperated, nevertheless, with these signs  
of opposition, he now thought to silence them  
effectually by one terrible warning. His knowl-  
edge of the character of the vice-treasurer, the  
Lord Mountnorris, has been already shown,  
and I have quoted the deeply significant intima-  
tion which opened their official connexion.  
Mountnorris had long disregarded this, and  
had, indeed, omitted no opportunity which his  
place afforded him of thwarting in every possi-  
ble way the schemes of Wentworth. A trifling  
circumstance now gave the latter an occasion  
of punishment. Severely afflicted with the  
gout—for so frightful were his bodily infirmi-

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 442; a despatch in which  
the entire proceedings are characteristically given.

† For the representations made by Wentworth against  
this nobleman, see *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 451, 479,  
492; and vol. ii., p. 31, 35, 365, 381.

‡ *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 412; and see p. 371.

ties that freedom from one complaint seldom failed to be followed by thralldom to another—the lord-deputy sat one day in the presence-chamber, when one of his attendants—a Mr. Annesley, a distant relation of the Lord Mountnorris—accidentally dropped a stool upon his foot. “Enraged with the pain whereof,” says Clarendon, “his lordship with a small cane struck Annesley. This being merrily spoken of at dinner at the lord-chancellor’s table, where the Lord Mountnorris was, he said, ‘the gentleman had a brother that would not have taken such a blow.’”<sup>\*</sup> These words were spoken in the month of April. Eavesdroppers reported them to Wentworth, who instantly forwarded a messenger to London to bring back a king’s commission for the trial of Mountnorris. It was sent at his request. Not till December, however, was any farther step taken, though the interim had been employed in giving security to the lord-deputy’s purpose.

In December, Mountnorris received a summons to attend a council of war the next morning. Ignorant of the cause of so sudden a movement, he was vainly asking his brother councillors to explain it, when Wentworth entered, produced the king’s commission, charged Lord Mountnorris with an attempt to stir up mutiny against himself as general of the army, and ordered the charge to be read. It ran to this effect: That it having been mentioned at the lord-chancellor’s table that Annesley had let a stool fall on the lord-deputy’s foot, Mountnorris had scornfully and contemptuously said, “Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront that my lord-deputy did me formerly; but I have a brother who would not have taken such a revenge.” In vain the accused fell on his knees, and requested time for consultation; in vain he demanded even a copy of the charge, or permission to retain counsel: everything was denied to him; the lord-deputy cited two articles of war which rendered him amenable to imprisonment and to death; demanded from the councillors the immediate and summary judgment of a court-martial on both the articles; and sternly silenced a proposal which they ventured to submit, of separating the charges. Guilty the accused was to be voted, “of both or of none!” Even Lord Moore, one of the councillors—who, with Sir R. Loftus, the brother of another councillor, had proved Wentworth’s case—was ordered to resume his seat, and judge the man whom he had accused! Under the eye of the lord-deputy the council then deliberated and voted; and their sentence condemned Mountnorris to imprisonment, deprived him of all his offices, ignominiously dismissed him from the army, incapacitated him from ever serving again, and finally left him to be shot, or beheaded, at the pleasure of the general. Before the whole court Lord Wentworth then expressed exultation: “the sentence was just and noble, and for his part, he would not lose his share of the honour of it!” He turned afterward to the unfortunate Mountnorris; told him that now, if he chose, he had

only to order execution, but that he would petition for his life, and “would sooner lose his hand than Mountnorris should lose his head.”

His purpose was to be more effectually answered, in truth, by a contemptuous pardon, and this, from the first, he appears to have designed, trusting to the general ignominy that would be thrown over Mountnorris to crush any after-attempt he might make against his own power. The remarks which have been already made on other personal oppressions apply here with still greater force, and to the system which Wentworth had to uphold should the horror and reproach be carried. It is certain that, at the period of this proceeding, Lord Clarendon has justly described the issue to which the positions of the parties had brought them: “That either the deputy of Ireland must destroy my Lord Mountnorris while he continued in his office, or my Lord Mountnorris must destroy the deputy as soon as his commission was determined.”<sup>\*</sup> Wentworth was not the man to leave this issue in the hands of chance, nor, at the same time, to blind himself to the results of such conduct as the necessity had forced upon him. “But if, because I am necessitated to preserve myself from contempt and scorn, and to keep and retain with me a capacity to serve his majesty with that honour becoming the dignity of that place I here by his majesty’s favour exercise, therefore I must be taken to be such a rigid Cato Censorius as should render me almost inhospitable to humane kind, yet shall not that persuade me to suffer myself to be trodden upon by men indeed of that savage and insolent nature they would have me believed to be, or to deny unto myself and my own subsistence so natural a motion as is the defence of a man’s self.”

The wife of Mountnorris was a kinswoman of the Lady Arabella Hollis, whose memory Wentworth cherished with such enthusiasm, and “in the name and by the memory of her” hoping that God would so reward him for it upon “the sweet children of her kinswoman,” Lady Mountnorris, immediately after the sentence, in a deeply pathetic letter, besought Wentworth to take “his heavy hand from off her dear lord.”<sup>†</sup> Every writer concurs in stating that this letter was coldly and contemptuously disregarded by the lord deputy, but an extract from one of his despatches may at least serve to throw some doubt over such a statement. “I send you,” he writes to Secretary Cooke, “here enclosed the sentence of the council of war in the case of the Lord Mountnorris. . . . I foresee full well how I shall be skirmished upon for it on that side: causeless traducing and calumniating of me is a spirit that hath haunted me through the whole course of my life, and now become so ordinary a food as the sharpness and bitterness of it, in good faith, distempers not my taste one jot. Finally, as I formerly signed the sentence together

<sup>\*</sup> Clarendon, vol. i., p. 174. This statement is borne out by Baillie’s letters. Rushworth, on the other hand, gives it as Wentworth’s witnesses afterward swore to it. Collections, vol. iii., p. 187; and see Nelson’s Collections, vol. i., p. 59.

<sup>\*</sup> The reader may be referred, in case he desires to pursue this subject farther, to the most ample materials of judgment and discrimination as to the character and bearing of the parties. *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 73, 76, 119, 250, 348, 388, 392, 402, *et seq.* 448, 497, *et seq.* 502, 504, 508, *et seq.* 511, *et seq.* 514, 519; and to vol. ii., p. 5, 14, *et seq.* and 145. The unfortunate want of an index to the *Stratford Papers* makes these references necessary.

<sup>†</sup> Clarendon’s *State Papers*, vol. i., p. 449.

with them, so do I most heartily now join in their letters to you, where we all become humble petitioners to his majesty for his life, which, as God knows, so little looked after by me, but howbeit I hold under favour the sentence most just, yet were it left me in choice whether he must lose his head or I my hand, this should redeem that. His lordship was prisoner in this castle some two days, *but upon his physician's certificate that the badness of his lodging might prejudice his health, I sent him upon good bond restrained only to his own house, where he is like to remain till I receive his majesty's further pleasure concerning him.*" It is most unlikely that such an extraordinary favour as this had been granted on the application of a physician merely, while the lord-deputy had an obvious reason for keeping out of sight the influence of the lady.

Some short time after, Mountnorris, on condition of submitting to Wentworth, and acknowledging the justice of his sentence, received his liberty. Prosecutions, however, had been lodged against him meanwhile in the Star Chamber, and he felt himself a lowered and wellnigh beggared man. "At my Lord Mountnorris his departure hence," writes the deputy, "he seemed wondrously humbled, as much as Chaucer's friar,\* that would not for him anything should be dead; so I told him I never wished ill to his estate nor person farther than to remove him thence, where he was as well a trouble as an offence unto me; that being done (howbeit thorough his own fault with more prejudice to him than I intended), I could wish there were no more debate betwixt us; and I told him that, if he desired it, I would spare my prosecution against him in the Star Chamber there." Immediately before this passage occurs, in the same letter, Wentworth had remarked, "I assure you I have had a churlish winter of this; nor hath the gout been without other attendants that do prognostic no long life for me here below! which skills not much. He lives more that virtuously and generously spruds one month, than some other that may chance to dream out some years, and bury himself alive all the while." The life of the

\* Chaucer and Dr. Donne appear to have been Wentworth's favourite poets. Chaucer indeed, to the court readers of that day, was as Shakespeare in our own. It is clear, too, from the frequent use of peculiar expressions in his despatches, that the lord-deputy was not unacquainted, and that intimately, with the great dramatist, though he never, as with Chaucer and Donne, quotes connected passages. It is worth subjoining, as an instance out of many, one of Wentworth's suavers at Sir Piers Crosby—that "trifle Crosby," as he elsewhere calls him. "Since his departure I have neither heard from him nor of him, more than that he vouchsafed with his pretty composed looks to give the Galway agents countenance and courtship before the eyes of all the good people that looked upon them, gracing and ushering them to and from all their appearances before the lords; there is no more to be added in his case but these two verses of old Jeffery Chaucer:

'Nowhere so busy a man as he ther n'as,  
And yet he seemed busier than he was.'

When the newsmonger Garrard heard of the affair of Mountnorris, he quotes Dr. Donne, as if to communicate more tender sympathy to his lordship in that way: "When first I heard the news, which was on St. Stephen's day, and how all men talked of it, it disorder'd me, it brake my sleep, I waked at four in the morning, it made me herd the next day less in company; not that I believed what was said, but that I had no oracle, no such friend on the sudden to go to, who could give such satisfaction as I desired. No! that lord, your letter hath done it; what Dr. Donne writes is most true, Sir, more than kisses, letters mingle souls, for thus friends absent speak," &c.

lord-deputy had, indeed, in the intensity of sensation it had required for its sustainment, covered a larger span of existence than years can measure, and now the term that remained to it was fated to be dashed with almost unceasing anxieties and troubles, more bitter in proportion to the temperament they wrought on.

His anticipations of the enmity that would be provoked against him by the case of Mountnorris were more than realized. Laud ventured to intimate to him, "I find that, notwithstanding all your great services in Ireland, which are most graciously accepted by the king, you want not them which whisper, and perhaps speak louder where they think they may, against your proceedings in Ireland, as being over-full of personal prosecutions against men of quality. . . . And this is somewhat loudly spoken by some on the queen's side. . . . I know you have a great deal more resolution in you than to decline any service due to the king, state, or Church, for the barking of discontented persons; and God forbid but you should; and yet, my lord, if you could find a way to do all these great services and decline these storms, I think it would be excellent well thought on."\* To this advice succeeded other galling announcements. Lord Clanricarde died suddenly, from a broken heart, it was said, in consequence of the Galway proceedings; and the death of the sheriff of that county, who had been imprisoned by Wentworth, immediately followed. Both of these deaths were laid at his door. "They might as well," exclaimed the lord-deputy, adverting to the first, "they might as well have imputed unto me for a crime his being threescore and ten years old!" With cooler satire he put off the fate of the sheriff. "They will lay the charge of Darcy the sheriff's death unto me. My arrows are cruel that wound so mortally! but I should be more sorry, by much, the king should lose his fine." Still this did not subdue the daily increasing murmurs; one exaggeration begot another; and he resolved at last, by a sudden public appearance in England, to confound his accusers, and, even in their very teeth, to throw for new marks of favour.

Permission having been obtained from the king, Wentworth appeared at the English court in May, 1636. He was received with the highest favour, and so delighted the king with his

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 479. Lord Cottington's account was something different: "You said right, that Mountnorris his business would make a great noise: for so it hath amongst ignorant, but especially ill-affected people; but it hath struck little among the wiser sort, and begins to be blown away amongst the rest." His lordship, in the same letter, communicates to Wentworth a remarkable sequel to the affair. The lord-deputy, in order to procure Mountnorris's offices for his favourites (chiefly young Loftus, the husband of a lady who has been before adverted to), had proposed to distribute £6000 as a sort of purchase of them, to the principal English ministers. (Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 508.) The sly old courtier Cottington, however, into whose hands the business fell, hit on a more notable expedient. "When William Raylton first told me," he writes, "of your lordship's intention touching Mountnorris's place for Sir Adam Loftus, and the distribution of moneys for the effecting thereof, I fell upon the right way, which was, to give the money to him that really could do the business, which was the king himself; and this hath so far prevailed, as by this post your lordship will receive his majesty's letter to that effect, so as there you have your business done without noise." The money happened to be particularly welcome to Charles, who had just been purchasing an estate! See Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 211.

account of the various measures by which he had consolidated the government of Ireland, that he was entreated by his majesty to repeat the details "at a very full council." "Howbeit I told him I feared his majesty might be wearied with the repetition of so long a narrative, being no other than he had formerly heard, and that I desired, therefore, I might give my account to the lords without his majesty's farther expense of time, yet he told me it was worthy to be heard twice, and that he was willing to have it so."\* No wonder! A more striking description was never spoken. He detailed all the measures he had accomplished for the Church, the army, and the revenue, for manufactures and commerce, for the laws and their administration, and through every vigorous and well-aimed word shone the author of all those measures! Wentworth adverted, towards the close of his relation, to "some particulars wherein I have been very undeservedly and bloodily traduced." He mentioned the slanders that had been circulated, proclaiming him "a severe and austere hard-conditioned man, rather indeed a basha of Buda, than the minister of a pious Christian king." His report of what followed is a direct illustration of much that has been advanced in this memoir. "Howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in myself, it was quite the contrary; *no man could shew wherein I had expressed it in my nature, no friend I had would charge me with it in my private conversation, no creature had found it in the managing of my own private affairs, so as if I stood clear in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any equal mind that it was not anything within, but the necessity of his majesty's service, which enforced me into a seeming strictness outwardly.* And that was the reason indeed; for where I found a crown, a Church, and a people spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks. It would cost warmer water than so! True it was, that where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft and moderate counsels, but where a sovereignty (be it spoken with reverence) was going down the hill, the nature of a man did so easily slide into the paths of an uncontrolled liberty as it would not be brought back without strength, nor be forced up the hill again but by vigour and force. And true it was indeed, I knew no other rule to govern by but by reward and punishment; and I must profess, that where I found a person well and entirely set for the service of my master, I should lay my hand under his foot, and add to his respect and power all I might, and that where I found the contrary, I should not handle him in my arms, or soothe him in his untoward humour, but if he came in my reach, so far as honour and justice would warrant me, I must knock him soundly over the knuckles; but no sooner he become a new man, apply himself as he ought to the government, but I also change my temper, and express myself to him, as unto that other, by all the good offices I could do him. If this be sharpness, if this be

\* See Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 13-22. The despatch in which Wentworth again, for the third time, details his remarkable narrative, is addressed to Wandesford, who, in the mean while, was administering the Irish government.

severity, I desired to be instructed better by his majesty and their lordships, for in truth it did not seem so to me; however, if I were once told that his majesty liked not to be thus served, I would readily conform myself, follow the bent and current of my own disposition, which is to be quiet, not to have debates and disputes with any. Here his majesty interrupted me, and said that was no severity, wished me to go on in that way, for if I served him otherwise I should not serve him as he expected from me."

Wentworth left the court for Wentworth Woodhouse loaded with the applause of the king and his lords of the council, and followed by the awful gaze of doubting multitudes.

As he passed through York he was arrested by enthusiastic friends, and with some difficulty escaped them. "I am gotten hither," he writes to Laud, "at last, to a poor house I have, having been this last week almost feasted to death at York. In truth, for anything I can find, they were not ill pleased to see me. Sure I am it much contented me to be amongst my old acquaintance, which I would not leave for any other affection I have, but to that which I both profess and owe to the person of his sacred majesty. Lord! with what quietness in myself could I live here in comparison of that noise and labour I meet with elsewhere; and, I protest, put up more crowns in my purse at the year's end too! But we'll let that pass; for I am not like to enjoy that blessed condition upon earth; and therefore my resolution is set to endure and struggle with it so long as this crazy body will bear it, and finally drop into the silent grave, where both all these (which I now could, as I think, innocently delight myself in) and myself are to be forgotten. And fare them well! I persuade myself *crux Lepido* I am able to lay them down very quietly."\*

His rest was extremely short, for he soon reappeared in York, discharged several of the duties of his presidency, and fell with all his accustomed vigour on the collection of ship-money. That famous tax had recently been levied. The same success waited upon Wentworth's present measures in respect to it as the capacity and energy which animated all he did almost invariably commanded. In every other county, murmurs, threats, and curses accompanied the payment; in Yorkshire, during Wentworth's presence, silence. His letter to the king reads like one of his Irish despatches. "In pursuit of your commands, I have effectually, both in public and private, recommended the justice and necessity of the shipping business, and so clearly shown it to be, not only for the honour of the kingdom in general, but for every man's particular safety, that I am most confident the assessment this next year will be universally and cheerfully answered within this jurisdiction."†

\* Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 26.

† In a subsequent letter Wentworth wrote: "I forget in my last humbly to offer my opinion, that in case your majesty find or apprehend any backwardness in the south, it were good the next year's writs for the shipping assessment were hastened first down into these parts, where they are sure to find no opposition or unwillingness, which example may rather further than hinder in the right way which others ought to follow elsewhere."

The lord-deputy, as the time approached for his return to his government, unburdened himself of a suit to the king which he now felt concerned him daily more and more. For the second time he entreated from Charles the honour of an earldom. He begged it in refutation of the malicious insinuations of his enemies, to prove that their calumnies were disbelieved, and to strengthen him in the eyes of the Irish. At the same time he wrote to Laud, telling him plainly the use the enemies of the late were making of the king's withholding from his deputy some public mark of his favour, and urging the danger it threatened to his authority and to the public service. Again Wentworth's suit was rejected. Since Charles's answer, his reasons for refusal had increased every way. His reply was peremptory. Believe it, the marks of my favours that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, at the little welcome I give to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants." The suit with which his majesty's letter closed did not mend the matter. "I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, a courtier, or a lover—never make a defence or apology before you be accused." The lord-deputy felt this deeply. "I wish," he wrote to Laud, "through the opinion that I stand not full to his majesty's king in my service in this place, his majesty's affairs may not suffer as well as myself. But all that as it may, I am resolved never to stir at stone more, dead to me it is to be forever. Indeed, I neither think of it, nor look for it." His friend George Butler he recommended to look for rewards and punishments in the next world; "for in good faith, George, all beings are grown wondrous indifferent." Nor did Wentworth scruple to exhibit very broadly to the king the still rankling disappointment. Out of the truth of my heart," he wrote, "and with that liberty your majesty is pleased to afford me (which shall nevertheless ever remain in all the humility, modesty, and secrecy possible), admit me to say, reward well applied advantages the services of kings extremely much; it being most certain that not one man so very many serve their masters for love, but for their own ends and preferments, and that as is in the rank of the best servants that can be content to serve his master together with himself. Finally, I am most confident, were our majesty purposed but for a while to use the excellent wisdom God hath given you in so constant, right, and quick applying of rewards and punishments, it were a thing most easy for your servants in a very few years, under your conduct and protection, so to settle all your affairs and dominions as should render you, not only at home, but abroad also, the most powerful and considerable king in Christendom."\*

With Laud, Wentworth communicated more freely on this subject, and in one of his more responding letters suddenly consoles himself with Dr. Donne and Vandyke. "I most humbly thank your lordship for your noble care and counsel tending to the preservation of my health, a free bounty it is of your love towards me, where otherwise of myself I am so wondrous little considerable to anybody else. The

Lady Astrea, the poet tells us, is long since gone to heaven, but under favour I can yet find reward and punishment on earth. Indeed, sometimes they are like Doctor Donne's 'anagram of a good face,'\* the ornaments missed, a yellow tooth, a red eye, a white lip or so! and seeing that all beauties take not all affections, one man judging that a deformity which another considers as a perfection or a grace, this, methinks, convinceth the certain uncertainty of rewards and punishments. Howsoever, he is the wisest commonly, the greatest, and happiest man, and shall surely draw the fairest table of his life, that understands, with Vandyke, how to dispose of these shadows best to make up his own comeliness and advantage."† Whereupon his grace of Canterbury warns the lord-deputy from Vandyke and Dr. Donne into the book of Ecclesiastes: "Once for all, if you will but read over the short book of Ecclesiastes, while these thoughts are in you, you will see a better disposition of these things, and the vanity of all their shadows, than is to be found in any anagrams of Dr. Donne's, or any designs of Vandyke; so to the lines there drawn I leave you."‡

Disappointed of that public mark of favour he had claimed so justly, but strengthened by private instructions from the king which left no bound or limit to his power, Lord Wentworth returned to Ireland. He resumed his measures precisely at the point in which he had left them, overawed every effort to disturb the breathless tranquillity which his energy had inspired, and under his vigilant eye the infant cultivation, manufactures, and commerce of the country began to increase and prosper. "While the subject enjoyed security from the entire suppression of internal insurrections and depredations, the royal revenues, arising from produce and consumption, experienced a rapid increase."§ This "security," however, was never felt to be other than that of absolutism, for Wentworth, hand in hand with his most striking financial improvements, carried on his inquiries into defective titles with a terrible rigour. He placed at the king's disposal the entire district of Ormond, and in his Irish exchequer the sum of £15,000, wrung from the family of the O'Byrnes in Wicklow, to redeem their possessions from a similar award. Successful in every effort he made, he did not care to call into request the new powers he had been intrusted with.

Not a messenger or a letter arrived from England, however, without news that dashed his prosperity and his pride. He saw as much

\* "Marry and love thy Flavia, for she  
Hath all things whereby others beauteous be;  
For though her eyes be small, her mouth is great;  
Though theirs be ivory, yet her teeth be jet;  
&c. &c.  
What though her cheeks be yellow, her hair's red;  
&c.  
Though all her parts be not in th' usual place,  
She hath yet the anagrams of a good face!"

Second Elegy.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 158.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

§ See his letter to Wandesford, *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 13, *et seq.*

|| Mr. MacDiarmid, whose summary of Wentworth's financial measures is very able. I have occasionally availed myself of it. See *Lives of British Statesmen*, vol. ii., p. 170-181. The despatches of the lord-deputy, in the early portion of the second volume of the *Strafford Papers*, are singularly powerful.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 41.



beyond the narrow vision of the English courtiers as his sagacity outreached theirs, and, in the hollow madness of their measures, had already discerned disastrous issues. The ruin they were precipitating, he bitterly knew would involve himself; yet he had not even the poor consolation of feeling that the only portion of the king's service that had in it any of the elements of stability, his own government, had a single hearty defender in that English court. Their praises obsequiously waited on his presence alone. Laud, indeed, was still his friend; but Laud's ecclesiastical administration had by this time wellnigh incapacitated its master for any purpose of good. The popular party in England, meanwhile, taking advantage of the occasion, raised a loud and violent voice of clamour against the lord-deputy of Ireland. He flung it back, in the hasty self-bullying of his will, with a contemptuous scorn;\* but he knew secretly its power, and in his graver despatches warned the court from leaving him unprotected to its effects: "With the disesteem of the governor," he wrote, "the government shall impair, if not in the existence, sure in the beauty of it, which is as considerable as that most men are guided and guide themselves by opinion. So as, if you will have my philosophy in the point, let no prince employ a servant longer than he is resolved to have him valued and esteemed by others, thorough those powers he shall manifest to be intrusted with him." Still he saw no symptoms of what he desired, and at last he wrote personally to the king. "Sir," he said, "I take my natural inclinations to be extremely much more tender and gentle than the smooth looks and cheeks of your ministers on that side find in their own bosoms, and yet heighten the cry upon me!" But Charles had now the queen's influence in many respects upon him, and the queen was not displeased to hear of the sinking fortunes of Wentworth. Lord Holland, her favourite counsellor, was even heard to insinuate that the lord-deputy was subject to occasional touches of madness. This, among the other reports, came to Wentworth's ear. He charged it upon Holland, who denied it, confessing he might have attributed "hypochondriac humours," certainly not madness. Wentworth wrote back to the king: "As for the 'hypochondriac humour' his lordship mentions, it is a great word and a courtly phrase; but if I mistake not the English of it,

\* "In truth," he wrote to Laud, "I still wish (and take it also to be a very charitable one) Mr. Hamden and others to his likeness were well whipt into their right senses; if that the rod be so used as that it smarts not, I am the more sorry. One good remedy were to send for your chimney-sweeper of Oxford, who will sing you a song made of one Bond, it seems a schoolmaster of the free-school of St. Paul's, London, and withal show how to jerk, to temper the voice, to guide the hand, to lay on the rod excellently; sure I am he made me laugh heartily when I was there last; and the chancellor of the University might with a word fetch up to your lordship at Lambeth both the person and the poems (for I must tell you there is the second, if not the third part of the song), and then bring but Mr. Hamden and Bond in place, and it may every way prove a three man's song. But fetch in the nobleman you mention, and then it may chance to prove a very full concert! As well as I think of Mr. Hamden's abilities, I take his will and peevishness to be full as great, and without diminution to him, judge the other, howbeit not the father of the country (a title some will not stick to give unto them both, to put them, if it be possible, the faster and farther out of their wits), the very *sinicupit*, the vertical point of the whole faction."—*Stratford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 158.

it is to be civilly and silently maddish; and if so, I can assure his lordship, he shall find as little of that in me as of any other more active heat. But I shall not stir that matter farther, only, if it be denied his lordship said I was mad, it were very easy to show his memory might fail him sometimes. . . . Your majesty may be pleased to excuse this foul writing, being in truth so tormented in the present with the toothache, as troubles my sense more than the mistaken reports of any others shall do. Sad indeed were the bodily infirmities which exasperated these complainings of the lord-deputy. The gout, the toothache, the ague, an intermittent pulse, faint sweats and heaviness, and, to crown all, the frightful disorder of the stone, alternately broke his spirits, and warned him "that no long life awaited him here below!"

What still remained to him, he yet resolved to live out bravely. "A frame of wood," he writes to Laud, "I have given order to set up in a park I have in the county of Wicklow. And, gnash the tooth of these gallants never so hard, I will, by God's leave, go on with it, that so I may have a place to take my recreation for a month or two in a year, were it for no other reason than to displease them, by keeping myself, if so please God, a little longer in health."† Among other reports to his prejudice had been that of "building up to the sky."‡ We find him afterward adverting to this: "I acknowledge, that were myself only considered in what I build, it were not only to excess, but even to folly, having already houses moderate for my condition in Yorkshire; but his majesty will justify me, that at my last being in England, I acquainted him with a purpose I had to build him a house at the Naas, it being uncomely his majesty should not have one here of his own, capable to lodge him with moderate convenience (which, in truth, as yet he hath not), in case he might be pleased sometimes hereafter to look upon this kingdom; and that it was necessary in a manner, for the dignity of this place, and the health of his deputy and family, that there should be one removing house of fresh air, for want whereof, I assure your lordship, I have felt no small inconvenience since my coming hither; that when it was built, if liked by his majesty, it should be his, paying me as it cost—if disliked, *a mo damno*, I was content to keep it, and smart for my folly. His majesty seemed to be pleased with all, whereupon I proceeded, and have, in a manner, finished it, and so contrived it for the rooms of state, and other accommodations which I have observed in his majesty's houses, as I had been, indeed, stark mad ever to have cast it so for a private family."‡

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 106.

† *Ibid.*, p. 107. His expensive repairs of the Castle of Dublin had also been reproached to him. But on his first arrival he had certainly alleged a good case of necessity to Cooke: "This castle is in very great decay. I have been enforced to take down one of the great towers, which was ready to fall, and the rest are so crazy as we are still in fear part of it might drop down upon our heads."—Vol. i., p. 131.

‡ The remains of this building, which was called Juggaretowne Castle, are visible still, and, I am informed by gentlemen who have seen them, sufficiently indicate its extraordinary grandeur and extent. They cover several acres. They are close to the road-side, about sixteen Irish miles from Dublin, and provoke, even now, from many an un-

Between these two royal residences Wentworth now divided a great portion of his time. His mode of living equalled in magnificence the houses themselves. At his own charge he maintained a retinue of 50 attendants, besides his troop of 100 horse, which he had originally raised and equipped at an expense of £6000, and kept up at an enormous yearly cost. This style of living, which he took care to bear out in every other respect, he characteristically vindicated to Cottington as "an expense, not of vanity, but of necessity, judging it not to become me, having the great honour to represent his majesty's sacred person, to act it forth, no, not in any one circumstance, in a penurious mean manner, before the eyes of a wild and rude people."\* Nor did he scruple to conceal the fact that his own private fortune had been assisted, in these vast charges, by certain public profits. "It is very true," he writes to Laud, "I have, under the blessing of Almighty God, and the protection of his majesty, £6000 a year good land, which I brought with me into his service; and I have a share for a short term in these customs, which, while his majesty's revenue is there increased more than £20,000 by year, proves nevertheless a greater profit to me than ever I dreamed of." When Laud read this passage to Charles, the king observed, impatiently, "But he doth not tell you how much;" and plainly intimated that he grudged the minister his share of profit.† Wentworth had few occasions of gratitude to Charles during a life worn out in his service! In respect of these customs, it is not to be doubted that Charles's suspicions were grossly unjust. He would have had more of abstract justice with him in objecting to a different source of his lord-deputy's revenue, that of the tobacco monopoly, for, on the latter ground, undoubtedly, Wentworth was open to grave charges, though even here the king was the last person from whom with any propriety they could issue.

The lord-deputy's private habits have been described. He hawked, he hunted,\* and fish-

ed,† whenever his infirmities gave him respite. He passed some of his time also among books, and, in one portion at least of these studies, had his thoughts upon a stormy political future. "I wish," writes his friend Lord Conway to him, "you had had your fit of the gout in England, lest you should attribute something of the disease to the air of that country. I send you the Duke of Rohan's book, 'Le parfait Capitaine.' Do not think the gout is an excuse from fighting, for the Count Mansfelt had the gout that day he fought the battle of Fleury."‡ In the pleasures of the table he indulged little. "He was exceeding temperate," observes Radcliffe, "in meat, drink, and recreations. He was no whit given to his appetite; though he loved to see good meat at his table, yet he ate very little of it himself; beef or rabbits was his ordinary food, or cold powdered meats, or cheese and apples, and in moderate quantity. He was never drunk in his life, as I have often heard him say; and for so much as I had seen, I had reason to believe him; yet he was not so scrupulous but he would drink healths where he liked his company, and be sociable as any of his society, and yet still within the bounds of temperance. In Ireland, where drinking was grown a disease epidemical, he was more strict publicly, never suffering any health to be drunk at his public table but the king's, queen's, and prince's, on solemn days. Drunkenness in his servants was, in his esteem, one of the greatest faults." Throughout his various admirable letters to his young wards, the Saviles, in whose education he took extreme interest always, the hatred of this vice is still more characteristically shown. He returns to the warning again and again, coupling with drunkenness the equal vice of gaming: the one a "pursuit not becoming a generous, noble heart, which will not brook such starved considerations as the greed of winning;" the other, one "that

father to the lady." These are Wentworth's words. The chancellor refused to submit to the judgment on the ground that the action ought to have been brought in the ordinary courts of law, and that the tribunal before which it was tried was both illegal and partial. Wentworth, upon this, had resorted to his usual severity, and was now waiting its issue with the king. It may be worth stating, that mistakes have been made with respect to the name of the lady chiefly affected in this case by Mr. MacDiarmid and other writers, in consequence of Sir John Gifford having brought the original action. She was Lady Loftus, not Lady Gifford.

\* For some accounts of his fishing exploits, see Papers, vol. ii., p. 213, &c. Laud appears to have relished the lord-deputy's presents of "dried fish" amazingly, and to have been anything but fond of his "hung beef out of Yorkshire." His grace had a shrewd eye to appetite: "Since you are for both occupations, flesh and fish, I wonder you do not think of powdering or drying some of your Irish venison, and send that over to brag too."

† Laud writes, "I have of late heard some muttering about it in court, but can meet with nothing to fasten on: only it makes me doubt somebody hath been nibbling about it."—See *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 127.

‡ Wittily he writes to Laud, "We are in expectation every hour to hear what becomes of us and the lord-chancellor—to say the plain truth, whether we shall have a government or no; and to the intent that I might be the better in *utrumque paratus*, at this present I am playing the Robin Hood, and here in the country of mountains and woods hunting and chasing all the out-lying deer I can light of. But, to confess truly, I met with a very shrewd rebuke the other day; for, standing to get a shoot at a buck, I was so damnable bitten with midges as my face is all mazed over ever since, itches still as if it were mad. The marks they set will not go off again. I will awarrant you, this week I never felt or saw such in England. Surely they are younger brothers to the muskitoes the ladies brag on so much. I protest, I could even now well find in my heart to play the shrew soundly, and scratch my face in six or seven places."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 173. This allusion to the lord-chancellor had reference to a judgment recently given against that dignitary by Wentworth himself, in a suit brought against him by Sir John Gifford, on behalf of Sir Francis Ruishe, for an increase of portion to the lady who had married young Loftus: "According to the lord-chancellor's own clear agreement with Sir Francis Ruishe,

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 45. Some of Lord Conway's letters referred to matters not quite so decent, and the lord-deputy's replies gave him no advantage on that score. See *Papers*, vol. ii., p. 144-146. Conway's acquaintance with his intrigues has already received notice, and the following passage from one of Wentworth's letters to this confidant is not a little significant: "I desire your judgment of the enclosed, which was written to this your servant the other day, and chancing to open and read it in the presence, I burst out before I got it read, that the standers-by wondered what merry tale it might be that letter told me. But I must conjure you to send it me back, not to trust it forth of your hands, only if you will, I am content you show it my Lord of Northumberland and my Lady of Carlisle, lest if it were shown to others they might judge me *Vane*, or something else, of so princely a favour! For less, the least of her commands are not to be taken—what, then, may we term these her earnest desires?"

shall send you, by unequal staggering paces, to your grave, with confusion of face."<sup>\*</sup>

No public duty was neglected meanwhile, for from his country parks and castles Wentworth in an hour or two could appear in the Dublin presence-chamber. The king sent him every license he required against the Lord-chancellor Loftus; and that nobleman, for having disputed the judicial functions of the deputy, "that transcendent power of a chancellor," as Wentworth scornfully called him, was deprived of the seals, and committed to prison till he consented to submit to the award and to acknowledge his error.†

But while the king thus secretly authorized these acts of despotism, the English court, no less than the English nation, were known to be objecting to their author. Impatiently he wrote to Laud, demanding at least the charge, something on which to ground an issue. "The humour which offends me," he exclaims, "is not so much anger as scorn, and desire to wrest out from among them my charge; for, as they say, if I might come to fight for my life, it would never trouble me—indeed, I should then weigh them all very light, and be safe under the goodness, wisdom, and justice of my master. Again, howbeit I am resolved of the truth of all this, yet to accuse myself is very uncomely. I love not to put on my armour before there be cause, in regard I never do so but I find myself the wearier and sorer for it the next morning."

He could get no satisfactory answer to this, for in truth the English court by this time had enough upon its hands. The king meditated a war with Spain for the recovery of the palatinate, to which he was the rather urged by the queen, since France had already engaged. Fortunately, before taking this step, he was induced to advise with the lord-deputy of Ireland. This was the first time Wentworth had ever been consulted on the general affairs of the kingdom, and he instantly forwarded a paper of opposing reasons to the king, so strongly and so ably stated that the war project was given up.‡ The queen's indifferent feeling to him, it may well be supposed, was not removed by such policy.§

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 169, &c. And see an admirable letter at p. 311 of *vq.* ii.

† This case was brought forward at the impeachment, and was much aggravated by a discovery, which has been before named, in reference to the young Lady Loftus. "In the preferring this charge," says Clarendon, "many things of levity, as certain letters of great affection and familiarity from the earl to that lady, which were found in her cabinet after her death, others of passion, were exposed to the public view" (vol. i., p. 175). Ample details of the entire course of the transaction will be found in referring to the *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 67, *et seq.*, 82, 160, *et seq.*, 172, *et seq.*, 179, 196, 205, 227, *et seq.*, 259, *et seq.*, 298, 341, 369, 375, 389.

‡ The document will be found in the *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 60-64. It is one of the ablest of Wentworth's arguments for his scheme of absolute power. He takes occasion to say in it, "The opinion delivered by the judges, declaring the lawfulness of the assignment for the shipping, is the greatest service that profession hath done the crown in my time."

§ It ought to be stated, to Wentworth's honour, that, though he much desired to have stood well with her majesty, he declined to purchase her favour by acts inconsistent with his own public schemes. See curious evidences of this in *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 221, 222, 257, 329, 425, 426, &c. When she had solicited an army appointment for some young courtier, he wrote an earnest entreaty to her chamberlain, accompanying his reasons for declining

The peace, however, which Lord Wentworth so earnestly recommended was now more fatally broken. The whole Scottish nation rose against Charles, in consequence of Laud's religious innovations. Wentworth was not at first consulted respecting these commotions, but he had thrown out occasional advice in his despatches which was found singularly serviceable.\* He strove as far as possible, by urging strong defensive measures, to prevent an open rupture. "If," he wrote to Charles, "the war were with a foreign enemy, I should like well to have the first blow; but being with your majesty's own natural, howbeit rebellious subjects, it seems to me a tender point to draw blood first; for, till it come to that, all hope is not lost of reconciliation; and I would not have them with the least colour impute it to your majesty to have put all to extremity till their own more than words enforce you to it."†

Nor did Wentworth serve Charles at this juncture with advice alone, for by his amazing personal energy he forced down some opening commotions among the 60,000 Scottish settlers in Ulster, and not only disabled them from joining or assisting their countrymen, but compelled them to abjure the covenant.‡ Nor this alone. He forwarded from Ireland a detachment of troops to garrison Carlisle; he announced that the army of Ireland was in a state of active recruiting and discipline; he offered large contributions from himself and his friends towards the necessary expenses of resistance; and by every faith of loyalty, and bond of friendship and of service, he called on every man in Yorkshire to stir himself in the royal cause. "To be lazy lookers on," he wrote to the Lord Lorne, "to lean to the king behind the curtain, or to whisper forth only our allegiance, will not serve our turn! much rather ought we to break our shine in emulation who should go soonest and farthest, in assurance and in courage, to uphold the prerogatives and full dominion of the crown; ever remembering ourselves that nobility is such a grudging and envied piece of monarchy, that all tumultuary force offered to kings doth ever, in the second place, fall upon the peers, being such motes in the eyes of a giddy multitude as they never believe themselves clear-sighted into their liberty indeed till these be at least levelled to a parity as the other altogether removed, to give better prospect to their anarchy."§

The sluggish and irresolute councils of England looked ill beside the movements of the deputy. The king asked a service from him, but the instructions came too late. "If his majesty's mind had been known to me in time," he wrote to Vane, the treasurer of the household, "I could have as easily secured it against all the covenanters and devils in Scotland as

the appointment: "If I may by you understand her majesty's good pleasure, it will be a mighty quietness unto me; for if once these places of command in the army become suits at court, looked upon as preferments and portions for younger children, the honour of this government, and, consequently, the prosperity of these affairs, are lost." The king himself appears to have made it a personal request of Wentworth, that he should carry himself "with all duty and respect to her majesty."—Vol. ii., p. 256.

\* See vol. ii., p. 191, 192, 225, 226, 324, &c.

† *Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 314.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 370, 338, 345.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

now walk up and down this chamber; but where trusts and instructions come too late, there the business is sure to be lost." Openly he now expressed his censure of the royal scheme that had prevailed since the death of Buckingham. "I never was in love with that way of keeping all the affairs of that kingdom of Scotland among those of that nation, but carried indeed as a mystery to all the council of England; a rule but over much kept by our master, which I have told my Lord of Portland many and often a time, plainly professing unto him that I was much afraid that course would at one time or other bring forth ill effects; what those are, we now see and feel at one and the same instant." Finally, when Vane had written in an extremely desponding tone, he rallied him with a noble energy. "It is very true you have reason to think this storm looks very foul and dark towards us, so do also myself; for if the fire should kindle at Raby, I am sure the smoke would give offence to our eyesight at Woodhouse! but I trust the evening will prove more calm than the morning of this day promises. *Dulcius lumen solis esse solet jam jam cadentis*. All here is quiet; nothing colours yet to the contrary. And if I may have the countenance and trust of my master, I hope, in the execution of such commands as his majesty's wisdom and judgment ordain for me, to contain the Scottish hero in their due obedience, or, if they should stir (our 8000 arms and twenty pieces of cannon arrived, which I trust now will be very shortly), to give them such a heat in their cloaths as they never had since their coming forth of Scotland! And yet our standing army here is but 1000 horse and 2000 foot, and not fewer of them, I will warrant you, than 150,000, so you see our work is not very easy. The best of it is, the brawn of a lark is better than the carcass of a kite, and the virtue of one loyal subject more than of 1000 traitors. And is not this pretty well, trow you, to begin with!"\*

No extremity was urged that found Wentworth unprepared. Windebanke hinted the danger he incurred. "I humbly thank you," he answered, "for your friendly and kind wishes to my safety, but if it be the will of God to bring upon us for our sins that fiery trial, all the respects of this life laid aside, it shall appear more by my actions than words that I can never think myself too good to die for my gracious master, or favour my skin in the zealous and just prosecution of his commands. *Statum est semel*." Another—whom he fancied not unwilling to thwart him, reckoning upon safety from the consequences in the lord-deputy's certain destruction—he thus warned: "Perchance even to those that shall tell you before their breath I am but as a feather, I shall be found sadder than lead! for let me tell you, I am so confidently set upon the justice of my master, and upon my own truth, as under them and God I shall pass thorough all the factions of court and heat of my ill-willers without so much as singding the least thread of my coat, nor so alone, but to carry my friends

along with me." And, in the midst of the storms his measures were raising on all sides round him, he found time and ease enough to amuse himself in tormenting with grave jests a foolish Earl of Antrim, whom the king had sent to "assist" him. The despatches he wrote on the subject of the "Antrim negotiations" are positive masterpieces of wit and humour.\* At the same time, he did not hesitate to assure the king that, but for the safety of Ireland, he would "be most mightily out of countenance to be found in any other place than at his majesty's side!"

Charles acknowledged these vast services with frequent letters. Wentworth was now his great hope, and he found, at last, that at all risks he must have him in England. He had formerly declined his offered attendance—he now prayed for it. He wished, he said, to consult him respecting the army, "but I have much more," he sorrowfully added, "and indeed too much, to desire your counsel and attendance for some time, which I think not fit to express by letter, more than this—the Scots' covenant begins to spread too far. Yet, for all this, I will not have you take notice that I have sent for you, but pretend some other occasion of business."

Wentworth instantly prepared himself to obey. A short time only he took to place his government in the hands of Wandesford and to arrange some of his domestic concerns. His children were his great care. "God bless the young whelps," he said, "and for the old dog there is less matter."† Lady Clare, his mother-in-law, had often requested to have the elder girl with her, and Wentworth had as often vainly tried to let her leave his side. His passion was to see them all near him in a group together, as they may yet be seen in the undying colours of Vandyke, from whose canvass, also, as though it had been painted yesterday, the sternly expressive countenance of their father still gazes at posterity. The present was a time, however, when the sad alternative of a separation from himself promised him alleviation even, and he resolved to send both sisters to their grandmother. The letter he despatched on the occasion to the Lady Clare remains, and it is too touching and beautiful to be omitted here. A man so burdened with the world's accusations as Strafford should be denied none of the advantage which such a document can render to his memory. It is unnecessary to direct attention to its singularly characteristic conclusion:

"My Lord of Clare having writ unto me your ladyship desired to have my daughter

\* See the Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 187, 204, 211, 289, et seq., 300, et seq., 321, et seq., 325, 331, 334, 339, 353, 356. It is not too much to say that, in reading these papers, the memory is called to the Swifts of past days, and the Fonblanques of our own. The poor lord's pretensions are most ludicrously set forth, and in a vein of exquisite pleasantry, but little consistent with the popular notion of Strafford's unbending sternness.

† See various letters in the course of his correspondence, in which the most tender enthusiasm is expressed for them and for their dead mother (vol. i., p. 236; vol. ii., p. 123, 123, 146, 379, 380). Nor was his affection less warmly expressed to the child of his living wife. In several affectionate letters to the latter he never fails to send his blessing to "the baby" or to "little Tom." Shortly before this visit to England, however, the latter died, and shortly after it, a girl was born.

\* This letter is dated "Fairwood Park [the name of his seat in Wicklow], this 16th of April, 1639. I will change it with you, if you will, for Fair Lane."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 325-326.

Anne with you for a time in England, to recover her health, I have at last been able to yield so much from my own comfort, as to send both her and her sister to wait your grave, wise, and tender instructions. They are both, I praise God, in good health, and bring with them hence from me no other advice, but entirely and cheerfully to obey and do all you shall be pleased to command them, so far forth as their years and understanding may administer unto them.

"I was unwilling to part them, in regard those that must be a stay one to another, when by course of nature I am gone before them. I would not have them grow strangers whilst I am living. Besides, the younger gladly imitates the elder, in disposition so like her blessed mother, that it pleases me very much to see her steps followed and observed by the other.

"Madam, I must confess, it was not without difficulty before I could persuade myself thus to be deprived the looking upon them, who, with their brother, are the pledges of all the comfort, the greatest at least, of my old age, if it shall please God I attain thereunto. But I have been brought up in afflictions of this kind, so as I still fear to have that taken first that is dearest unto me, and have in this been content willingly to overcome my own affections in order to their good, acknowledging your ladyship capable of doing them more good in their breeding than I am. Otherways, in truth, I should never have parted with them, as I profess it a grief unto me not to be able as well as any to serve the memory of that noble lady in these little harmless infants.

"Well, to God's blessing and your ladyship's goodness I commit them! where-ever they are, my prayers shall attend them, and have of sorrow in my heart till I see them again I must, which I trust will not be long neither. That they shall be acceptable unto you, I know it right well, and I believe them so graciously minded to render themselves so the more, the more you see of their attention to do as you shall be pleased to direct them, which will be of much contentment unto me; for, whatever your ladyship's opinion may be of me, I desire, and have given it them in charge (so far as their tender years are capable of), to honour and observe your ladyship above all the women in the world, as well knowing that in so doing they shall fulfil that duty whereby of all others they could have delighted their mother the most; and I do infinitely wish they may want nothing in their breeding my power or cost might procure them, or their condition of life hereafter may require; for, madam, if I die to-morrow, I will, by God's help, leave them ten thousand pounds apiece, which I trust, by God's blessing, shall bestow them to the comfort of themselves and friends, nor at all considerably prejudice their brother, whose estate shall never be much burdened by a second venter, I assure you.

"I thought fit to send with them one that teacheth them to write; he is a quiet, soft man, but honest, and not given to any disorder; him I have appointed to account for the money to be laid forth, wherein he hath no other direction but to pay and lay forth as your ladyship shall appoint, and still as he wants to go to

Woodhouse, where my cousin Rockley will supply him. And I must humbly beseech you to give order to their servants, and otherwise to the taylors at London for their apparel, which I wholly submit to your ladyship's better judgment, and be it what it may be, I shall think it all happily bestowed, so as it be to your contentment and theirs, for cost I reckon not of; and anything I have is theirs so long as I live, which is only worth thanks, for theirs and their brother's all I have must be whether I will or no, and therefore I desire to let them have to acknowledge me for before.

"Nan, they tell me, danceth prettily, which I wish (if with convenience it might be) were not lost, more to give her a comely grace in the carriage of her body, than that I wish they should much delight or practise it when they are women. Arabella is a small practitioner that way also, and they are both very apt to learn that, or anything they are taught.

"Nan, I think, speaks French prettily, which yet I might have been better able to judge had her mother lived. The other also speaks, but her maid being of Guernsey, the accent is not good. But your ladyship is in this excellent, as that, as indeed all things else which may benefit them, they may, and I hope will, learn better with your ladyship than they can with their poor father, ignorant in what belongs women, and otherways, God knows, distracted, and so awanting unto them in all, saving in loving them, and therein, in truth, I shall never be less than the dearest parent in the world!

"Their brother is just now sitting by my elbow, in good health, God be praised; and I am in the best sort accommodating this place for him, which, in the kind, I take to be the noblest one of them in the king's dominions, and where a grass time may be passed with most pleasure of that kind. I will build him a good house, and by God's help, leave, I think, near three thousand pounds a year, and wood on the ground, as much, I dare say, if near London, as would yield fifty thousand pounds, besides a house within twelve miles of Dublin, the best in Ireland, and land to it which, I hope, will be two thousand pounds a year, all which he shall have to the rest, had I twenty brothers of his to sitt beside me. This I write not to your ladyship in vanity, or to have it spoken of, but privately, to let your ladyship see I do not forget the children of my dearest wife, nor altogether bestow my time fruitlessly for them. It is true I am in debt, but there will be, besides, sufficient to discharge all I owe, by God's grace, whether I live or die. And next to these children, there are not any other persons I wish more happiness than to the house of their grandfather, and shall be always most ready to serve them, what opinion soever be had of me, for no others' usage can absolve me of what I owe not only to the memory, but to the last legacy that noble creature left with me when God took her to himself. I am afraid to turn over the leaf, lest your ladyship might think I could never come to a conclusion; and shall, therefore," &c.

He had arranged everything for his departure, when one of his paroxysms of illness seized him. He wrestled with it desperately, and set sail. On landing at Chester, he wrote to

Lady Wentworth a sad description of the effects of the journey upon his gout, and the "flux" which afflicted him. He rallied, however, and appeared in London in November, 1639. In a memorable passage, the historian May has described the general conversation and conjecture which had prepared for his approach. Some, he says, remembering his early exertions in the cause of the people, fondly imagined that he had hitherto been subservient to the court only to ingratiate himself thoroughly with the king, and that he would now employ his ascendancy to wean his majesty from arbitrary counsels. Others, who knew his character more profoundly, had different thoughts, and secretly cherished their own most active energies.

Wentworth, Laud, and Hamilton instantly formed a secret council—a "cabinet council," as they were then enviously named by the other courtiers—a "junto," as the people reproachfully called them. The nature of the measures to be taken against the Scots was variously and earnestly discussed, and Wentworth, considering the extremity of affairs, declared at once for war.

Supplies to carry it on formed a more difficult question still, but it sank before Wentworth's energy. He proposed a loan—subscribed to it at once, by way of example, the enormous sum of £20,000—and pledged himself to bring over a large subsidy from Ireland, if the king would call a Parliament there. Encouraged by this assurance, it was resolved to call a Parliament in England also. Laud, Juxon, Hamilton, Wentworth, Cottington, Vane, and Windebanke were all present in council when this resolution was taken. The king then put the question to them whether, upon the restiveness of Parliament, they would assist him "by extraordinary ways." They assented, passed a vote to that effect, writs for Parliaments in both countries were issued, and Wentworth prepared himself to quit England.

Charles, unsolicited, now invested him with the dignity of earldom. His own very existence seemed dependant on Wentworth's faith, and there was sufficient weakness in the character of the king to render it possible for him to suppose that, even at such a time, the indocement of reward might be necessary as a precaution. The lord-deputy was created Earl of Strafford and Baron of Raby, adorned with the Garter, and invested with the title of Lord-lieutenant, or Lieutenant-general of Ireland—a title which had not been given since the days of Essex. "God willing," wrote Strafford to his wife immediately after, "you will soon see the lieutenant of Ireland, but never like to have a deputy of Ireland to your husband any more."\*

On his way to Ireland, the earl was overtaken at Beaumaris by a severe attack of gout, yet, still able to move, he hurried on board, notwithstanding the contrary winds, lest he should be thrown down utterly. He wrote, at the

same time, to Secretary Cooke, in the highest spirits, to assure him and his master that they need not fear for his weakness. "For," exclaims the lord-lieutenant, "I will make strange shift, and put myself to all the pain I shall be able to endure, before I be anywhere wanting to my master or his affairs in this conjuncture, and, therefore, sound or lame, you shall have me with you before the beginning of the Parliament. I should not fail, though SIR JOHN ELIOT were living! In the mean space, for love of Christ, call upon and hasten the business now in hand, especially the raising of the horse and all together, the rather, for that this work now before us, should it miscarry, we all are like to be very miserable; but, carried through advisedly and gallantly, shall by God's blessing set us in safety and peace for our lives at after, nay, in probability, the generations that are to succeed us. *Fi a faute de courage, je n'en aye que trop!* What might I be with my legs, that am so brave without the use of them? Well, halt, blind, or lame, I will be found true to the person of my gracious master, to the service of his crown and my friends." Strange that, at such a moment, Lord Strafford should have recalled the memory of the virtuous and indomitable Eliot! He was soon doomed to know on whose shoulders the mantle of Buckingham's great opponent had fallen.

In March, 1640, Strafford again arrived in Ireland. The members of the Parliament that had just been summoned crowded round him with lavish devotion, gave him four subsidies, which was all that he had desired, and declared that that was nothing in respect to their zeal, for that "his majesty should have the fee-simple of their estates for his great occasions." In a formal declaration, moreover, they imbodyed all this, declared that their present warm loyalty rose from a deep sense of the inestimable benefits the lord-lieutenant had conferred upon their country, and that all these benefits had been effected "without the least hurt or grievance to any well-disposed subject."† The authors of this declaration were the first to turn upon Strafford in his distress. Valuing their praise for its worth in the way of example, the earl forwarded it to England, and requested it to be published to the empire.

He had now been a fortnight in Ireland. Within that time, with a diligence unparalleled and almost incredible, he had effected these results with the Parliament, and levied a body of 8000 men as a re-enforcement to the royal army.‡ He again set sail for England.

I pause here to illustrate the character of this extraordinary person in one respect, which circumstances are soon to make essential. His infirmities of health have frequently been alluded to, but they come now upon the scene more fatally. No one, that has not carefully examined all his despatches, can have any notion of their frightful nature and extent.

The soul of the Earl of Strafford was indeed lodged, to use the expression of his favourite Donne, within a "low and fatal room." We have already seen his friend Radcliffe informing us that in 1622 "he had a great fever, and

\* Letter in the Thoresby Museum, *Biog. Brit.*, vol. vii., p. 4162. Some days before he had written to her characteristic news of his children. "The two wenches," he said, "are in perfect health, and now, at this instant, in this house, lodged with me, and rather desirous to be so than with their grandmother. I am not yet fully resolved what to do with them." They were afterward sent back to Lady Clare till the Lady Strafford arrived in London.

\* See Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 396, 397. Rushworth, vol. iii., p. 1051. Nalson, vol. i., p. 280-284.

† See Radcliffe's Essay.

the next spring a double tertian, and after his recovery a relapse into a single tertian, and a while after a burning fever." It is melancholy to follow the progress of his infirmities, as they are casually recorded by himself: how the trouble of "an humour, which in strict acceptation you might term the gout," soon increases to "an extreme fit, which renders him unfit, not only for business, but for all handsome civility," and is aggravated by "so violent a fit of the stone, as I shall not be able to stir these ten days: it hath brought me very low, and was unto me a torment for three days and three nights above all I ever endured since I was a man!" how the eyes that are "these twelve days full of dimness," ere long are "scarce able to guide his pen thorough blindness with long writing;" and this, too, while "an infirmity I have formerly had in great measure, saluteth me, to wit, an intermitting pulse, attended with faint sweats and heaviness of spirits!"

But ever by the side of the body's weakness we find a witness of the spirit's triumph—a vindication of the mightiness of will! A lengthened despatch to the secretary is begun in "a fit of the gout, which, keeping me still in bed, partly with pain and partly with weariness, makes me unfit for much business." When he entreats a correspondent to "pardon my scribbling, for since the gout took me I am not able to write but with both my legs along upon a stool, believe me, which is not only wearisome in itself, but a posture very untoward for guiding my pen aright," it is with the consolation that, "as Sir Walter Raleigh said very well, so the heart lie right, it skills not much for all the rest." And the advice to "forbear his night watches, and now begin to take more care of his health," is met by the assurance that, "had he fivescore senses to lose, he did and ought to judge them all well and happily bestowed in his majesty's service!"

On the occasion of this last return to England, however, even what has been described would serve little to express what he suffered. Then, when every energy was to be taxed to the uttermost, the question of his fiery spirit's supremacy was indeed put to the issue by a complication of ghastly diseases! In the letter from Dublin, dated Good Friday, 1640, which assures the king that "from this table I shall go on shipboard," he is compelled to add that, "besides my gout, I have a very violent and ill-conditioned flux upon me, such as I never had before. It hath held me already these seven days, and brought me so weak, as in good faith nothing that could concern myself should make me go a mile forth of my chamber. *But this is not a season for bemoaning of myself; for I shall cheerfully venture this crazed vessel of mine, and either, by God's help, wait upon your majesty before the Parliament begin, or else deposit this infirm humanity of mine in the dust!*" And "from the table" on "shipboard" he went accordingly, and arrived at Chester on the 4th of April, quite broken down by the fatigues of a rough voyage. "I confess," he writes, "that I forced the captain to sea against his will, and have since received my correction for it. A marvellous foul and dangerous night, indeed, we have had of it!" In this state he

despatches the following letter to the king: "May it please your sacred majesty,—With some danger I wrought thorough a storm at sea, yet light on a greater misfortune here in harbour, having now got the gout in both my feet, attended with that ill habit of health I brought from Dublin. I purposed to have been on my way again early this morning, but the physician disadviseth it; and in truth, such is my pain and weakness, as I verily believe I were not able to endure it. Nevertheless, I have provided myself of a litter, and will try to-morrow how I am able to bear travel, which if possible I can do, then by the grace of God will I not rest till I have the honour to wait upon your majesty. In the mean time, it is most grievous unto me to be thus kept from those duties which I owe your majesty's service on this great and important occasion. In truth, sir, in my whole life I never desired health more than now, if it shall so please God; not that I can be so vain as to judge myself equally considerable with many other of your servants, but that I might give my own heart the contentment to be near your commands, in case I might be so happy as to be of some small use to my most gracious master in such a conjuncture of time and affairs as this is. God long preserve your majesty."

Next, he dictates a long despatch to the Earl of Northumberland, and attempts, at least, to conclude it with his own hand: "And yet, howbeit I am much resolved and set on all occasions for your service, will my weary hand be able to carry on my pen not one line farther, than only in a word to write myself, in all truth and perfection, your lordship's most humbly to be commanded, STRAFFORDE."

I quote also from this despatch to Northumberland an extraordinary incident which occurred on this occasion, and which illustrates his unremitting vigilance in matters which he could hardly have been expected to superintend even under far more favourable circumstances. "Upon my landing at Nesson I observed a Scottish ship there riding upon her anchors, of some six or seven score ton, and of some eight or ten pieces of ordnance, and here in town I learn that the ship belongs to Irwin, that she was fraught by some merchants here with sacks, and that the master, now in town, is this morning to receive some £600 for freight. Hereupon, considering the day for the general imbargo is so instant, as your lordship knows, I have privately advised the merchants to stay payment of the freight until to-morrow, and will give present direction for the apprehension of the master and his mate, now in town. I have also spoken to the customers to send down to Nesson to arrest the said ship upon pretence of cozening the king in his customs, for which the master is to be examined, and, however, the ship to be fraught for the king's service for the transportation of these men. I have likewise given command to Captain Bartlett presently to repair thither, to be assistant therein to the officers of the customs, and before his leaving the port to see execution of all this, as also to take forth of her all her Scottish mariners, her sails and guns, and to bring them on shore, leaving only aboard such English mariners as shall be sufficient to send the ship there, till

farther directions. Thus will she lye fair and open for your arrest, and perchance prove your best prize of that kind, and really being manned with English mariners, which may be pressed for that occasion, be of all other the fittest vessel for the transportation of your men and ammunition to Dunbarton. If I have been over-diligent herein, in doing more than (I confess) I have commission for, I humbly crave your lordship's pardon, and hope the rather to obtain it, in regard it is a fault easily mended, for my honest Blue-cap will be hereby so affrighted, as the delivery back unto him of his freight, goods, and ship will sufficiently fulfil his desires and contentment."

A letter written the following day to Windebanke is most eminently characteristic: "I thank you," he says, "for your good wishes, that I might be free of the gout; but a deaf spirit I find it, that will neither hear nor be persuaded to reason. My pain, I thank God, is gone, yet I am not able to walk once about the chamber, such a weakness hath it left behind. Nevertheless, my obstinacy is as great as formerly, for it shall have much more to do before it make me leave my station in these uncertain times. *Of all things I love not to put off my cloaths and go to bed in a storm.* The lieutenant," he proceeds, "that made the false muster, cannot be too severely punished. If you purpose to overcome that evil, you must fall upon the first transgressors like lightning!"

Beside such zealousness as Strafford's, the devotion of others was like to come tardily off. The letter to Windebanke proceeds: "The proxies of the Irish nobility I have received and transmitted over. I cannot but observe how cautious still your great friend, my Lord of St. Alban's, is, lest he might seem to express his affections towards the king with too much frankness and confidence. Lord! how willing he is, by doing something, as good as nothing, to let you see how well contented he would be to disserve the crown, if it were in his power, as indeed it is not. But if his good lordship and his fellows were left to my handling, I should quickly teach them better duties, and put them out of liking with these perverse froward humours. But the best is, by the good help of his friends, he need not apprehend the short horns of such a curst cow as myself; yet this I will say for him, all your kindness shall not better his affections to the service of the crown, or render him thankful to yourselves longer than his turn is in serving. Remember, sir, that I told you of it. The Lord Roch is a person in a lesser volume, of the very self-same edition. Poor soul, you see what he would be at, if he knew how. But seriously let me ask you a question, What would these and such like gentlemen do, were they absolute in themselves, when they are thus forward at that very instant of time when their whole estates are justly and fairly in the king's mercy! In a word, till I see punishments and rewards well and roundly applied, I fear very much the frowardness of this generation will not be reduced to moderation and right reason, but that it shall extremely much difficult his majesty's ministers, nay, and himself too, in the pursuit of his just and royal designs."

Mr. Brodie has accused Strafford's despatches of heaviness, and certainly every word in them has its weight. This extraordinary letter concludes thus: "It troubles me very much to understand by these your letters that the deputy lieutenants of Yorkshire should show themselves so foolish and so ingrate as to refuse to levy 200 men and send them to Berwick, without a caution of reimbursement of coat and conduct money. As for the precedent they allege, they well term them to be indeed of former times, for sure I am none of them can remember any such thing of their own knowledge, or have learned any such thing by their own practice. What they find in some blind book of their fathers kept by his clerk, I know not, but some such poor business is the best proof I believe they can show for that allegation. Perchance Queen Elizabeth now and then did some such thing; but then it ought to be taken as matter of bounty, not of duty, the law being so clear and plain in that point, as you know. Upon my coming to town I will inform myself who have been the chief leaders in this business, and thereupon give my gentlemen something to remember it by hereafter. But, above all, I cannot sufficiently wonder that my lords at the board should think of any other satisfaction than sending for them up, and laying them by the heels, especially considering what hath already been resolved on there amongst us. What, I beseech you, should become of the levy of your 30,000 men, in case the other counties of the kingdom should return you the like answer? And therefore this insolence of theirs ought, in my poor opinion, to have been suffocated in the birth, and this boldness met with a courage, which should have taught them their part in these cases to have been obedience, and not dispute. Certain I am, that in Queen Elizabeth's time (those golden times that appear so glorious in their eyes, and render them dazzled towards any other object) they would not have had such an expostulation better cheap than the Fleet. The very plain truth is, and I beseech you that it may humbly, on my part, be represented to his majesty in discharge of my own duty, that the council-board of late years have gone with so tender a foot in those businesses of lieutenantancy, that it hath almost lost that power to the crown; and yet such a power it is, and so necessary, as I do not know how we should be able either to correct a rebellion at home, or to defend ourselves from an invasion from abroad, without it. All which, nevertheless, I mention with all humility in the world, without the least imputation to any particular person living or dead, and humbly beseech his majesty to cause the reins of this piece of his government to be strongly gathered up again, which have of late hung too long loose upon us his lieutenants and deputy lieutenants within the kingdom."

Notwithstanding his desperate state, Strafford caused himself to be pushed on to London. A desire of the king that he should not hazard the journey, reached him already engaged in it.\* He persisted in being transported thither

\* It is worth quoting, as almost the only expression of care and sympathy Charles had hitherto given to his minister. "Having seen divers letters, Strafford, to my Lord



## ENEMIES.

... enemy, Lord Savile, was actively engaged to forward it. Ultimately, these negotiations were placed in the hands of sixteen persons, every one of whom were his personal enemies. And the crowning enemy was himself—"an enemy," as Lord Clarendon observes, "more terrible than all the others, and likely to be more fatal, the whole Scottish nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured in Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom."\* They illustrated this eminent hatred by peremptorily refusing, in the midst of much profession of attachment to the king and the English nation, to hold any conferences at York, because it was within the jurisdiction of him whom they called that "chief incendiary," their "mortal foe," the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

In this there was exaggeration. Notwithstanding the assertions of nearly all the histories that Strafford's continual counsel to Charles was to rely on arms alone, it is quite certain, from the minutes of the Council of Peers at York,† that this is erroneous. When he sent the commission to Ormond to bring over his own army of 20,000 men from Ireland, the negotiations had not been resumed, and, on the resumption of them, that commission was withdrawn. Now, however, thwarted and exasperated on all sides, he resolved to furnish one more proof (it was destined to be the last) of the possibility of recovering the royal authority by a great and vigorous exertion. During the negotiations no actual cessation of arms had been agreed to by the Scots, and he therefore secretly despatched a party of horse, under a favourite officer, to attack them in their quarters. A large body of the enemy were defeated by this manœuvre, all their officers taken prisoners, the army inspired, and the spirits of Strafford himself restored. Again he spoke confidently of the future, when suddenly the king, prevailed on by others, commanded him to forbear. In the same moment, without any previous warning, he was told that a Parliament was summoned.

Strafford saw at once the extent of his danger. He had thrown his last stake and lost it. He prayed of the king to be allowed to retire to his government in Ireland, or to some other place where he might promote his majesty's service, and not deliver himself into the hands of his enraged enemies. Charles refused. He still reposed on the enormous value of his minister's genius, and considered that no sacrifice too great might be incurred for the chance of its service to himself in the coming struggle. At the same time, he pledged himself by a sol-

... the state of your health at this time, by this to command you not to do any way do it with the safety of your person. I require you not to be your own master, but follow the advice of those that are your friends, and skill ye shall have occasion to know that this care of your health is for us both at this time, I would have you to be to you for your great service lately done. So, praying to God for your recovery, I rest your assured friend."

\* The hatred was, indeed, mutual. Strafford more than once, in his despatches, shows that he even disliked, and was disposed to turn into ridicule, their mode of speech. Alluding to a Scotchman, for instance, a Mr. Barre, whom he supposed to have been favoured by the court intrigues against him, he writes from Ireland thus: "Then on that side he procures, by some very near his majesty, access to the king, there whispering continually something or another to my prejudice; boasts familiarly how freely he speaks with his majesty, what he saith concerning me, and now *please your majesty ra verbe mare anent your debuty of Yrland*, with many such like buttoes, stuffed with a mighty deal of untruth and fillies amongst." And see Rushworth, vol. iii., p. 1293.

† Printed in the Harleian State Papers. And see a very able and impartial view of Strafford's conduct and character, in the History continued from Mackintosh

can promise, that, "while there was a king in England, not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched by the Parliament!" The earl arrived in London.

"It was about three of the clock in the afternoon," says Clarendon, "when the Earl of Strafford (being infirm and not well disposed in health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning), hearing that both houses still sate, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste there to accuse the Lord Say, and some others, of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom; but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers, when the message from the House of Commons was called in, and when Mr. Pym at the bar, and in the name of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford (with the addition of all his other titles), of high treason!"

Upward of twelve years had elapsed since Sir Thomas Wentworth stood face to face with Pym. Upon the eve of his elevation to the peerage they had casually met at Greenwich, when, after a short conversation on public affairs, they separated with these memorable words, addressed by Pym to Wentworth: "You are going to leave us, but I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders!"\* That prophetic summons to a more fatal meeting was now at last accomplished!

Strafford had entered the House, we learn from one who observed him, with his usual impetuous step—"with speed," says Baillie, "he comes to the House; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens; his lordship, with a proud, glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head; but at once many bid him void the House; so he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till he was called. . . He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries, with a loud voice, for his man to carry my lord-lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people to his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest in England would have stood discovered."

This was a change indeed! Yet it was a change for which Strafford would seem to have been found not altogether unprepared. In all the proceedings preliminary to his memorable trial, in all the eventful incidents that followed, he was quiet and collected, and showed, in his general bearing, a magnanimous self-subduement. It is a mean as well as a hasty judgment which would attribute this to any unworthy compromise with his real nature. It is probably a juster and more profound view of it to say, that into a few of the later weeks of his life new knowledge had penetrated from the midst of the breaking of his fortunes. It was well and beautifully said by a then living poet,

"The soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed,  
Lets in new light through chinks that time has made!"

\* An admirable commentary on this fierce text is supplied by my friend Mr. Cattermole, at the commencement of the volume.

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and when suddenly upon the sight of Strafford broke the vision of the long unseen assembly of the people, with the old chiefs and the old ceremonies, only more august and more fatal—when he saw himself, in a single hour, disabled by a set of men not greater in vigour or in intellect than those over whom the weak-minded Buckingham had for years contemptuously triumphed—the chamber of that assembly forsaken for Westminster Hall—its once imperious master become a timid auditor, listening unobserved through his screening curtains, and unable to repress by his presence a single threatening glance, or subdue a single fierce voice, among the multitude assembled to pronounce judgment on his minister—that multitude grown from the "faithful Commons" into the imperial council of the land, and the sworn upholders of its not yet fallen liberties—Pym no longer the mouthpiece of a faction that might be trampled on, but recognised as the chosen champion of the people of England, "the delegated voice of God"—when Strafford had persuaded himself that all this vision was indeed a reality before him, we may feel the sudden and subduing conviction which at once enthralled him to itself! the conviction that he had mistaken the true presentment of that principle of power which he worshipped, and that his genius should have had a different devotion. He had not sunk lower, but the Parliament had towered immeasurably higher!

The first thing he did after his arrest was to write to the Lady Strafford. "Sweet harte,—You have heard before this what hath befallen me in this place, but be you confident, that if I fortune to be blamed, yet I will not, by God's help, be ashamed. Your carriage upon this misfortune I should advise to be calm, not seeming to be neglective of my trouble, and yet so as there may appear no dejection in you. Continue on the family as formerly, and make much of your children. Tell Will, Nan, and Arabella I will write to them by the next. In the mean time, I shall pray for them to God that he may bless them, and for their sakes deliver me out of the furious malice of my enemies, which yet I trust, through the goodness of God, shall do me no hurt. God have us all in his blessed keeping. Your very loving husbande, STRAFFORDE."

A few days after this, having vainly offered bail, he was committed to the Tower. Thereupon he wrote again to Lady Strafford. "Sweet harte,—I never pityed you so much as I do now, for in the death of that great person the deputy, you have lost the principal friend you had there, whilst we are here riding out the storm, as well as God and the season shall give us leave. Yet I trust Lord Dillon will supply unto you in part that great loss, till it please God to bring us together again. As to myself, albeit all be done against me that art and malice can devise, with all the rigour possible, yet I am in great inward quietnesse, and a strong belief God will deliver me out of all these troubles. The more I look into my case, the more hope I have, and sure, if there be any honour and justice left, my life will not be in danger, and for anything els, time, I trust, will salve any other hurt which can be done me. Therefore hold up your heart, look to the chil-

dren and your house, let me have your prayers, and at last, by God's good pleasure, we shall have our deliverance, when we may as little look for it as we did for this blow of misfortune, which, I trust, will make us better to God and man. Your loving husbände, STRAFFORDE."

The preliminary arrangements having been settled, and some negotiations proposed by Charles with a view to his rescue having failed, Strafford's impeachment began. Never had such "pompous circumstances" and so "statefully a manner" been witnessed at any judicial proceeding in England. One only, since that day, has matched it. It was not the trial of an individual, but the solemn arbitration of an issue between the two great antagonist principles, liberty and despotism. Westminster Hall, which had alternately witnessed the triumphs of both, was the fitting scene. Scaffolds, nearly reaching to the roof, were erected on either side, eleven stages high, divided by rails. In the upper ranks of these were the commissioners of Scotland and the lords of Ireland, who had joined with the commoners of England in their accusations. In the centre sat the peers in their Parliament robes, and the lord-keeper and the judges, in their scarlet robes, were on the woollsacks. At the upper end, beyond the peers, was a chair raised under a cloth of state for the king, and another for the prince. The throne was unoccupied, for the king was supposed not to be present, since in his presence, by legal construction, no judicial act could legally be done. Two cabinets or galleries, with trellis-work, were on each side of the cloth of state. The king, the queen, and their court occupied one of these,\* the foreign nobility then in London the other. The Earls of Arundel and Lindsey acted, the one as High-steward, and the other as High-constable of England. Strafford entered the hall daily, guarded by two hundred trainbands. The king had procured it as a special favour that the axe should not be carried before him. At the foot of the state-cloth was a scaffold for ladies of quality; at the lower end was a place with partitions, and an apartment to retire to, for the convenience and consultations of the managers of the trial; opposite to this the witnesses entered; and between was a small desk, at which the accused earl stood or sat, with the Lieutenant of the Tower beside him, and at his back four secretaries.

The articles of accusation had gradually, during the long and tedious preliminary proceedings, swelled from nine—which was their original number—to twenty-eight. Pym, in an able speech, presented them to the House of Lords. Strafford entreated that—seeing these charges filled 200 sheets of paper, and involved the various and ill-remembered incidents of fourteen years of a life of severe action—the space of three months should be permitted for the answer. He was allowed three weeks, and on the 24th of February, 1641, his answers, in detail, to the charges of the Commons were read to the House. The 22d of

March was then fixed for the commencement of his trial.

On the first reception of the articles, Strafford, with characteristic purpose, wrote to his wife. "Sweet harte,—It is long since I writt unto you, for I am here in such a trouble as gives me little or no respitt. The charge is now come in, and I am now able, I prayse God, to tell you that I conceive there is nothing capitall; and for the reaste, I know at the worste his majestie will pardon all, without hurting my fortune; and then we shall be happy, by God's grace. Therefore comfort yourself, for I trust thes cloudes will away, and that wee shall have faire weather afterwarde. Farewell. Your loving husbände, STRAFFORDE." He expressed the same opinion in a letter to Sir Adam Loftus.

A short summary of the charges will be sufficient for the present purpose; for it is not necessary, after the ample notice which has been given of Strafford's life and actions, to occupy any considerable space with the proceedings, which only farther illustrated them here.\*

The grand object which the leaders of the Commons had in view was to establish against Strafford AN ATTEMPT TO SUBVERT THE FUNDAMENTAL LAWS OF THE COUNTRY.† They had an unquestionable right, with this view, to blend in the impeachment offences of a different degree; nor was it ever pretended by them that more than one or two of the articles amounted to treason. Their course—to deduce a legal construction of treason from actions notoriously gone "thorough" with in the service and in exaltation of the king—was to show that, no matter with what motive, any actions undertaken which had a tendency to prove destructive to the state, amounted, in legal effect, to a traitorous design against the sovereign. The sovereign, it was argued by these great men, could never have had a contemplated existence beyond, or independent of, the state. It could never have been the object, they said, to have defended the king by the statute of Edward III., and to have left undefended the great body of the people associated under him. This principle Strafford had himself recognised in his support of the petition of right, and it is truly observed by Rushworth, that "all the laws confirmed and renewed in that petition of right were said to be the most envenomed arrows that gave him his mortal wound." The proofs by which it was proposed to sustain the tremendous accusation were to be deduced from a series of his actions infringing the laws, from words intimating arbitrary designs, and from certain counsels which directly tended to the entire ruin of the frame of the Constitution.

Over the three great divisions of his public functions the articles of impeachment were distributed. As president of the council of York, he was charged with having procured powers subversive of all law, with having committed insufferable acts of oppression under colour of his instructions, and with having distinctly an-

\* Rushworth has devoted a large folio volume to the occurrences of the impeachment alone.

† They had passed this vote in the House of Commons, and against it not a voice was raised, even by the earl's most ardent supporters. "That the Earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government."

\* The king, however, observes Bailie, "brake down the screens with his own hands, so they sat in the eyes of all, but little more regarded than if they had been absent, for the lords sat all covered." Bailie was the principal of the college of Glasgow, and present by order of the Scottish party.

ed tyrannical intentions, by declaring that ope should find "the king's little finger r than the loins of the law." As gov- of Ireland, he was accused of having pub- asserted "that the Irish was a conquered , and that the king might do with them pleased." He was charged with acts of sion towards the Earl of Cork, Lord norris, the Lord-chancellor Loftus, the of Kildare, and other persons. He had,

alleged, issued a general warrant for the e of all persons who refused to submit to gal decree against them, and for their de- a till they either submitted, or gave bail ear before the council table: he had sent rs to free quarters on those who would ey his arbitrary decrees; he had prevent- redress of his injustice by procuring in- ons to prohibit all persons of distinction jutting Ireland without his express li- : he had appropriated to himself a large of the customs, the monopoly of tobac- i the sale of licenses for the exportation ain commodities: he had committed us acts of oppression in guarding his mo- of tobacco: he had, for his own inter- used the rates on merchandise to be and the merchants to be harassed with id unlawful oaths: he had obstructed the ry of the country by introducing new and wn processes into the manufacture of e had encouraged his army, the instru- of his oppression, by assuring them that jesty would regard them as a pattern for three kingdoms: he had enforced an il- ath on the Scottish subjects in Ireland:

given undue encouragement to Papists, id actually composed the whole of his ved troops of adherents from that reli- As chief minister of England, it was laid charge that he had instigated the king to war on the Scots, and had himself, as or of Ireland, commenced hostilities: n the question of supplies, he had decla- That his majesty should first try the Par- t here, and if that did not supply him ac- y to his occasions, he might then use his tive to levy what he needed; and that uld be acquitted both of God and man if c some other courses to supply himself, it were against the will of his subjects:"

fter the dissolution of that Parliament, said to his majesty, "That, having tried actions of his people, he was loose and id from all rules of government, and was verything that power would admit; that easty had tried all ways, and was refused, uld be acquitted both to God and man; had an army in Ireland which he might to reduce England to obedience." He ther charged with having counselled the eclaration which reflected so bitterly on t Parliament; with the seizure of the in the Tower; the proposal of coining oney; a new levy of ship-money; and a of £100,000 from the city of London. s accused of having told the refractory ; that no good would be done till they aid up by the heels, and some of their en hanged for an example. It was laid charge that he had levied arbitrary ex- on the people of Yorkshire to maintain

his troops; and, finally, that his counsels had given rise to the rout at Newburn."\*

In his answers and opposing evidence, Straf- ford maintained that "the enlarged instruc- tions for the council of York had not been pro- cured by his solicitations; that the specified instances of oppression in the northern coun- ties were committed after his departure for Ireland; and that the words imputed to him were directly the reverse of those which he had spoken. With regard to Ireland, he vin- dicated his opinion that it was a conquered country, and that the king's prerogative was much greater there than in England. He con- tended that all the judgments, charged on him, as arbitrary, were delivered by competent courts, in none of which he had above a single voice: that the prevention of persons from quit- ting the kingdom without license, as well as placing soldiers at free quarters on the disobe- dient, were transactions consistent with ancient usages: that the flax manufacture owed all its prosperity to his exertions, and that his prohibi- tion tended to remedy some barbarous and unjust methods of sorting the yarn: that his bargains for the customs and tobacco were profitable to the crown and the country: and that the oath which he had enforced on the Scots was required by the critical circumstan- ces of the times, and fully approved by the gov- ernment. In regard to his transactions in Eng- land, he answered that hostility against Scot- land having been resolved on, he had merely counselled an offensive in preference to a de- fensive war: that his expressions relative to supplies were in strict conformity to the estab- lished maxim of the Constitution:† that, in such emergencies as a foreign invasion, the sovereign was entitled to levy contributions, or adopt any other measure for the public de- fence: that the words relative to the employ- ment of the Irish army were falsely stated, and that he had not ventured to apply to the king- dom of England words uttered in a committee expressly assembled to consider of the reduc- tion of Scotland. He said that his harsh ex- pressions towards the citizens of London were heard by only one interested individual, and not heard by others who stood as near him: that the contributions in Yorkshire were voluntary: and that the proposals for seizing the bullion and coining base money did not proceed from him.‡

The charges which remained untouched by these answers were abandoned by the Com- mons, as irrelative or incapable of proof, and on the 23d of March, 1641, the chief manager, Mr. Pym, rose in Westminster Hall, and open- ed the case against him.

The "getting up" of that mighty scene has been described, and a few words may serve to put it, as it were, in action.

Three kingdoms, by their representatives, were present, and for fifteen days, the period of the duration of the trial, "it was daily," says Baillie, "the most glorious assembly the isle could afford." The earl himself appeared before it each day in deep mourning, wearing

\* *Strafford's Trial*, p. 61-75. *Nelson*, vol. ii., p. 11-20.

† *Salus populi suprema lex*.

‡ *Strafford's Trial*, p. 61-75. *Nelson*, vol. ii., p. 11-20

I have partly availed myself, in the above, of Mr. MacDi- armid's abstract, p. 251-259. Some of the charges specified were added in the course of the trial.

his George. The stern and simple character of his features accorded with the occasion—his "countenance manly black," as Whitelock terms it, and his thick dark hair cut short from his ample forehead. A poet who was present exclaimed,

"On thy brow  
Sate terror mixed with wisdom, and at once  
Saturn and Hermes in thy countenance."

To this was added the deep interest which can never be withheld from sickness bravely borne. His face was dashed with paleness, and his body stooped with its own infirmities even more than with his master's cares. This was, indeed, so evident, that he was obliged to allude to it himself, and it was not seldom alluded to by others. "They had here," he said, on one occasion, "this rag of mortality before them, worn out with numerous infirmities, which, if they tore into shreds, there was no great loss, only in the spilling of his, they would open a way to the blood of all the nobility in the land." His disorders were the most terrible to bear in themselves, and of that nature, moreover, which can least endure the aggravation of mental anxiety. A severe attack of stone,\* gout in one of his legs to an extent even with him unusual, and other pains, had bent all their afflictions upon him. Yet, though a generous sympathy was demanded on this score, and paid by not a few of his worst opponents, it availed little with the multitudes that were present. Much noise and confusion prevailed at all times through the hall; there was always a great clamour near the doors; and we have it, on the authority of Rushworth himself, that at those intervals when Strafford was busied in preparing his answers, the most distracting "hubbubs" broke out, lords walked about and chatted, and commoners were yet more offensively loud.† This was unfavourable to the recollection, for disproof, of incidents long passed, and of conversations forgotten!‡ But conscious that he was not to be allowed in any case permission to retire, as soon as one of his opponent managers had closed his charge, the earl calmly turned his back to his judges, and, with uncomplaining composure, conferred with his secretaries and counsel.

He had, indeed, it is not to be forgotten, strong assurances to sustain him secretly. He had, first, his own conviction of the legal incompetency of the charges, and to this was added the doubly-pledged faith of the king. In his prison he had received the following letter: "STRAFFORD,—The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times being such that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs, yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or conscience without assuring you (now in the midst of your troubles) that, upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have

showed yourself to be, yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being your constant and faithful friend, CHARLES." But against these aids were opposed certain significant symptoms of a desperate and fatal purpose on the part of the managers of the impeachment. The bishops, on whom he might reasonably have relied, had, on the motion of Williams, withdrawn from attendance "*in agitatione causæ sanguinis*," surrendering the right they had, under what was called "the constitutions of Clarendon," of attending in capital trials up to the stage of judgment. Next, the person on whose evidence Strafford mainly relied in the proof of his answers, Sir George Radcliffe, had, by a master-stroke of Pym's, been incapacitated suddenly by a charge of treason against himself; not preferred, certainly, without cause, on the presumption of the guilt of the principal—for he had been Strafford's guilty agent in all things—but preferred with a fatal effect to Strafford himself. Again, though counsel had been granted him, they were restricted by the lords, on conference with the commons, to the argument of points of law. Lastly, with an irresistible energy, equalled only by Strafford's own, Pym had forced from the king a release for all the members of his secret council from their oath of secrecy, in order to their examination before the committee of impeachment.

"My lords," said Strafford, alluding to this, and to certain words of his own which such examination had been alleged to have proved, "My lords, these words were not wantonly or unnecessarily spoken, or whispered in a corner, but they were spoken in full council, where, by the duty of my oath, I was obliged to speak according to my heart and conscience, in all things concerning the king's service. If I had forborne to speak what I conceived to be for the benefit of the king and the people, I had been perjured towards Almighty God; and for delivering my mind openly and freely, shall I be in danger of my life as a traitor! If that necessity be put upon me, I thank God, by his blessing, I have learned not to stand in fear of him who can only kill the body. If the question be whether I must be traitor to man or perjured to God, I will be faithful to my Creator; and whatsoever shall befall me from popular rage or from my own weakness, I must leave it to that Almighty Being, and to the justice and honour of my judges. My lords, I conjure you not to make yourselves so unhappy as to disable yourselves and your children from undertaking the great charge and trust of the Commonwealth. You inherit that trust from your fathers, you are born to great thoughts, you are nursed up for the great and weighty employments of the kingdom. But if it be once admitted that a counsellor, delivering his opinion with others at the council-table, *candidè et castè*, under an oath of secrecy and faithfulness, shall be brought into question, upon some misapprehension or ignorance of law—if every word, that he speaks from a sincere and noble intention, shall be drawn against him for the attainting of him, his children, and posterity—I know not (under favour I speak it) any wise or noble person of fortune who will, upon such perilous and unsafe terms, adventure

\* See Nelson, vol. ii., p. 100, *et seq.*

† Bailie adds, that in these periods "flesh and bread" was ate, and "bottles of beer and wine were going thick from mouth to mouth."

‡ Bailie cannot refrain from saying, while he describes the guilt to have been fully proved, that some of the evidence was only "chamber and table discourses, dim-dames, and fearie-fairies."

to be counsellor to the king! therefore I beseech your lordships so to look on me that my misfortune may not bring an inconvenience upon yourselves. And though my words were not so advised and discreet, or so well weighed as they ought to be, yet I trust your lordships are too honourable and just to lay them to my charge as high treason. Opinions may make a heretic, but that they make a traitor I have never heard till now."

Again, in reference to matters alleged against him on the evidence of familiar conversations, he eloquently protested thus: "If, my lords, words spoken to friends in familiar discourse, spoken in one's chamber, spoken at one's table, spoken in one's sick bed, spoken perhaps to gain better reason, to give himself more clear light and judgment by reasoning—if these things shall be brought against a man as treason, this, under favour, takes away the comfort of all human society—by this means we shall be debarred from speaking (the principal joy and comfort of society) with wise and good men to become wiser, and better our lives. If these things be strained to take away life and honour, and all that is desirable, it will be a silent world! A city will become a hermitage, and sheep will be found amongst a crowd and press of people, and no man shall dare to impart his solitary thoughts or opinions to his friend and neighbour!" Noble and touching as this is, let the reader remember, as he reads it, the case of Mountnorris, and the misquoting and torturing of words, in themselves harmless, by which the lord-deputy of Ireland sacrificed that man to his schemes of absolute power. It is mournful to be obliged to add that it is chiefly the genius of a great actor which calls for admiration in this great scene; for though he was, as we may well believe, sincere in his sudden present acknowledgment of that power of the Commons which he had so often braved, the same plea of sincerity cannot serve him in his bold outfacing of every previous action of his power.

As the trial proceeded, so extraordinary were the resources he manifested, that the managers of the Commons failed in much of the effect of their evidence. Even the clergy who were present forgot the imprisonment of the weak and miserable Laud (who now lay in prison, stripped of his power by this formidable Parliament, which the very despotism of himself and Strafford had gifted with its potently operative force!), and thought of nothing but the "grand apostate" before them. "By this time," says May, "the people began to be a little divided in opinion. The clergy in general were so much fallen into love and admiration of this earl, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was almost quite forgotten by them. The courtiers cried him up, and the ladies were exceedingly on his side. It seemed a very pleasant object to see so many Sempronias, with pen, ink, and paper in their hands, noting the passages, and discoursing upon the grounds of law and state. They were all of his side, whether moved by pity proper to their sex, or by ambition of being able to judge of the parts of the prisoner. But so great was the favour and love which they openly expressed to him, that some could not but think of that verse—

"Non formosus erat, sed erat facundius Ulysses,  
Et tamen equoreas torisit amore deas!"

Even the chairman of the committee who prepared his impeachment, the author of the Memorials, observes, "Certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than this great and excellent person did."

Such, indeed, appeared to be a very prevailing feeling, when, on the morning of the 10th of April, before the opening of that day's trial, Pym entered the House of Commons and announced a communication respecting the Earl of Strafford of vital importance. The members were ordered to remain in their places, and the doors of the House were locked. Pym and the young Sir Harry Vane then rose, and produced a paper containing "a copy of notes taken at a junto of the privy council for the Scots affairs, about the 5th of May last." These notes were made by Sir Henry Vane the elder, and Clarendon says that he placed them in the hands of Pym out of hatred to Strafford. With much more appearance and likelihood of truth, however, Whitelocke states that the elder Vane, being absent from London, and in want of some papers, sent the key of his study to his son, and that the latter, in executing his father's orders, found this paper, and was ultimately induced by Pym to allow its production against Strafford. The Commons received this new evidence with many expressions of zealous thankfulness.

On the 13th of April the notes were read in Westminster Hall by Pym. They were in the shape of a dialogue and conference, and contained opinions delivered by Laud and Hamilton; but the essential words were words spoken by Strafford to the king. "You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience." Vane the elder was then called. He denied recollection of the words at first, till it had been asserted by others of the privy council that Strafford had used those words, "or the like," when the earl's brother-in-law, Lord Clare, rose and suggested that "this kingdom," by grammatical construction, might mean Scotland. With singular ability Strafford directed all his resources to the weakening of this evidence, but it was generally regarded as fatal. He urged his brother-in-law's objection; the very title of the notes, in proof of the country referred to, "no danger of a war with Scotland, if offensive, not defensive;" and protested against a man's life being left to hang upon a single word. The evidence was finally admitted against him, and he was called upon to make his general defence in person against the facts, leaving the law to his counsel.

He began by adverting to his painful and adverse position, alone and unsupported, against the whole authority and power of the Commons, his health impaired, his memory almost gone, his thoughts unquiet and troubled. He prayed of their lordships to supply his many infirmities by their better abilities, better judgments, better memories. "You alone," he said, "I acknowledge, with all gladness and humility, as my judges. The king condemns

no man; the great operation of his sceptre is mercy; he dispenses justice by his ministers; but, with reverence be it spoken, he is not my judge, nor are the Commons my judges, in this case of life and death. To your judgment alone, my lords, I submit myself in all cheerfulness. I have great cause to give thanks to God for this, and celebrated be the wisdom of our ancestors who have so ordained."

With great force and subtle judgment he then argued against the doctrine of arbitrary and constructive treason, and afterward proceeded: "My lords, it is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundred years, without smoke to discover it, till it thus bursts forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law, to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extreme hard! What man can be safe if this be admitted! My lords, it is hard in another respect—that there should be no token set by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it. My lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England, as never expose yourselves to such moot points—such constructive interpretations of laws: if there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honours of peers. It will be wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law and statute, that telleth us what is and what is not treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers! It is now 240 years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself. Let us not awaken these sleeping lions to our destructions, by taking up a few musty records, that have lain by the walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes—let not a precedent be derived from me, so disadvantageous as this will be in its consequence to the whole kingdom. Do not, through me, wound the interest of the Commonwealth: and howsoever these gentlemen say they speak for the Commonwealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and show the inconveniences and mischiefs that will fall upon it; for, as it is said in the statute 1 Hen. IV., 'No one will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties.' Do not put, my lords, such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honour, and of fortune may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public. If you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste; no man will meddle with them who hath anything to lose. My lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of those dear pledges a saint in Heaven hath left me." At this word (says the reporter) he stopped a while, letting fall some tears to her memory; then he went on: "What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that indiscretion should extend to my posterity woundeth me to the very soul.

You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass. Now, my lords, for myself, I have been, by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be of life or death, *Te Deum Laudamus*."\*

Great was the struggle to be made against such noble and affecting eloquence, and Pym proved himself not unequal to it. While we yield due admiration to the unexampled demeanour of Strafford in this conjuncture—to that quick perception of his exact position, which, while it revealed to him the whole magnitude of the danger, suggested the most plausible defence, and supplied resolution where, to an ordinary spirit, it would have induced despair, so that, while sinking down the tremendous gulf into which he had been so suddenly precipitated, he displayed the same coolness in catching at every weed, however feeble, that might retard his descent, as though the peril had long been foreseen and the methods of escape long rehearsed—while we praise this in him, let us not forget the still more extraordinary bearing of his adversary—the triumph of Pym, as unparalleled as the overthrow of Strafford. In either case, the individual rose or fell with the *establishment* or the *withdrawal of a great principle*. Pym knew and felt this, and that with him it now rested whether or not the privileges so long contested, the rights so long misunderstood, of the great body of the people, should win at last their assured consummation and acknowledgment. In the speeches of Pym, the true point is to be recognised on which the vindication of Strafford's death turns. The defence of the accused was technical, and founded on rules of evidence and legal constructions of statutes, which, though clearly defined since, were in that day recognised doubtfully, and frequently exceeded. The

\* This is from Whitelocke's Memorials. It is the most beautiful and complete report that has been given. I may subjoin a characteristic note from Baillie's letters. "At the end, he made such a pathetic oration for half an hour as ever comedian did on the stage. The matter and expression was exceeding brave. Doubtless, if he had grace and civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. One passage is most spoken of—his breaking off in weeping and silence when he spoke of his first wife. Some took it for a true defect in his memory, others for a notable part of his rhetoric: some that true grief and remorse at that remembrance had stopt his mouth; for they say that his first lady, being with child, and finding one of his mistress's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he struck her on the breast, whereof she shortly died."—*Letters*, p. 291. The latter statement is only one of a thousand horrible and disgusting falsehoods which, notwithstanding the abundance of true accusatory matter, were circulated at the time against Strafford, and one or two specimens of which may be found in the fourth volume of Lord Somers's Collection of Tracts. His friends, however, it is to be remarked, were not less forward in getting up all sorts of fictitious points of sympathy (in some respects, also, unnecessary, since they had plenty of true resources in that regard) around him and his memory; and as an instance I may mention that an extremely pathetic letter of Sir Walter Raleigh to his wife (the most pathetic, probably, in the language), written while he expected execution, was printed with Strafford's signature, and with the alteration of words to meet the circumstances of Strafford's death. The writers of the *Biog. Brit.* do not seem to have been aware of this. But see Somers's Tracts, vol. iv., p. 249, 250; and compare with *Biog. Brit.*, vol. v., p. 3478.

defence of the accusers, if they are indeed to be put upon their defence before a posterity for whose rights they hazarded all things, rests upon a principle which was implanted in man when he was born, and which no age can deaden or obscure. "My lords," said Pym, "we charge him with nothing but what the 'law' in every man's breast condemns, the light of nature, the light of common reason, the rules of common society."\* Nor can it be doubted that occasions must ever be recognised by the philosopher and the statesman when the community may be reinvested in those rights which were theirs before a particular law was established. If ever such an occasion had arisen, surely, looking back upon the occurrences of the past, and forward upon the prospects of the future, it had arisen here. It was time that outraged humanity should appeal, as Pym afterward urged, to "the element of all laws, out of which they are derived, the end of all laws, to which they are designed, and in which they are perfected."† The public liberty was in danger from the life of Strafford, and the question of justice reared itself above the narrow limits of the law; for yet, again Pym urged, the law itself can be no other than that "which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust. It is God alone who subsists by himself; all other things subsist in a mutual dependance and relation."‡ Nor can it be alleged, even by the legal opponents of this impeachment, that the proofs advanced under the fifteenth article, which had charged Strafford with raising money by his own authority, and quartering troops upon the people of Ireland, did not advance far more nearly to a substantive treason, within the statute of Edward III., than many of the recognised precedents that were offered. "Neither will this," Pym contended on that ground with a terrible earnestness, "be a new way of blood. There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, this 240 years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these!"

At this moment, it is said, Strafford had been closely and earnestly watching Pym, when the latter, suddenly turning, met the fixed and wasted features of his early associate. A rush of other feelings crowding into that look for a moment dispossessed him. "His papers he looked on," says Baillie, "but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to pass them." But a moment, and Pym's eloquence and dignified command returned. He had thoroughly contemplated his commission, and had resolved on its fulfilment. The occasion was not let slip; the energies, wound up to this feat through years of hard endurance, were not frozen, and the cause of the people was gained. In the condemnation of Strafford they resumed an alienated power, and were reinstated in an ancient freedom.

He was condemned. The judges themselves, on a solemn reference by the House of Lords for their opinion whether some of the articles amounted to treason, answered unanimously,

that upon all which their lordships had voted to be proved, it was their opinion the Earl of Strafford did deserve to undergo the pains and penalties of high treason by law.

Meanwhile, before this opinion was taken, the Commons had changed their course, and introduced a bill of attainder. This has been sorely reproached to them, and one or two of the men who had acted with them up to this point now receded. Lord Digby was the principal of these. "Truly, sir," he said, on the discussion of the bill, "I am still the same in my opinions and affections as unto the Earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects, that can be characterized. I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare abilities of his, whereof God had given him the use, but the devil the application. In a word, I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other; and yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off!"\* The authority of Digby in this affair, however, may well be questioned, since it has been proved that he had at this time entered into an intrigue to save the life of the prisoner, and though he spoke against the bill with extreme earnestness, he at the same time no less earnestly offered to swear that he knew nothing of a certain copy of important notes which had been lost, though they were afterward found in his handwriting in the royal cabinet taken at Naseby, and it turned out that, having access to them as a member of the impeachment committee, he had stolen them.†

The bill of attainder was passed on the 21st of April. While on its way to the Lords, the king went to that house and addressed them. "I am sure," he said, "you all know that I have been present at the hearing of this great case from the one end to the other, and I must tell you that I cannot in my conscience condemn him of high treason: it is not fit for me to argue the business; I am sure you will not expect that; a positive doctrine best becomes the mouth of a prince." After beseeching them not to treat the earl with severity, he thus concluded: "I must confess, for matter of misdemeanors, I am so clear in that, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet let me tell you that I do think my Lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the Commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as that of a constable; therefore I leave it to you, my lords, to find some such way as to bring me out of this great strait, and keep ourselves and the kingdom from such inconveniences. Certainly he that thinks him guilty of high treason in his conscience may condemn him of misdemeanor."

When Strafford heard in his prison of this intended interference, he had earnestly pro-

\* Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 106, 109. † Ibid., p. 661.  
‡ Ibid., p. 663.

\* (This speech of Digby's is one of the most beautiful specimens of eloquence which we have received from the many great speakers of that day. The whole may be found in Sir R. Baker's *Chronicles of England*.—C.)  
† See Whitelocke, p. 43.



## BRITISH STATESMEN.

...burning that the step  
...himself up for lost.\*  
...The leaders of the  
...of the occasion it  
...pulpits of the fol-  
...happened to be Sunday,  
...every quarter of London cries  
...the great delinquent;" and  
...succeeding morning, furious multitudes,  
...through the approaches to  
...of Lords; placarded as "Strafford-  
...strayers of their country," the names  
...commoners who had voted against the  
...and shouted openly for the blood of  
Strafford.

Hollis, meanwhile, had discovered and crushed  
a conspiracy for his release, which had origi-  
nated in the court, and was disclosed by the  
unwavering fidelity of the governor of the Tower.

No hope remained. The lords, proceeding  
upon the judicial opinion I have named, passed  
the bill of attainder, voting upon the articles  
judicially, and not as if they were enacting a  
legislative measure.

The Earl of Strafford, with a generosity  
worthy of his intellect, now wrote to the king  
and released him from his pledged word. "To  
say, sir," he wrote in the course of this memo-  
rable letter, "that there hath not been a strife  
in me, were to make me less man than, God  
knoweth, my infirmities make me; and to call  
a destruction upon myself and my young chil-  
dren (where the intentions of my heart at least  
have been innocent of this great offence), may  
be believed, will find no easy consent from  
flesh and blood." Its concluding passages ran  
thus: "So now, to set your majesty's con-  
science at liberty, I do most humbly beseech  
your majesty, for prevention of evils which  
may happen by your refusal, to pass this bill,  
and by this means to remove, praised be God  
(I cannot say this accursed, but, I confess),  
this unfortunate thing forth of the way towards  
that blessed agreement which God, I trust,  
shall ever establish between you and your sub-  
jects. Sir, my consent shall more acquit you  
herein to God than all the world can do besides.  
To a willing man there is no injury done.  
And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world  
with a calmness and meekness of infinite con-  
tentment to my dislodging soul, so, sir, to you  
I can give the life of this world, with all the  
cheerfulness imaginable, in the just acknowl-  
edgment of your exceeding favours, and only  
beg that in your goodness you would vouch-  
safe to cast your gracious regard upon my poor  
son and his three sisters, less or more, and no  
otherwise, than as their (in present) unfortu-  
nate father may hereafter appear more or less  
guilty of this death."

The singular note which has been preserved  
by Burnet, and which relates circumstances  
taken from the lips of Hollis himself, continues  
the deep interest of this tragic history: "The  
Earl of Strafford had married his sister: so,  
though in the Parliament he was one of the  
hottest men of the party, yet when that matter  
was before them he always withdrew. When  
the bill of attainder was passed, the king sent  
for him to know what he could do to save the  
Earl of Strafford. Hollis answered that, if

the king pleased, since the execution of the  
law was in him, he might legally grant him a  
reprieve, which must be good in law; but he  
would not advise it. That which he proposed  
was, that Lord Strafford should send him a pe-  
tition for a short respite, to settle his affairs  
and to prepare for death, upon which he ad-  
vised the king to come next day with the petition  
in his hands, and lay it before the two houses,  
with a speech which he drew for the king, and  
Hollis said to him, he would try his interest  
among his friends to get them to consent to it.  
He prepared a great many by assuring them  
that, if they would save Lord Strafford, he  
would become wholly theirs in consequence of  
his first principles, and that he might do them  
much more service by being preserved than he  
could do if made an example upon such new  
and doubtful points. In this he had wrought  
on so many, that he believed if the king's party  
had struck into it he might have saved him."

While the party thus prepared to second  
Hollis waited their time, the king suddenly re-  
sorted to a different scheme, and, having with  
tears in his eyes signed the commission for  
giving assent to the bill, declaring at the same  
time that Strafford's condition was happier  
than his own, sent the Lords a letter, written  
by his own hand, and, as a farther proof of his  
deep interest, with the young Prince of Wales  
as its messenger. "I did yesterday," ran this  
letter, "satisfy the justice of the kingdom by  
passing the bill of attainder against the Earl  
of Strafford; but mercy being as inherent and  
inseparable to a king as justice, I desire at this  
time, in some measure, to show that likewise,  
by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the  
natural course of his life in a close imprison-  
ment; yet so, if ever he make the least offer  
to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to med-  
dle in any sort of public business, especially  
with me, either by message or letter, it shall  
cost him his life without farther process. This,  
if it may be done without the discontentment  
of my people, will be an unspeakable content-  
ment to me. To which end, as in the first  
place, I by this letter do earnestly desire your  
approbation, and to endure it more, have chose  
him to carry it that of all your House is most  
dear to me. So I desire, that by a conference  
you will endeavour to give the House of Com-  
mons contentment, assuring you that the exer-  
cise of mercy is no more pleasing to me than  
to see both houses of Parliament consent, for  
my sake, that I should moderate the severity  
of the law in so important a case. I will not  
say that your complying with me in this my in-  
tended mercy shall make me more willing, but  
certainly 'twill make me more cheerful in grant-  
ing your just grievances. But if no less than  
his life can satisfy my people, I must say—*fiat  
justitia*. Thus, again recommending the con-  
sideration of my intention to you, I rest." The  
following was added as a postscript: "*If he must  
die, it were charity to reprieve him until Saturday.*"

Hollis's scheme was now thoroughly defeat-  
ed, and death secured to Strafford. This piti-  
able letter ended all. It is a sorry office to plant  
the foot on a worm so crushed and writhing as  
the wretched king who signed it, for it was one  
of the few crimes of which he was in the event

\* Clarendon and Radcliffe.

\* Own Time, book I.

thoroughly sensible, and friend has for once co-operated with foe in the steady application to it of the branding iron. There is, in truth, hardly any way of relieving the "damned spot" of its intensity of hue, even by distributing the concentrated infamy over other portions of Charles's character. The reader who has gone through the preceding details of Strafford's life can surely not suggest any; for when we have convinced ourselves that this "unthankful king" never really loved Strafford; that, as much as in him lay, he kept the dead Buckingham in his old privilege of mischief, by adopting his aversions and abiding by his spleenful purposes; that, in his refusals to award those increased honours for which his minister was a petitioner, on the avowed ground of the royal interest, may be discerned the petty triumph of one who dares not dispense with the services thrust upon him, but revenges himself by withholding their well-earned reward—still does the blackness accumulate to baffle our efforts. The paltry tears he is said to have shed only burn that blackness in. If his after conduct indeed had been different, he might have availed himself of one excuse; but that the man who, in a few short months, proved that he could make so resolute a stand somewhere, should have judged this event no occasion for attempting it, is either a crowning infamy or an infinite consolation, according as we may judge wickedness or weakness to have preponderated in the constitution of Charles I.\*

Sufficient has been said to vindicate these remarks from any, the remotest, intention of throwing doubt on the perfect justice of that bill of attainder. Bills of attainder had not been uncommon in England; are the same in principle as the ordinary bills of pains and penalties; and the resort to that principle in the present case arose from no failure of the impeachment, as has been frequently alleged,† but because, in the course of that impeachment, circumstances arose which suggested to the great leader of the popular cause the greater safety of fixing this case upon wider and more special grounds. Without stretching to the slightest extent the boundaries of any statute, they thought it better at once to bring Strafford's treason to the condemnation of the sources of all law. In this view it is one of their wisest achievements that has been brought within the most hasty and ill-considered censure—their famous proviso that the attainder should not be acted upon by the judges as a precedent in determining the crime of treason. As to Strafford's death, the remark that the people had no alternative includes all that it is necessary to urge. The king's assurances of his intention to afford him no farther opportunity of crime, could surely weigh nothing with men who had observed how an infinitely more disgusting minister of his will had only seemed to rise the higher in his master's estimation for the accumulated curses of the nation. Nothing but the knife of Felton could sever in that case the weak head and the wicked instrument, and

it is to the honour of the adversaries of Strafford that they were earnest that their cause should vindicate itself completely, and look for no adventitious redress. Strafford had outraged the people: this was not denied. He was defended on the ground of those outrages not amounting to a treason against the king. For my own part, this defence appears to me decisive, looking at it in a technical view, and with our present settlement of evidence and treason. But to concede that point, after the advances they had made, would have been in that day to concede all. It was to be shown that another power had claim to the loyalty and the service of Strafford; and if a claim, then a vengeance to exact for its neglect. And this was done.

Nor should the subject be left without the remark that the main principle contended for by Pym and his associates was, at the last, fully submitted to by Strafford. He allowed the full power of the people's assembly to take cognizance of his deeds and to dispose of his life, while most earnestly engaged in defending the former and preserving the latter. Now the calm and magnanimous patience of Strafford was very compatible with a fixed denial of the authority of his judges, had that appeared contestable in his eyes; but we find no intimation of such a disposition. He would not have the Parliament's "punishment precede promulgation of a law;" he pleads that "to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact is extreme hard;" and that "it is hard that there should be no token set by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it;" and he is desirous that "a precedent may not be derived from one so disadvantageous as this;" but, in the mean time, the cause is gained, the main and essential point is given up! The old boasts of the lord-lieutenant's being accountable to the king alone, of the king's will being the one and the only law of his service, are no longer heard. It may be said that a motive of prudence withheld Strafford from indignantly appealing to the king in his lurking-place from the unrecognised array of questioners and self-constituted inquisitors who had taken upon themselves to supersede him; but when the sentence was passed and its execution at hand, when hope was gone and the end rapidly hastening, we still find Strafford offering nothing against the right.

One momentary emotion, not inconsistent with his letter to the king, escaped him when he was told to prepare for death. He asked if the king had indeed assented to the bill. Secretary Carleton answered in the affirmative; and Strafford, laying his hand on his heart, and raising his eyes to heaven, uttered the memorable words, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation." Charles's conduct was indeed incredibly monstrous.

Three days more of existence were granted to Strafford, which he employed calmly in the arrangement of his affairs. He wrote a petition to the House of Lords to have compassion on his innocent children; addressed a letter to his wife, bidding her affectionately to support her courage, and accompanied it with a letter of final instruction and advice to his eldest

\* (The world will more readily forgive the faults of Strafford than they will acquit Charles for having consented to his death.—See *Jesse's Court of England under the Stuarts*, vol. ii., p. 270.—C.)

† The judges and peers voted judicially even on the bill, as has been already stated.

son.\* This is in all respects deeply touching: "MY DEAREST WILL," he wrote, "these are the last lines that you are to receive from a father that tenderly loves you. I wish there were a greater leisure to impart my mind unto you, but our merciful God will supply all things by his grace, and guide and protect you in all your ways—to whose infinite goodness I bequeath you. And therefore be not discouraged, but serve him, and trust in him, and he will preserve and prosper you in all things. Be sure you give all respect to my wife, that hath ever had a great love unto you, and therefore will be well becoming you. Never be awanting in your love and care to your sisters, but let them ever be most dear unto you; for this will give others cause to esteem and respect you for it, and is a duty that you owe them in the memory of your excellent mother and myself, therefore your care and affection to them must be the very same that you are to have of yourself; and the like regard must you have to your youngest sister, for indeed you owe it her also, both for her father and mother's sake. Sweet Will, be careful to take the advice of those friends which are by me desired to advise you for your education." And so the tenderness of the father proceeds through many fond and affectionate charges. With characteristic hope he says, "The king, I trust, will deal graciously with you, and restore you those honours and that fortune which a distempered time hath deprived you of, together with the life of your father." Advice is next given to meet the occurrence of such a chance. "Be sure to avoid as much as you can to inquire after those that have been sharp in their judgments towards me, and I charge you never to suffer thought of revenge to enter your heart, but be careful to be informed who were my friends in this prosecution, and to them apply yourself to make them your friends also; and on such you may rely, and bestow much of your conversation amongst them. And God Almighty of his infinite goodness bless you and your children's children; and his same goodness bless your sisters in like manner, perfect you in ever good work, and give you right understandings in all things. Amen. Your most loving father, THOMAS WENTWORTH."†

At one time, probably, a deeper pang would have been involved to Strafford in this affecting surrender of his cherished title than in that of existence itself. But this was not the time. Nothing but concern for his family and friends disturbed the composure of his remaining hours. He wrote kind and encouraging letters to "dear George," as he called Sir George Radcliffe; shed tears for the death of Wandesford, whom

he had intrusted with the care of his government and family, but who broke his heart on hearing of the sad events that had fallen on his patron; and requested of the Primate of Ireland (Usher), who attended him, to desire "my lord's Grace of Canterbury," his old friend, the now imprisoned and afflicted Laud, "to lend me his prayers this night, and to give me his blessing when I go abroad to-morrow, and to be in his window, that, by my last farewell, I may give him thanks for this, and all other, his former favours." He had previously asked the Lieutenant of the Tower if it were possible to have an interview with Laud, adding, with playful sarcasm, "You shall hear what passes betwixt us. It is not a time either for him to plot heresy, or me to plot treason." The lieutenant, in reply, suggested a petition to the Parliament. "No," was the quiet rejoinder. "I have gotten my despatch from them, and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning a higher court, where neither partiality can be expected nor error feared."

Laud, old and feeble, staggered to the window of his cell as Strafford passed on the following morning, and, as he lifted his hands to bestow the blessing his lips were unable to utter, fell back and fainted in the arms of his attendant.

Strafford moved on to the scaffold with undisturbed composure. His body, so soon to be released, had given him a respite of its infirmities for that trying hour. Rushworth, the clerk of the Parliament, was one of the spectators, and has minutely described the scene. "When he arrived outside the Tower, the lieutenant desired him to take coach at the gate, lest the enraged mob should tear him in pieces. 'No,' said he, 'Mr. Lieutenant, I dare look death in the face, and the people too; have you a care I do not escape; 'tis equal to me how I die, whether by the stroke of the executioner, or by the madness and fury of the people, if that may give them better content.'" Not less than 100,000 persons, who had crowded in from all parts, were visible on Tower Hill, in a long and dark perspective. Strafford, in his walk, took off his hat frequently, and saluted them, and received not a word of insult or reproach. His step and manner are described by Rushworth to have been those of "a general marching at the head of an army, to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man, to undergo the sentence of death." At his side, upon the scaffold, stood his brother, Sir George Wentworth, the Bishop of Armagh, the Earl of Cleveland, and others of his friends, and behind them the indefatigable collector Rushworth, who "being then there on the scaffold with him," as he says, took down the speech which, having asked their patience first, Strafford at some length addressed to the people. He declared the innocence of his intentions, whatever might have been the construction of his acts, and said that the prosperity of his country was his fondest wish. But it augured ill, he told them, for the people's happiness, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood. "One thing I desire to be heard in," he added, "and do hope that for Christian charity's sake I shall be believed. I was so far from being

\* (He also wrote a beautiful letter to Guildford Slingsby, his secretary; this is the finest effort of his pen.—C.)

† Strafford Papers, vol. ii, p. 416. The letter bears date the 11th of May, 1641, and has the following postscript: "You must not fail to behave yourself towards my Lady Clare, your grandmother, with all duty and observance; for most tenderly doth she love you, and hath been passing kind unto me. God reward her charity for it. And both in this and all the rest, the same that I counsel you, the same do I direct also to your sisters, that so the same may be observed by you all. And once more do I, from my very soul, beseech our gracious God to bless and govern you in all, to the saving you in the day of his visitation, and join us again in the communion of his blessed saints, where is fulness of joy and bliss for evermore. Amen, Amen." The "youngest sister" was the infant of Lady Strafford.

against Parliaments, that I did always think Parliaments in England to be the happy constitution of the kingdom and nation, and the best means, under God, to make the king and his people happy."\*

He then turned to take leave of the friends who had accompanied him to the scaffold. He beheld his brother weeping excessively. "Brother," he said, "what do you see in me to cause these tears? Does any innocent fear betray in me—guilt? or my innocent boldness—atheism? Think that you are now accompanying me the fourth time to my marriage bed. That block must be my pillow, and here I shall rest from all my labours. No thoughts of envy, no dreams of treason, nor jealousies, nor cares for the king, the state, or myself, shall interrupt this easy sleep. Remember me to my sister and to my wife; and carry my blessing to my eldest son, and to Ann, and Arabella, not forgetting my little infant, that knows neither good nor evil, and cannot speak for itself. God speak for it, and bless it!" While undressing himself, and winding his hair under a cap, he said, looking on the block, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed."

"Then," proceeds Rushworth, closing this memorable scene, "then he called, 'Where is the man that shall do this last office? (meaning the executioner). Call him to me.' When he came and asked him forgiveness, he told him he forgave him and all the world. Then kneeling down by the block, he went to prayer again by himself, the Bishop of Armagh kneeling on the one side, and the minister on the other; to the which minister after prayer he turned himself, and spoke some few words softly; having his hands lifted up, the minister closed his hands with his. Then bowing himself to the earth, to lay down his head on the block, he told the executioner that he would first lay down his head to try the fitness of the block, and take it up again, before he laid it down for good and all; and so he did; and before he laid it down again, he told the executioner that he would give him warning when to strike by stretching forth his hands; and then he laid down his neck on the block,

stretching out his hands; the executioner struck off his head at one blow, then took the head up in his hand, and showed it to all the people, and said, 'God save the king!'"

Thus, on Wednesday, the 12th of May, 1641, died Thomas Wentworth, the first Earl of Strafford. Within a few weeks of his death the Parliament mitigated the most severe consequences of their punishment to his children, and in the succeeding reign the attainder was reversed, the proceedings obliterated, and his son restored to the earldom.\*

A great lesson is written in the life of this truly extraordinary person. In the career of Strafford is to be sought the justification of the world's "appeal from tyranny to God." In him Despotism had at length obtained an instrument with mind to comprehend, and resolution to act upon her principles in their length and breadth, and enough of her purposes were effected by him to enable mankind to see "as from a tower the end of all." I cannot discern one false step in Strafford's public conduct, one glimpse of a recognition of an alien principle, one instance of a dereliction of the law of his being, which can come in to dispute the decisive result of the experiment, or explain away its failure. The least vivid fancy will have no difficulty in taking up the interrupted design, and by wholly enfeebling or materially inboldening the insignificant nature of Charles, and by according some half dozen years of immunity to the "fretted tenement" of Strafford's "fiery soul," contemplate then, for itself, the perfect realization of the scheme of "making the prince the most absolute lord in Christendom." That done, let it pursue the same course with respect to Eliot's noble imaginings, or to young Vane's dreamy aspirations, and apply in like manner a fit machinery to the working out the projects which made the dungeon of the one a holy place, and sustained the other in his self-imposed exile. The result is great and decisive! It establishes, in renewed force, those principles of political conduct which have endured, and must continue to endure, "like truth from age to age."

\* The paper of minutes from which he had spoken this speech was afterward found lying on the scaffold, and was printed by Rushworth, vol. viii., p. 761. See Appendix to his Memoir.

\* (The eulogy of his enemy Whitelocke deserves to be his epitaph: "Thus," he says, "fell this noble earl, who for natural parts and ability, and for improvement of knowledge by experience in the greatest affairs; for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind, hath left few behind him that can be ranked as his equals."—C.)

# APPENDIX

## TO THE

### LIFE OF THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

MY HUMBLE OPINION CONCERNING A PARLIAMENT IN THIS YOUR MAJESTY'S KINGDOM OF IRELAND.

CHARLES R.  
Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Upon these reasons alleged by you, and the confidence which we have that you have well weighed all the circumstances mentioned by you, or otherwise necessary to the calling of a Parliament; and especially relying upon your faith and dexterity in managing so great a work for the good of our service, we are fully persuaded to condescend to the present calling of a Parliament; which, accordingly, we authorize and require you to do, and therein to make use of all the motives you here proposed.

with great deliberation—whether the present conjuncture of affairs doth now advise a Parliament or no? And, after a serious discourse with myself, my reason persuades me for the assembling thereof.

2. For, the contribution from the country towards the army ending in December next, your majesty's revenue falls short twenty thousand pounds sterling by the year of the present charge it is burdened withal, besides the vast debt of fourscore thousand pounds Irish upon the crown, which yearly payments alone are impossible by any other ordinary way to be in time supplied but by the subject in Parliament; and to pass to the extraordinary before there be at least an attempt first to effect it with ease, were to love difficulties too well, rather voluntarily to seek them, than unwillingly to meet them, and might seem as well vanity in the first respect so to affect them, as faintness to bow under them when they are not to be avoided.

3. The next inclination thereunto ariseth in me from the condition of this country, grown very much more civil and rich since the access of your royal father of blessed memory, and your majesty to the crown; that all you have here is issued out again amongst them for their protection and safety, without any considerable reservation, for other the great affairs and expenses abroad; that this great charge is sustained, and this great debt contracted through employments for a public good, whereof the benefit hitherto hath been entirely theirs; that there hath been but one subsidy granted in all this time, nor any other supply but this contribution; in exchange whereof, your princely bounty returned them graces as beneficial to the subject as their money was to your majesty; so as their substance having been so increased under the guard of your wisdom and justice, so little issued hence from them, the crown so pressed only for their good, and so modest a calling upon them now for a supply, which in all wisdom, good nature, and conscience they are not to deny—should they not conform themselves to your gracious will, their unthankfulness to God and the best of kings becomes inexcusable before all the world, and the regal power more warrantably to be at after extended for redeeming and recovering your majesty's revenues thus lost, and justly to punish so great a forfeit as this must needs be judged to be in them.

4. Next, the frightful apprehension, which at this time makes their hearts beat, lest the quarterly payments towards the army, continued now almost ten years, might in fine turn to an hereditary charge upon their lands, inclines them to give any reasonable thing in present to secure themselves of that fear for the future; and therefore, according to the wholesome counsel of the physician, *Dum dolet accipere*.

5. And, lastly, If they should meanly cast from them these mighty obligations, which indeed I cannot fear, your majesty's affairs can never suffer less by their starting aside, when the general peace abroad admits a more united power in your majesty, and less distracted thoughts in your ministers, to chastise such a forgetfulness, to call to their remembrance, and to enforce from them other and better duties than these.

Sect. 6, 7, 8, 9. We appoint the time of the meeting to be in Trinity term next, for the reasons you here allege.

I should advise might not be longer put off than Easter, or Trinity term at farthest; and I shall crave leave to offer my reasons.

7. The improvements mentioned in my despatch to the lord-treasurer, from which I no ways recede, would not be foreclosed, wherein we lose much by deferring this meeting, a circumstance very considerable in these straits, wherein, if surprised, might be of much disadvantage, in case the Parliament answer not expectation; and to enter upon that work before would be an argument for them to scant their supply to your majesty.

8. Again, a breach of Parliament would prejudice less than in winter, having at the worst six months to turn our eyes about, and many helps to be gained in that space; where, in the other case, the contribution ending in December next, we should be put upon an instant of time, to read over our lesson at first sight.

9. Then the calling of a Parliament and determining of the quarterly payments falling out much upon one, might make them apprehend there was a necessity enforcing a present agreement, if not the good one we would, yet the best we could get, and so imbolden them to make and flatter themselves to gain their own conditions, and conditions are not to be admitted with any subjects, less with this people, where your majesty's absolute sovereignty goes much higher than it is taken, perhaps, to do in England.

Sect. 10. We well approve and require the making of two sessions, as you propose. The first to be held in summer for our own supplies, and the second in winter, for passing such laws and graces only as shall be allowed by us. But this intimation of two sessions we think not fit to be imparted to any till the Parliament be set. And further, we will admit no capitulations nor demands of any assurance under our broad seal, nor of sending over deputies or committees to treat here with us, nor of any restraint in our bill of subsidies, nor of any condition of not maintaining the army; but in case any of these be insisted upon, and that they will not otherwise proceed or be satisfied with our royal promise for the second session, or shall deny or delay the passing of our bills, we require you thereupon to dissolve the Parliament, and forthwith to take order to continue the contributions for our army, and withal to proceed to such improvements of our revenue as are already in proposition, or may hereafter be thought upon for the advantage of our crown.

Sect. 11. Concerning the short law to preserve the uttermost benefit of the compositions upon concealments, and the plantations of Connaught and Ormond, we like it well, if you can obtain it, for confirmation of what you have done, or shall hereafter do about those businesses. But your promising of such a law, we doubt, may hinder the service, and cause them to be satisfy'd with nothing but a special statute.

Sect. 12, 13, 14, 15. For demands to be made for us, we

6. In the second place, the time your majesty shall in your wisdom appoint for this meeting imports very much; which, with all submission,

I should advise might not be longer put off than Easter, or Trinity term at farthest; and I shall crave leave to offer my reasons.

7. The improvements mentioned in my despatch to the lord-treasurer, from which I no ways recede, would not be foreclosed, wherein we lose much by deferring this meeting, a circumstance very considerable in these straits, wherein, if surprised, might be of much disadvantage, in case the Parliament answer not expectation; and to enter upon that work before would be an argument for them to scant their supply to your majesty.

8. Again, a breach of Parliament would prejudice less than in winter, having at the worst six months to turn our eyes about, and many helps to be gained in that space; where, in the other case, the contribution ending in December next, we should be put upon an instant of time, to read over our lesson at first sight.

9. Then the calling of a Parliament and determining of the quarterly payments falling out much upon one, might make them apprehend there was a necessity enforcing a present agreement, if not the good one we would, yet the best we could get, and so imbolden them to make and flatter themselves to gain their own conditions, and conditions are not to be admitted with any subjects, less with this people, where your majesty's absolute sovereignty goes much higher than it is taken, perhaps, to do in England.

10. And, lastly, There being some of your majesty's graces which, being passed into laws, might be of great prejudice to the crown; and yet it being to be feared they will press for them all, and uncertain what humour the denying any of them might move in their minds, I conceive, under favour, it would be much better to make two sessions of it, one in summer, the other in winter; in the former to settle your majesty's supply, and in the latter to enact so many of them as graces as in honour and wisdom should be judged equal when the putting aside of the rest might be of so ill consequence to other your royal purposes.

11. All the objections I am able to suggest unto myself are two: That it might render fruitless the intended improvement upon the concealments, and prejudice the plantations of Connaught and Ormond. The former may easily be helped by a short law, propounded in my despatch to my lord-treasurer; and *perit*, that there no other law pass the first session: the second is likewise sufficiently secured.

12. Then it is to be foreseen what your majesty will

our propositions in demand, both in the ad in the form; only change, which giveth maintain the army d without farther a them at all, we cony be drawn to a bind- mption; and besides, necessary, the very ion being sufficient to st.

your army, and to strike off the debts of your crown; the enacting of all such profitable and wholesome a moderate and good people may expect from a wise ious king.

hat, this being the order of nature, reason, and ci- our majesty expects it should be entirely observed, reall wholly intrusted by them; which they are to grant to be fit in the general case of king and , but ought indeed to acknowledge it with thank- lue to your majesty in particular, when they look d call to mind how, for their ease, you were con- take the sixscore thousand pounds (which their ave to be paid in three) in six years; and not barely ar, but to double your graces towards them the which they have enjoyed accordingly, much to their go and greatly to the loss of the crown.

ad that, considering the army hath been represent- be your majesty from this council, and in a manner body of this whole kingdom, to be of absolute ne- to give comfort to the quiet minds in their honest to contain the licentious spirits within the modest of sobriety, it consists not with your majesty's wis- give unto the world, no, not the appearance of so providence in your own counsels, of so much for- as in a case of their safety, as to leave that pillar authority and their peace unset for continuance, at a six months before the wearing forth of their con- l.

16, 17, 18. We do note that hereby you assent to relinquish our demands, for all we have laid so fair grounds. And con- the payment of the absolutely necessary was by the country, not pretend by their holdies to make a fit- ingation of respect coming to the crown that last addition to rals and pensions.

charge to them at all; much leisure to enact for themselves at after as they are, either now or in winter. Nay, your majesty a graciously pleased, with the assistance of your to advise seriously with them, that nothing might either unthought of or deny'd conducting to the pub- of this kingdom; but if they made difficulty to pro- h your majesty in this manner, other counsels must fit of, and little to be rely'd or expected for from

am not to flatter your majesty so far as to raise any that side that all this should be granted but by both, and especially the continuance of the quar- yments to the army, which they dread above any thing. I conceive it probable that, to determine asleep (as they think) the contribution, and in ac- quement of your majesty's happy access to the crown, y be drawn to a present gift of three subsidies, pay- three years, which alone wou'd keep the army on ing that time, and if my calculation hold, almost e the debt of the crown besides.

so thus I make my estimate: the contribution from try is now but twenty thousand pounds sterling by ; whereas I have good reason to trust each subsidy as thirty thousand pounds sterling, and so there ten thousand pounds for three years over and above blishment: which thirty thousand pounds sterling, d profitably issued, will, I trust, with honour to justy, and moderate satisfaction of the parties, strike whole fourscore thousand pounds Irish which in prometh so sore upon this crown.

19, 20, 21, 22. We ll the appointing of in Michaelmas term all bene- committee, and we re- sical acts for the subject amination to yourself. thought of, as many, no few- or not so more, enacted, than our council here, with were fit in honour and wis-

dom, how induce and pur- sue the same, for the happy settlement of the regal rights and powers in this more sub- ordinate kingdom.

13. My humble advice is, to declare, at the first open- ing of the meeting, that your majesty intends and promises two sessions; this former for yourself, that latter, in Mi- chaelmas term next, for them; this to ascertain the pay-

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the assistance of our attorney- general, to consider of the graces, that nothing pass by law which may prejudice our crown.

dom to be granted; if, for a conclusion to this Parlia- ment, we could gain from them other two subsidies, to buy in rents and pensions, to ten thousand pounds yearly value (a thing they are inclinable unto, as is mention'd in my despatch to the lord-treasurer), I judge there were a happy issue of this meeting; and that it shou'd, through God's blessing, appear to the world in a few years you had, without charge, made a more absolute conquest of this na- tion by your wisdom than all your royal progenitors have been able to accomplish by their armies, and vast expence of treasure and blood.

20. These being the ends, in my poor opinion, which are to be desired and attained, the best means to dispose and fit all concurring causes thereunto are not to be forgotten; and therefore, as preparatives, I make bold to offer these ensu- ing particulars:

21. It seems to be very convenient a committee be forth- with appointed of some few of us here, to take into consid- eration all the bills intended when there was a Parliament to have been called in the time of my Lord Falkland; such as shall be judged beneficial, to make them ready; such as may be of too much prejudice to the crown, to lay them aside; and to draw up others, which may chance to have been then omitted. This work may be by the committee either quickened or foreslowen, as the Parliament proceeds either warmer or cooler in your majesty's supplies.

22. Next, that your majesty's acts of grace, directed to my Lord Falkland the 24th of May, 1628, may be consid- ered by such of your council in England as shall please your majesty to appoint, there being many matters therein contained which in a law wou'd not futerly so well sort with the power requisite to be upheld in this kingdom, nor yet with your majesty's present profit; which hath persua- ded me to except against such as I hold best to be silently passed over, and to transmit a paper thereof to my lord- treasurer.

Sect. 23. We approve the reformation of these pressures and extortions by examples live under the pressures of and by commissions, by our own authority, but by no means to be done by Parlia- ment.

23. It is to be feared the meaner sort of subjects here live under the pressures of the great men, and there is a general complaint that of- ficers exact much larger fees than of right they ought to do. To help the former, if it be possible, I will find out two or three to make examples of; and to remedy the latter, grant out a commission for examining, regulating, and setting down tables of fees in all your courts, so as they shall find your majesty's good- ness and justice watching and caring for their protection and ease both in private and public respects.

Sect. 24. We allow of this course.

24. I shall endeavour the lower House may be so com- posed as that neither the recusants, nor yet the Protestants, shall appear considerably more one than the other, holding them as much as may be upon an equal balance, for they will prove thus easier to govern than if either party were absolute. Then wou'd I, in private discourse, show the recusant that, the contribu- tion ending in December next, if your majesty's army were not supply'd some other way before, the twelve pence a Sunday must of necessity be exacted upon them; and show the Protestant that your majesty must not let go the twenty thousand pounds contribution, nor yet discontent the other in matters of religion, till the army were some way else certainly provided for; and convince them both that the present quarterly payments are not so burdensome as they pretend them to be, and that by the graces they have had already more benefit than their money came to: thus pois- ing one by the other, which single might perchance prove more unhappy to deal with.

Sect. 25. To make captains and officers burgesses we alto- gether dislike, because it is bitter they attend their char- ges at that time. Make your choice rather by particular knowledge of men's interests and good affections to our way they please.

Sect. 26. In the higher House, for the Prelates, we have written our special letter to the Primate of Armagh, addressing him therein to be or than come over them- selves, will put their proxies into such safe hands as may be thought of on this side; and in the rest, your majesty hath such interest, what out of duty to the crown, and ob- noriousness in themselves, as I do not apprehend much any difficulty among them.

Sect. 27. For the Peers, 27. To these, or to any-

dom to be granted; if, for a conclusion to this Parlia- ment, we could gain from them other two subsidies, to buy in rents and pensions, to ten thousand pounds yearly value (a thing they are inclinable unto, as is mention'd in my despatch to the lord-treasurer), I judge there were a happy issue of this meeting; and that it shou'd, through God's blessing, appear to the world in a few years you had, without charge, made a more absolute conquest of this na- tion by your wisdom than all your royal progenitors have been able to accomplish by their armies, and vast expence of treasure and blood.

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Sect. 27. For the Peers, 27. To these, or to any-

that their proxies may be well disposed, we wou'd have you send with speed the names of those there in whom you repose special trust. And in case your list cannot be here in time, we will give order that all the proxies be sent to you with blanks to be assigned there. In general, for the better preventing of practices and disorders, you shall suf-

fer no meetings, during the setting of the houses, save only in public, and for the service of the houses by appointment, and for no other ends.

1634, April 12.

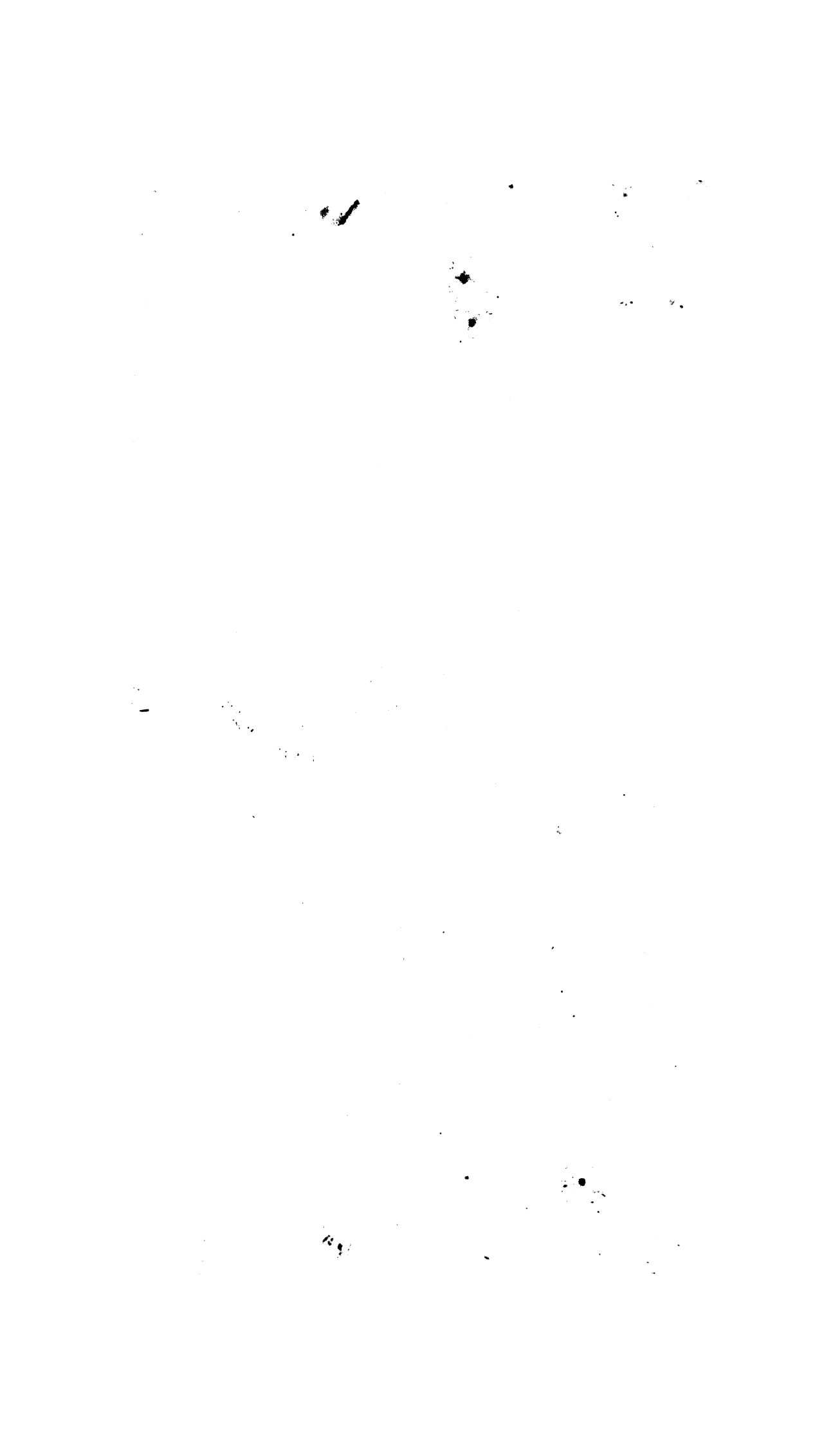
The answers contained in the apostiles are made by his majesty, and by his commandment set down in this manner.

JOHN COKE.

A COPY OF THE PAPER CONTAINING THE HEADS OF THE LORD STRAFFORD'S LAST SPEECH, WRITTEN BY HIS OWN HAND, AS IT WAS LEFT UPON THE SCAFFOLD.

1. I come to pay the last debt we owe to sin.
2. Rise to righteousness.
3. Die willingly.
4. Forgive all.
5. Submit to what is voted justice, but my intentions innocent from subverting, &c.
6. Wishing nothing more than great prosperity to king and people.

7. Acquit the king constrained.
8. Beseech to repent.
9. Strange way to write the beginning of reformation settlement of a kingdom in blood on themselves.
10. Beseech that demand may rest there.
11. Call not blood on themselves.
12. Die in the faith of the Church.
13. Pray for it, and desire their prayers with me.







*John Dymond*

HARPER & BROTHERS

# JOHN PYM.—1584-1643.

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\* Anthony & Wood merely says, "Before he (Pym) took a degree, he left the University, and went, as I conceive, to one of the inns of court."

†† It has been incorrectly stated that Pym first sat as member for Tavistock; he did not sit for the latter borough till some years after. It was the same influence, however, which returned him for both places.

touched with grace and feeling. I cannot resist concluding this note with the following quaint lines by Hayman, ingeniously descriptive of a personal defect of Pitt-Geoffrey's:

"Blind poet Homer you do equalize,  
Though he saw more with none than with most eyes:  
Our Geoffrey Chaucer, who wrote quaintly neat,  
In verse you match, equal him in conceit:



## JOHN PYM.—1584–1643.

JOHN PYM, the son of a Somersetshire "esquire," was born at Brymore, in his father's county, in the year 1584. His family, though described by Clarendon as of a "private quality and condition of life,"\* were rich and of very old descent; his mother was afterward Lady Rous;† and this boy, the only issue of her first marriage,‡ was sent, in the beginning of the year 1599, to Broadgate's Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford, where he entered as a gentleman commoner.§ Here he made himself remarkable, not only by quick natural talents, but by a sleepless and unwearied pursuit of every study he took in hand. Lord Clarendon has indulged a sneer at his "parts," as having been "rather acquired by industry than supplied by nature or adorned by art;"|| but we have it on the better authority of Anthony à Wood, that Pym's lighter accomplishments of literature, no less than his great learning and "pregnant parts," were admired in the University. "Charles Fitz-Geoffry, the poet, styled the said Pym, in 1601, *Phæbi delicia—Lepos puelli*."¶

It is stated in some of the histories that, on leaving Oxford, Pym entered one of the inns of court with a view to the bar; but it is difficult to find good authority for this.\*\* He was throughout life, however, remarkable for his thorough knowledge of the laws; and no doubt he studied them, at this time, with the almost certain expectation of being called upon, at no distant day, to serve in Parliament by the side of that great party who had already, by no unequivocal signs of their power and resolution, startled the misgoverned people into hope. He had certainly, even thus early, attracted the attention of the great Whig nobleman of the day, the Earl of Bedford; and to his influence, it is probable, he owed that appointment to a responsible office in the Exchequer, in which, according to Lord Clarendon, many after years of his youth were passed, and where, it is to be supposed, he acquired the knowledge and habits of business, and great financial skill, which, scarcely less than his genius for popular government, distinguished him through the long course of his public life.

In the Parliamentary returns of the year 1614, the name of "John Pym" is to be found as member for the borough of Calne.†† These were the returns of that "addle" Parliament

which has been before described,\* and which, "meeting according to their summons, such faces appeared there as made the court droop;"‡ among the new faces were those of Pym and Wentworth.

Upon the precipitate dissolution of this Parliament, after a sitting of two months, several of the more forward members were called before the council and committed to the Tower. If Rushworth is correct in saying that Pym was twice imprisoned in the reign of James, it may reasonably be supposed that he was one of those committed on the present occasion.‡ It is certain that he at once took an active share§ in the measures of the opposition, and the "maiden speech" of such an accession to the popular party is not unlikely to have been rewarded by a warrant from the council-table.

About this time Pym married Anna, the daughter of John Hooker, Esquire, a country gentleman of Somersetshire. For the next six years his name is not to be found in connexion with public affairs. These years were probably passed in retirement, where the mind does not find it difficult to imagine him, strengthening himself, in the calmness of domestic quiet, for the absolute devotion of his great faculties and deep affections to that old cause which was now again, not dimly, dawning upon the world.

In the year 1620 the wife of Pym died. The private memorials of this great man are too rare, and obtained with the cost of too much labour, to be thought unworthy of the reader's attention, however scanty they may be. What I shall now quote gives a grateful sketch of the character of this lady, on the authority of an excellent and accomplished man. The year in which she died witnessed also the death of Philippa, Lady Rous, Pym's mother; and on the occasion of the funeral of Lady Rous, a sermon was delivered by the famous Charles Fitz-Geoffry,|| which, on its subsequent publication, he dedicated to Pym.

\* Life of Strafford, p. 61.

† Wilson—in Kennet, vol. ii., p. 690.

‡ In the *Relique Wottoniana* (p. 443) some of the "refractory" members so committed are characteristically described: 1st, Sir Walter Chute, "who, to get the opinion of a bold man after he had lost that of a wise, fell one morning into an insipid and unseasonable declamation against the times;" 2d, John Hoskins, who "is in for more wit, and for licentiousness baptized freedom;" 3d, Wentworth, a lawyer, "whose fault was the application of certain texts in Ezekiel and Daniel to the matter of impositions;" and, 4th, Christopher Nevil, "a young gentleman fresh from the schools, who, having gathered together divers Latin sentences against kings, bound them up in a long speech." These are the only names specified, but it is known that upward of ten men were committed.

§ See the Journals.

|| For curious notices of this writer, see Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii., p. 607; Mere's *Wit's Commonwealth*, part II., and *Censura Literaria*. He was thought a "high-towering falcon" in poetry, on the strength of a really fine and loftily-written account, in Latin verse, of the life and actions of Sir Francis Drake. His minor compositions are touched with grace and feeling. I cannot resist concluding this note with the following quaint lines by Hayman, ingeniously descriptive of a personal defect of Fitz-Geoffry's:

"Blind poet Homer you do equalize,  
Though he saw more with none than with most eyes:  
Our Geoffry Chaucer, who wrote quaintly neat,  
In verse you match, equal him in conceit:

\* Clarendon's Hist., vol. iv. (Oxford ed. of 1826), p. 437.

† See the dedication to the sermon delivered at the funeral of this lady, among the pamphlets at the British Museum.

‡ The dedication in the sermon I have just referred to evidently restricts her issue by Mr. Pym to the great subject of this memoir.

§ "In the year of his age," says Anthony à Wood, "fifteen, being then, or soon after, put under the tuition of Degory Whear."

|| Clarendon's Hist., vol. iv. (Oxford ed. of 1826), p. 437.

¶ Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, vol. iii., p. 73.

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†† It has been incorrectly stated that Pym first sat as member for Tavistock; he did not sit for the latter borough till some years after. It was the same influence, however, which returned him for both places.

"I present you here," he writes in this dedication, "with that whereat you could not be present, your dearest mother's funeral—a labour I could willingly have spared, if God had been so pleased. But, seeing the great Disposer hath otherwise decreed, I gladly publish what I sorrowfully preached. Neither will I use that trivial apology for this publication—the importunity of friends. I confess mine ambition to divulge my observance of that house to which I owe my best endeavours. . . . What the religious cares of others received with some comfort, I here offer to your judicious eye; that as you are interested in the same sorrows, so you may be partaker of the same comforts. Poor, I confesse, are these of mine to those rich ones which the rare gifts of nature and grace afford to yourself; yet herein I would have you symbolize with the great ones of this world, who, although they possess whole cities and kingdoms, will yet accept an offer of a few acres."

"You may well take up," Fitz-Geoffry continues to Pym, "the complaint of the pathetic prophet—I am the man that have seen affliction: a great affliction, first, in being deprived of a most loving, holy, helpfull wife; whose learning rare in that sex, whose virtues rarer in this age, whose religion the rarest ornament of all the rest, could not choose but level the sorrow of losing her with the former comfort of enjoying her. This crosse is now seconded with the losse of a dear mother, and such a mother as was worthy that sonne, who was worthy such a wife. With the prophet's complaint I doubt not but you also take up his comfort: 'It is good for a man that he beare the yoke in his youth.'"

"I have fairly gayned by this publication," the writer concludes, "if hereby you take notice of my thankfulness to yourself, the world of my serviceableness to my patron. If God shall conferre a farther blessing (as commonly he doth in all good attempts), that as some received comfort in hearing, so many may be edified by reading these my weake endeavours, this I shall esteeme my happinesse. In this hope, bequeathing the successe to him who is able to doe above all that we can doe or thinke, yourselfe to his chieft blessing, my best affections to your worthy selfe, remaineth yours in all love and duty, CHARLES FITZ-GEOFFRY."\*

*Featured you are like Homer in one eye,  
Rightly surnamed the son of Geoffry."*

\* Death's Sermon unto the Living, delivered at the funeral of the religious Lady Philippa, 4to, 1620. From the sermon itself one or two points, touching on the personal characteristics of Pym's mother, will be thought worth extracting. "Expect not," says the preacher, "that I should speake of her ancestors, and make that the beginning of her prayse, which is rather the prayse of others." From the following it is evident that the first husband of Lady Philippa, the father of Pym, must have died very soon after Pym's birth. She is spoken of as "A comfortable helper to her loving husband (her second husband), and no small support of so great a house for more than thirtie years' continuance—and an especial ornament unto hospitalitie, the long-continued praise of that house." One of the concluding passages of the sermon is eloquently descriptive of this excellent woman: "She who not long silence came cheerfully into this place on the Lord's day (as her godly manner was), hath caused us mournfully to repaire hither on this day. She who used to come in her coach, is now carried in a coffin. She who used to heare attentively and look steadfastly on the preacher, is here now (so much of her as remaineth), but can neither see nor hear the preacher; but in silence proceeth to the preacher himself, and to every

Pym was now left with five young children, two sons and three daughters;\* and he did not marry again. "What he was from that moment," says a learned contemporary divine, Dr. Stephen Marshall, "was only for the public good: in and for this he lived—in and by this he died. It was his meat and drink; his work, his exercise, his recreation, his pleasure, his ambition—his ALL." Such enthusiastic expressions may justly describe his general course of life thenceforward, though the reader will be careful not to construe them too literally. Pym never was a candidate for the honours of asceticism: he required something besides an impeachment to dine upon, and was not content with supping off a religious committee: nor ever, it must be added, did the heavy distraction of public affairs bewilder him from that affectionate care towards his children, which is observed upon by many of those who were about him, and which was afterward richly recompensed. In this respect he was more fortunate than his friend Eliot. His second son, Charles, afterward sat with him,† a fellow-labourer, in the Long Parliament; and the name of his eldest son, John, appears in the returns of the Short Parliament,‡ and also in the list of those gallant Parliamentarians who were severely wounded at the battle of Newbury.

On the assembling of the Parliament of 1620–21, Pym again took his seat for Calne. A series of truly disgraceful events§ had filled

hearer and beholder, that this is the end of all men. And by her own example (which is the life of preaching) she confirmeth the doctrine, that neither arms nor scutcheons, nor greatness of state, nor godliness of life, nor gifts of mind, nor sobriety of diet, nor art of physicke, nor husband's care, cost, nor diligence of attendants, nor children's tears, nor sighs of servants, nor prayers of the Church, can except us from that common condition; for if they could, we had not seen this great and sad assembly here this day."

Worthily, from the bosom of such a mother, can we imagine young Pym instructed to the great achievements of his after life! "The boy," says our great poet Wordsworth, "is father to the man;" so also, anticipating Wordsworth, Charles Fitz-Geoffry said in this very sermon. The passage is quaint and curious, but pregnant with meaning. Speaking from the text of death, he suddenly breaks forth thus: "For that is the end of all men. Man is, as it were, a book; his birth is the title-page; his baptism, the epistle dedicatory; his groans and crying, the epistle to the reader; his infancy and childhood, the argument or contents of the whole ensuing treatise; his life and actions, the subject; his crimes and errors, the faults escaped; his repentance, the connexion. Now there are some large volumes in folio, some little ones in sixteens; some are fayer bound, some playner; some in strong vellum, some in thin paper, some whose subject is piety and godliness, some (and too many such) pamphlets of wantonnesse and folly; but in the last page of every one there stands a word which is *finis*, and this is the last word in every book. Such is the life of man: some longer, some shorter, some stronger, some weaker, some fairer, some coarser, some holy, some profane; but death comes in, like *finis* at the last, to close up the whole; for that is the end of all men."

\* See the Perfect Diurnall, No. 21, from 11th Dec. to the 16th of Dec., 1643.

† For the Devonshire borough of Beeralstone. See the returns.

‡ Which met in April, 1640. He sat for Pool, in Dorsetshire.

§ See Life of Strafford, p. 62, 63. Let an intelligent foreigner describe the state of the public mind during the progress of these events. "Consider, for pity's sake," runs one of Count Harlay de Beaumont's reports, "what must be the state and condition of a prince, whom the preachers publicly from the pulpit assail; whom the comedians of the metropolis covertly bring upon the stage; whose wife attends these representations in order to enjoy the laugh against her husband; whom the Parliament braves and despises, and who is universally hated by the whole people." Let me complete the picture by referring the reader to authorities at p. 63, note 7, col. 1.

up the interval since the last dissolution, but one of these events had been attended with a great result in attaching Sir Edward Coke to the popular party. Hampden also, in this year, first entered the House of Commons, and in the preparations for the session we observe the first formation of the system of Parliamentary party which has wrought such great results, for good and ill, in England. The men who were foremost in opposition to the court, whether in or out of the House of Commons, held constant meetings at the house of the great antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, in Westminster. Here assembled, for a common purpose, the men of learning and of action—the intellectual and moral power of England. Here were the Pynns and Seldens leagued; Camden, Coke, Noy, Stowe, Spelman, Philips, Mallory, Digges, Usher, Holland, Carew, Fleetwood, and Hakewell, acknowledged a common object here. The famous library of Sir Robert Cotton, now the priceless property of the nation, furnished to these meetings the precedents from which their memorable resolutions were taken; and from within its walls the statutes of the great days of England were, one by one, unrolled, and launched in succession upon the popular mind. May we not, with slight alteration, apply to it the matchless language of Milton? "Behold now that mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with God's protection; behold that shop of war, with its anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth; behold the pens and heads there, sitting by studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation!"

If the courtiers drooped, then, at the last Parliament, how much more reason had they to sink down at this! \* It required all the energy and intellect of Lord Bacon—who had then, just on the eve of his terrible fall, attained to the highest summit of official rank, power, and fame—to reassure and strengthen them. Never, he told the king, would he have a better chance of success with a Parliament than now, if, taking advantage of the universal depression of the Protestant interest abroad, he humoured the anti-Catholic zeal of the popular party by asking money from them in support of a crusade to be undertaken in behalf of the interests of Protestantism.† James could only half understand his chancellor's purpose; and in the speech to the Commons on their day of meeting, having substituted his own jargon for Ba-

con's grave and cautious periods,\* he managed to foil it completely. What he said to them was meant to be conciliatory, but it was a feeble mixture of threats and supplications.

The Commons listened coldly, and, on its conclusion, turned to the consideration of their privileges. They complained, in strong terms, of the imprisonment of the members at the close of the last Parliament for their conduct in that house, and broadly asserted that to the House itself belonged alone the right of judging and punishing every breach of decorum committed within its walls. The king in vain attempted to parry this remonstrance, and was at last obliged to defer to it by a solemn assurance that as he had already granted, so it was his intention thenceforward to maintain, that liberty of speech which was demanded by his faithful Commons. Upon receiving this message, they voted two subsidies, but without tenths or fifteenths; so small a sum, in fact, that it only left the king more completely at their feet. James hereupon, with his usual clever folly, returned them thanks in the most grateful terms.† Though the supply was small, he preferred it, he told them, to millions, because it was so freely given; lastly, he exhorted them, in the exuberance of his cunning, to apply to the redress of the national grievances, assuring them that they would always find him ready "to more than meet them half way."‡

Avoiding, with quiet indifference, the royal snare thus set for them, the leaders of the House at once proposed to restrict their literal acceptance of his majesty's speech to the latter half of it only. They sent him back resolutions from their committees of inquiry, levelled against certain notorious monopolists, who had long crippled the freedom of English trade.§

\* This expression may startle those who are acquainted with the schoolmaster tone of Bacon in addressing Parliaments generally, yet a glance at his "reasons for assembling the Parliament," which is drawn up with very great eloquence, will show that it is not misplaced. He observes, at its conclusion, "that in respect of so long intermission of a Parliament, the times may have introduced some things fit to be reformed, either by new laws or by the moderate desires of our loving subjects dutifully intimated to us, wherein we shall ever be no less ready to give them all gracious satisfaction than their own hearts can desire." Bacon's subsequent arrogant speech to this very Parliament—the haughty spirit going before a fall!—is not for an instant to be weighed against this cautious and elaborate composition.

† See Roger Coke's Detection, part i., p. 111.

‡ See the Journals of the House of Commons, p. 523. Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 328, &c.

§ Three patent monopolies had been the especial subject of discussion in the meetings of the opposition, as abuses of the highest degree of enormity: they were those for the licensing of inns, the licensing of hostleries, and the manufacture of gold thread; in which two notorious projectors, Mompesson and Michel, were pretty generally known to be only the agents of Buckingham and his family. By virtue of the first two, the patentees were enabled to exact for their licenses whatever sums they pleased; and on the refusal of innkeepers or publicans to comply with their arbitrary extortions, they fined or threw them into prison at their discretion. The knaveries and oppressions practised under the authority of the third patent were manifold. The monopolists manufactured thread so scandalously debased with copper that it was said to corrode the hands of the artificers and the flesh of those who wore it. This adulterated article they vended at an arbitrary and exorbitant price; and if they detected any persons in making or selling a better and cheaper article, they were empowered to fine and imprison such interlopers, without law; while a clause in their patent protected themselves from all actions to which they would otherwise have been liable in consequence of these attacks upon the liberty and property of their fellow-subjects, and of the right of search, even in private houses, which they assumed. (Aikin's James the First, vol. ii., p.

\* The Count Harley de Beaumont, writing from England a month before this Parliament met, observes: "Audacious language, offensive pictures, calumnious pamphlets, these usual forerunners of civil war, are common here, and are symptoms doubly strong of the bitter temper of men's minds, because in this country men are in general better regulated, or by the good administration of justice are more kept within the sphere of their duties. Yet I doubt that any great action will come of it, inasmuch as the king will, in case of need, surely join the stronger party." This was correctly guessed: for most certainly, had James been in the place of Charles, the civil war would not have been. A little blustering, and he would have yielded.

† See Bacon's works, vol. v., p. 531, 532. Aikin's Life of James I., vol. ii., p. 194-198. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 20, 21. Parl. History, vol. v., p. 308-319. Lingard, vol. ix. (6vo ed.), p. 243-245.

and against some officers of the king's courts, by whom the administration of justice had been for some time openly polluted.\* Of the committees from which these several charges emanated, Pym was an active and zealous promoter.†

The king, with every mean desire to wheedle money from the Commons,‡ was by this bold course startled into his old attitude of blustering arrogance; and at his elbow stood Buckingham, who, knowing too well that his brother, Sir Edward Villiers, would be struck down along with the other state criminals now plainly aimed at by the Commons, urged him at once to a dissolution; when, from a little distance, was heard the voice of the wily Williams, then creeping slowly but very surely up the state ladder, "Swim with the tide, and you cannot be drowned. If you assist to break up this Parliament, being now in pursuit of justice, only to save some cormorants who have devoured that which must be regorged, you will pluck up a sluice which will overwhelm yourself. Delay not one day before you give Sir Edward Villiers a commission for an embassy to some of the princes of Germany, or the Northlands, and despatch him over the sea before he be missed. Those empty fellows, Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel, let them be made victims to the public wrath, and cast all monopolies and patents of griping projectors into the Dead Sea after them. I have searched the signet office, and have collected almost forty, which I have hung in one bracelet, and are fit for revocation. Damn all these by one proclamation, that the world may see that the king, who is the pilot that sits at the helm, is ready to play the pump to eject such filth as grew noisome in the nostrils of his people."§ Ultimately this was accepted as a piece of wise counsel, and, observes Hacket, "out of this bud the dean's|| advancement very shortly spread out into a blown flower."

Sir Edward Villiers fled; Sir Giles Mompesson—the original of Massinger's Overreach—and his creature Sir Francis Michel were impeached and degraded; and many minor offenders were swept down in the same righteous

207. Lingard, vol. ix., p. 247, 248.) "Others," says Hacket, "remonstrated against a pack of cheaters, who procured the monopoly of gold thread, which, with their spinning, was palpably corrupted and embeased. These gild-fies were the bolder, because Sir Edward Villiers was in their indenture of association, though not named in their patent."—*Scrinia Reserata*, p. 49.

\* Among these were Field, bishop of Llandaff; Sir John Bennet, judge of the prerogative court; and Sir Henry Yelverton, the king's attorney-general.—See Bacon, vi., 383.

† In the unjustifiable proceedings against Floyd, into which the House was shortly after betrayed, I cannot discover that Pym took any active share. No doubt, however, in the melancholy religious excitement that prevailed at the time, and which was the natural result of the then invariable appearance of popery, both at home and abroad, in affinity and alliance with despotism, Pym did not resist the general feeling. I shall have many opportunities for showing, however, that he was not an intolerant man. For the circumstances of Floyd's case, see the State Trials, vol. ii., p. 1159. Carte, vol. iv., p. 78-80.

‡ In one of the despatches of Tillières, then French ambassador in London, I find a shrewd reason given for the anxiety of the court to secure, by any expedient, a supply of money from Parliament. By that, the Frenchman argues, the opposition will be "kept in check," for, he continues, "however ill inclined they appear, these grants of money, which give a claim on their property, compel them to proceed with more gentleness and reverence."

§ See Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 49, 50.

|| Williams was at this time Dean of Westminster.

storm of popular indignation, above which, moving and directing, Pym was seen pre-eminent. So especially active was he about those affairs at this time, that the king, as we learn from the authority of Anthony à Wood, singled him out from the rest of the members as a man of "a very ill-tempered spirit."\*

The most melancholy duty of this famous Parliament remained to be performed, to the world's wonder and its lasting loss. On the 15th of March, Sir Robert Philips reported to the House, as chairman of one of its committees of inquiry, that they had received information respecting a case of bribery which "touched the honour of so great a man, so endowed with all parts both of nature and art, as that he would say no more of him, not being able to say enough."† We turn aside, with deep regret and self-humiliation, at the thought of the disgrace of Lord Bacon; but, careless of the influence of Pope's worthless and senseless distich,‡ it is only just that we should remember, in some reassurance of the goodness as well as greatness of the intellect, that Bacon's submission was wrung from him by the mean and paltry spite of Buckingham; § that he was not confronted with his accusers; never cross-examined any of the witnesses against him; never adduced any on his own behalf. It becomes us, therefore, using his own most affecting appeal, to give to that submission "a benign interpretation; for words that come from wasted spirits and an oppressed mind are more safe in being deposited in a noble construction than in being circled with any reserved caution. When the book of hearts shall be opened, I hope I shall not be found to have the troubled fountain of a corrupt heart, in a depraved habit of taking rewards to pervert justice, howsoever

\* Ath. Oxon., vol. iii., p. 73. Wood adds, as some set-off to the king's opinion, that Pym was not without great esteem at the time, as a "person of good language, voluble tongue, and considerable knowledge in the common law."

† See the Commons' Journals, p. 530-563. Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 350. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 28. State Trials, vol. ii., p. 1088. Clarendon and Carte have striven to represent the impeachment of Bacon as the result of private pique and resentment—in the one case, on the part of Coke; in the other, on that of Buckingham. Whatever may have been the truth in either case, the Commons, having had the charges submitted to them, had no resource but that which they adopted; and the deference and tenderness exhibited by them, during the whole of the proceedings, towards the illustrious accused, was truly remarkable. I should add that, though Coke did not appear prominently, his conduct in endeavouring to implicate Bacon in Mompesson's crimes favours the supposition of his having done his best to move the original committee of inquiry. See the Journals of March 9th, and Carte, iv., 74.

‡ "If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shined

The wisest, greatest, meanest of mankind!"

One of these superlatives must be questioned—let the common sense of the reader determine which.

§ It will probably be in the reader's recollection that a servant of Bacon's subsequently said very distinctly, that his lord was absolutely prohibited by the king from making his defence. This may be questioned; but can it be questioned that, had Bacon not been restrained either by a positive command of James, or, at least, by a knowledge of what must be the royal wish, he might have palliated his offence in a very great degree? Many of the alleged bribes were, in reality, the customary compliments to chancellors; and of the worst of his delinquencies Buckingham was the sole instigator—the great cause and origin, as any one who reads the now published correspondence of Bacon and Buckingham will see to be established beyond a doubt. To this, indeed, Lord Bacon alludes, in this memorial of access to the king in 1623. "Of my offences, far be it from me to say, *Dei veniam coram, vixit censura columbas*, but I will say that I have good warrant, for they were not the greatest offenders in Israel on whom the wall of Shilo fell."

I may be frail, and partake of the abuses of the times." It was with this feeling the manly and earnest mind of Jonson contemplated Bacon's fall; for he had celebrated his prosperity, and would not shrink from him in his years of adversity and sorrow. "My conceit of his person was never increased towards him by his place or honours; but I have and do reverence him for the greatness that was only proper to himself, in that he seemed to me ever, by his words, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity, I ever prayed that God would give him strength, for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him, as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest."

Strengthened by the great good they had already achieved, Pym and the other leaders of the country party in this famous Parliament now addressed themselves to subjects which, while they deeply interested the religious feelings of the people, involved, as they well knew, some of the most dearly-cherished prejudices of the king. A war for the recovery of the Protestant cause in the Palatinate; some repeal of the indulgence granted to Catholics in the non-execution of the penal laws; destruction of those treaties that had been concluded with the King of Spain and the Emperor, to the heavy discouragement, as it was generally felt, of Protestantism; and, finally, arrest of the negotiations now carrying on for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Spanish Infanta: these questions day by day gathered formidable influence in the House, and at last, in the utter absence of any signs of immediate supply, effectually alarmed James. He lost temper and patience, and, suddenly dropping the mask he had worn so ill, sent an intimation to the House of Commons that he expected them to adjourn over the summer. This was received with extreme dissatisfaction; much angry parleying followed; but after some days' delay both houses were adjourned by royal commission. The Commons, however, before separating, voted a solemn declaration of their resolve to spend their lives and fortunes in defence of the Protestant cause\* (the reader will keep in view what has been already urged† respecting the inseparable connexion of this cause in that day with civil freedom); and this declaration was "sounded forth," says a person who was present, "with the voices of them all, withal lifting up their hats in their hands so high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in Parliament."

A recess of five months followed, in the course of which the whole Church was thrown into confusion, and the king's theology suffered a great eclipse. The cause is worth adverting to, in illustration of the personal positions of the dignitaries of the Church; for it was against this class of men, according to Lord Clarendon, that Pym first showed himself "concerned and passionate."‡

The good, easy Archbishop Abbot happened to have joined the Lord Zouch on a hunting-party at Bramhill Park, in Hampshire. Here his grace, having singled out a buck one morning, "and warned the company to be on their guard," took his aim, and, as the accounts say, "through mistake or want of skill," shot the keeper of the park, who was passing over the ground on horseback. A verdict of unintentional homicide was returned; but the opportunity was too happy to be lost, wherefore a pack of his grace's reverend opponents set in full cry after him, urging that by the canon law he had become incapable of holding any ecclesiastical preferment, or exercising any ecclesiastical function. His leading opponents were no less than four bishops elect, all of whom, under the circumstances, refused to receive consecration at his hands, and took their stand, very pathetically, upon impassable scruples of conscience, to which it would, of course, be a gross insult to suggest that, with two at least of these four reverend men, the hope of succeeding to the dignity of the disabled archbishop must have been strongly present. It was, in fact, notorious, that Williams and Laud\* entertained this hope. The sober and religious people of England were, meanwhile, attentively listening, and from the high places in Church and State nothing was to be heard but an agitation of the momentous question of whether the amusements of hunting and shooting were allowable in a bishop. James suffered all the throes of the strongest theological conceptions, but brought nothing forth. In despair of his own delivery, he at last appointed a commission of prelates and canonists: they could not agree; but, by way of a compromise, the majority proposed that Abbot should be absolved from all irregularity *ad majorem cautelam*. An agonizing question followed: Where was the ecclesiastical superior to absolve the metropolitan? A brilliant thought at last relieved the unprecedented difficulty. It was suggested that the king, as head of the Church, possessed exactly that plenitude of power which in Roman Catholic countries resided in the pope. Whereupon James issued his triumphant commands to the eight consecrated bishops, and Abbot was pardoned forthwith, upon the issue of a solemn declaration from the conclave that "the hunting aforesaid was decent, modest, and peaceable."‡

\* Laud had a quarrel of twenty years' standing with Abbot, who had, on several occasions, at Oxford, opposed and censured him on account of the Roman Catholic tendencies of doctrines maintained by him in his academical exercises.

† This will probably be pronounced to have been, upon the whole, a wise as well as important decision, and is certainly not without even present application to affairs of this sort. There is a kind of hunting nowadays indulged occasionally by clergymen and archdeacons which is anything but decent and peaceable. Buck-shooting, even at the occasional risk of an accidental loss of life, as in his grace of Canterbury's case, is in reality nothing to it. It may be very much the fashion, therefore, when we see a minister of the Gospel partridge-shooting or fox-hunting, to pull forth our Bibles, and make a parade of our acquaintance with Paul and Timothy; but the propriety of the practice is really more than doubtful, since the consequences may be such as to put society under serious *disobligation* to the rash hinderer of clerical pastimes. A pheasant is more allowable game than a peasant. When Domitian left off fly-killing, he took to killing Roman citizens; and our times have witnessed less innocent amusements, on the part of the clergy, than the sports of the field. As for the silence of Holy Writ about detonators, it is not more silent about detonators than about lawn sleeves and mitres; and, be-

\* Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 472, 473.

† See Life of Eliot, p. 6.

‡ Hist. of Rebel., vol. iv., p. 437.



# BRITISH STATESMAN.

ment assembled in November, 1621, at the imprisonment of one Sir Edwin Sandys,\* during some few days after their meeting.

Some few days after their meeting, Sir Edward Coke in motioned Sir Edward Coke in motion of their first resolutions, that they should state with the king on the cause of public discontent then prevailing, and the remedies. A petition was prepared, suggesting, among other things, Charles's marriage with a Protestant, and that the king should direct his efforts against the war against Spain, and the war against the Protestant in the Palatinate.† This petition was signed by the court party as utterly without merit; the chancellor of the duchy said it was of so high and transcendent a nature, he had never known the like within those parts. Privately, meanwhile, a copy of it had been sent to the king, on whom it took sudden and desperate effect. Calvert and Weston, according to Wilson, "had aggravated the matter to him, with all the acrimony they could, so far as to reflect upon particular persons that were the most active instruments in it."‡ Foremost among the persons so named were Pym, Coke, and Philips. Accordingly, from Newmarket, whither he had gone at the

time, "to be farther from the noise of the discontent of the Commons," James instantly despatched a letter to the speaker complaining of the influence possessed by some certain "fiery, popular, and turbulent spirits" in the lower House, forbidding them to inquire into the mysteries of state, or to concern themselves about the marriage of his son, or to touch the character of any prince, his friend or ally, or to intermeddle with causes which were submitted to the decision of the courts of law, or even to send to him their petition, if they wished him to hear or answer it; and, finally, to recollect that he (King James) thought himself "very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanours in Parliament as well during their sitting as after, which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there that shall be ministered unto us; and if they have already touched any of these points which we have forbidden in any petition of theirs which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them that, except they reform it before it come to our hands, we will not deign the hearing nor answering of it."§

From the date of this letter—the 3d of December, 1621—may be dated the commencement of the kind of open warfare of antagonistic principles which ended in the destruction of the Stuart race. The historian Hume confesses that it was "rash and indiscreet" in the king thus to risk the "tearing off that sacred veil which had hitherto covered the English Constitution, and which threw an obscurity upon it so advantageous to royal prerogative: every man began to indulge himself in political reasonings and inquiries; and the same factions which commenced in Parliament, were propagated through the nation."¶ Would the philosopher have thought James rash and indiscreet if his letter had proved successful? The truth was, that, backed by all the power of the executive, and with all the prisons of the Tower at his command, James's venture was perfectly in accordance with Hume's principles. He had, however, miscalculated the great majority of the men opposed to him, the characters of the men opposed to him, the or death, devoted to the achievement of a popular and responsible government in England.

In the spirit of men so leagued their reply to this letter was framed. The greatest respect tempered the most resolute firmness. Some abstract of this document will find a fitting place here, since Pym was one of the most active members of the committee appointed to draw it up, and it is, besides, of the last importance that the reader should distinctly understand the exact ground that was occupied by the opposing parties in this, the first open

sides, if it says nothing for them, it certainly says nothing against. "If you must drink," says the ordinary of Newgate to Mr. Jonathan Wild, "if you must drink, let us have a bowl of punch; a liquor I like rather prefer, as it is nowhere spoken against in Scripture." The same reason holds for an archbishop's or archdeacon's dog and gun, with precisely the same force.

\* Sandys had been placed under arrest with Selden, not then a member of the House; also Lords Oxford and Southampton, Sutherland, Sir G. Leeds, and Brise, a Puritan minister; after examination before the council, and a short confinement, they were restored to liberty. See Camden's Annals of James, 1621. Kennet's History, vol. ii., p. 657. Their offences are not assigned, but it would seem they had indulged in talking "arcana imperii" against the proclamation. Secretary Calvert was committed by the king to declare that Sandys, the only member committed, had not been committed for any Parliamentary matter, and Sir Thomas Wentworth even disavowed the resentment it as a breach of privilege. But it is difficult to doubt the cause of Sandys' commitment. See Debates and Journals.

† See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 40. This remonstrance, it has been truly said, was fitted to disconcert all the projects of James; it penetrated without reserve into the deepest recesses of those *arcana imperii* which he held so dear and so sacred; it proclaimed the futility of those negotiations in which he had exposed himself to become the dupe of Spain and the laughing-stock of laws would be no longer that his arbitrary suspension of laws would be no longer borne with; it taught him that the darling project of alliance which had prompted all these sacrifices; and, above all, that the purses of the English people would never be opened to him but in the cause of Protestantism and the liberties of Germany against the King of Spain. The following emperor, and especially the King of Spain. The following passage closed the petition: "This is the sum and effect of our humble declaration, which we (nowadays intending) press upon your majesty's undoubted and regal prerogative, do with the fulness of our duty and allegiance humbly submit to your most princely consideration: the glory of God, whose cause it is; the zeal of our true religion, to which we have been born, and wherein, by God's grace, we are resolved to die; the safety of your majesty's person, who is the very life of your people; the happiness of your children and posterity, the honour and good of the Church and State, dearer unto us than our own lives—having kindled these affections, truly devoted to your majesty, the words in italics were not in the petition as first proposed to the House, but were inserted in the course of the debate on it to meet some scruples of the time. See Journals, Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 499, and Aikin's James, vol. ii., p. 740.

¶ The following, which stands upon the journals immediately after the king's letter, is an evidence of Pym's quiet resolution and high courage: "Mr. Pym saith that the words of 'fiery, popular, and turbulent' are laid by his majesty on the whole House; for since we have not punished any such, but (as the letter saith) been led by their propositions, it is the act of the whole House. desirous a petition hath been informed those fiery, turbulent spirits, that we may justify ourselves, and clear the House of the taint of those words."

† Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 492. Roger Coke's Declaration, vol. i., p. 119, ed. 1694.

‡ Hist., vol. v., p. 82, quarto ed.

§ See Jour

contest between the English Parliament and the English king.

They began by professing their sorrow at the displeasure shown by his majesty's letter to the speaker, while they took comfort to themselves in the assurance of his grace and goodness, and of their own faithfulness and loyalty. They entreated that their good intentions might "not undeservedly suffer by the misinformation of partial and uncertain reports, which are ever unfaithful intelligencers," but that his majesty would vouchsafe to understand from themselves, and not from others, what their humble petition and declaration, resolved upon by the universal voice of the House, did contain. They beseeched, also, that his majesty would not henceforth give credit to private reports against all or any of the members of that House, on whom they themselves should not have inflicted a censure, but that they might ever "stand upright" in his royal judgment. Adverting, then, to the cause of their assembling in Parliament, and to the particulars of information laid before them by his majesty's command, they inferred that they "were called to a war," and certainly with the King of Spain, who had five armies on foot, and who was known to have occupied the lower Palatinate; and hence they took credit for the unprecedented celerity and alacrity with which their zeal for his majesty and his posterity had prompted them to proceed in voting the necessary supplies, and considering of the mode of conducting hostilities. To this they added, that although they could not conceive that the honour and safety of his majesty and his posterity; the patrimony of his children, invaded and possessed by their enemies; the welfare of religion and the state of the kingdom, were matters at any time unfit for their deepest consideration in time of Parliament, yet that, at this time, they were clearly invited to it; and that the mention of Popish recusants, and whatever said touching the honour of the King of Spain—in which, however, they contended that they had observed due bounds—had necessarily arisen out of the subject. Next they disclaimed all intention of invading his majesty's undoubted prerogative in disposing of his son in marriage, but maintained that, as the representatives of the whole commons of England, who have a large interest in the prosperity of the king and royal family, and of the State and Commonwealth, it became them to offer their opinion respecting this matter. On these considerations, they hoped that his majesty would now be pleased to receive their petition and declaration at the hands of their messengers, to read and favourably to interpret it, and to give answer to as much of it as relates to Popish priests and recusants, to the passing of bills, and to pardons. The declaration ended thus: "And whereas your majesty doth seem to abridge us of the ancient liberty of Parliament for freedom of speech, jurisdiction, and just liberty of the House, and other proceedings there (wherein we trust in God we shall never transgress the bounds of loyal and dutiful subjects); a liberty which we assure ourselves so wise and so just a king will not infringe, the same being our ancient and undoubted right, and an inheri-

ance received from our ancestors; without which we cannot freely debate, nor clearly discern of things in question before us, nor truly inform your majesty; in which we have been confirmed by your majesty's most gracious former speeches and messages: we are, therefore, now again enforced, in all humbleness, to pray your majesty to allow the same, and thereby to take away the doubts and scruples your majesty's late letter to our speaker hath wrought upon us."

This declaration, with the original petition, was carried to the king at Newmarket by Pym and eleven other members deputed by the House. "Chairs!" cried the king, as they entered the presence chamber; "chairs! here be twal' kynges comin'!" In the interview which followed he refused to receive the original petition; and, as Roger Coke expresses it, after reading the second declaration, "furl'd all his sails, and resolved to ride out this storm of the Commons." In other words, he set to work, and ended, with his own hand, an enormously long rejoinder, which may be thus translated and abridged from the rich Scotch dialect of the original.

He began by applying to the case some words of Queen Elizabeth, addressed to an insolent ambassador: "We looked for an ambassador—we have received a herald." So, he asserted, he had looked for thanksgiving from the Commons for all the "points of grace" he had conceded to them. "But not only," he continues, "have we heard no news of all this, but contrary, great complaints of the danger of religion within this kingdom, tacitly implying our ill-government in this point. And we leave you to judge whether it be your duties, that are the representative body of our people, so to distaste them with our government; whereas, by the contrary, it is your duty, with all your endeavours, to kindle more and more a dutiful and thankful love in the people's hearts towards us, for our just and gracious government." In respect to their taxing him with trusting uncertain reports and partial informations, he proceeded thus: "We wish you to remember that we are an old and experienced king, needing no such lessons, being in our conscience freest of any king alive from hearing or trusting idle reports;" and as to their petition in particular, he went on to say, that he had made their own messengers compare the copy of it which they brought with that which he had received before, which corresponded exactly, excepting a concluding sentence added by them afterward. Having thus satisfied himself with a reason which did not even glance at the gross breach of privilege complained of, he next told them, that if, in ignorance of the contents of their petition, he had received it, to his own great dishonour, he could have returned nothing to their messengers but that he judged it unlawful and unworthy of an answer. "For," he observes, "as to your conclusion thereof, it is nothing but *protestatio contraria facto*; for in the body of your petition you usurp upon our prerogative royal, and meddle with things far above your reach,

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 46. Parl. Hist., vol. v., p. 496. Aikin's James the First, vol. ii., p. 282, 284.

† Roger Coke, vol. i., p. 121.

and then, in the conclusion, you protest the contrary; as if a robber would take a man's purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him." He denied that the communications made by him to the House could in any manner authorize their proceedings. He had, indeed, made known that he was resolved by war to regain the Palatinate, if otherwise he could not; and had invited them to advise upon a supply for keeping the forces there from disbanding, and raising an army in the spring. "Now what inference," he continues, "can be made upon this, that therefore we must presently denounce war against the King of Spain, break our dearest son's match, and match him to one of our religion, let the world judge. The difference is no greater than if we would tell a merchant that we had great need to borrow money from him for raising an army; that thereupon it would follow that we were bound to follow his advice in the direction of the war, and all things depending thereupon. But yet, not contenting yourselves with this excuse of yours, which indeed cannot hold water, you come after to a direct contradiction, saying that the honour and safety of us and our posterity, the patrimony of our children, invaded and possessed by their enemies, and the welfare of religion and state of our kingdom, are matters at any time not unfit for your deepest considerations in Parliament. To this generality we answer, with the legiolans, that where all things are contained nothing is omitted. So this plenipotency of yours invests you with all power upon earth, lacking nothing but the Pope's, to have the keys, also, both of heaven and purgatory. And to this vast generality of yours we can give no other answer, for it will trouble all the best lawyers in the House to make a good commentary upon it. For so did the Puritan ministers in Scotland bring all kind of causes within the compass of their jurisdiction, saying that it was the Church's office to judge of slander, and there could be no kind of crime or fault committed but there was a slander in it, either against God, the king, or their neighbour: or like Bellarmine's distinction of the Pope's power over kings, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, whereby he gives them all temporal jurisdiction over them." With respect to the war, he then professed in general terms that he would suffer no consideration, not even the marriage of his son, to interfere with the restitution of the Palatinate; and boasted that by his intervention with the King of Spain and the archduchess in Flanders, he had already preserved it from farther conquest for a whole year. "But," he added, "because we conceive that ye couple this war of the Palatinate with the cause of religion, we must a little unfold your eyes therein." And he proceeded, in defiance of all historic truth, to lay the whole blame of the war of Bohemia, and the consequent oppression of the Protestants in Germany, on the ambition of his son-in-law, and his unjust usurpation of the crown of another. He severely reprimanded the Parliament, next, for the terms in which the King of Spain and his inordinate ambition were spoken of in their petition, not to allude to "the particular ejaculations of some foul-mouthed orators in your house against the honour of that king's crown

and state." Respecting the prince's marriage, he professed himself indignant that the House should not place so much confidence in his religion and wisdom as to rely on his former declaration, that religion should receive no injury by it; and then informed them that he was already too much advanced in the treaty to retract with honour. After much more objuratory language respecting what he treats as their unpardonable presumption, quoting the proverb, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, he condescends—ungraciously enough, but yet out of a sort of ungainly desire of seeming to conciliate—to explain away, in some degree, his general prohibition of their meddling with matters of government and mysteries of state, accusing them, at the same time, of misplacing and misjudging his sentences, as "a scholar would be ashamed so to misplace and misjudge any sentences in another man's book." With the following very startling passage he at last concludes: "And although we cannot allow of the style, calling it *your ancient and undoubted right and inheritance*, but could rather have wished that ye had said that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for most of them grow from precedents, which shows rather a toleration than inheritance), yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance that, as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and preserve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were—nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative; so as your house shall only have need to beware to trench upon the prerogative of the crown, which would enforce us, or any just king, to retrench them of their privileges that would pare his prerogative and flowers of the crown. But of this we hope there never shall be cause given."

This letter had not been long despatched, when symptoms of alarm broke out at the court. Williams recommended the qualification of its terms "with some mild and noble exposition;"† and the king prepared to adopt this suggestion, after he was told that the Commons, on receiving his letter, had on the instant appointed a committee to prepare a protest. Secretary Calvert accordingly went down to the House with an explanatory message from the king, wherein, while he reiterated his assurances respecting their privileges, and tacitly withdrew the menace that rendered them precarious, he said that he could not with patience endure his subjects to use such antimonarchical words to him concerning their liberties as "ancient and undoubted right and inheritance," without subjoining that they were granted by the grace and favour of his predecessors. The house heard this coldly. Calvert and the other ministers, seeing the coming storm, made a still more desperate effort to avert it by admitting the king's closing expressions in the original letter to be incapable of defence, and calling them a slip of the pen at the close of a long answer.‡ This availed as

\* *Parl. Hist.*, vol. v., p. 497, 507.

† See his curious letter in the *Cabala*, p. 65. Miss Aikin is in error in supposing that this was written before the despatch of the king's letter.

‡ See Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 500.

little as the former. The last and worst expedient was then resorted to, and the clerk of the House received notice of instant adjournment till the ensuing February.

In this extremity the leaders of this great Parliament acquitted themselves with memorable courage. Nothing, they said, should separate them till they had placed on record a protest against the monstrous pretensions of James. The time that remained to them was indeed short, but they proved it long enough for the accomplishment of an act which exerted a sensible influence on the contest between the people and the king up to its very close. All that was done in the most celebrated Parliaments of Charles followed, as a natural consequence, from what was done now.

Instantly upon the receipt of this notice of adjournment, a message was sent to the committee to whom the king's letter had been referred; some time passed in debate meanwhile, and it was not, as it would seem by the king's subsequent proclamation,\* until "six o'clock at night, by candle-light," a thing unprecedented in those days, "that the said committee brought into the House a protestation (to whom made appears not) concerning their liberties." This assertion of ignorance on the king's part, as to whom the protestation was made, emphatically points out the nobler quarter to which it addressed itself—the great mass of the English people. To them it was made, and, sinking into their hearts, met with a fruitful and congenial soil. After a long and earnest debate, advancing to a very late hour, the protestation was entered "as of record" upon the journals in the following ever-memorable words:

"The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry liberties, franchises, and privileges of Parliament, do make this protestation following: That the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the people of England: and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of mischiefs and grievances which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament: and that in the handling and proceeding of those businesses, every member of the House of Parliament hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same: and that the Commons in Parliament have like liberty and freedom to treat of these matters in such order as in their judgments shall seem fittest: and that every member of the said House hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation (other than by censure of the House itself) for or concerning any speaking, or reasoning, or declaring of any matter or matters touching the Parliament, or Parliament business: and that if any of the said members be complained of and questioned for anything done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shown

ed to the king by the advice and assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the king give credence to any private information."

No time was lost by the courtiers, it may be supposed, in communicating intelligence of this act to the king, who instantly, frantic with spite and outraged imbecility, hurried up to London from Newmarket, hastily assembled around him at Whitehall the privy council and six of the judges who happened to be in town, sent for the clerk of the House of Commons, and commanding him to produce his journal-book, tore out the protestation with his own hand, and ordered the deed to be registered by an act of council. His next exploit was to dissolve the Parliament.† This he did by proclamation, assigning as the necessity which had driven him to it, the "inordinate liberty" assumed by some "particular members of the House"—"evil-tempered spirits" who sowed tares among the corn.‡ Finally, he summoned these "evil-tempered spirits" before the council-table in the persons of Coke, Philips, Pym, and Mallory, and, having in vain endeavoured to exact submission from them, committed them to separate prisons.

I have found, and will here quote, a curious letter in illustration of the nature of these imprisonments, which have been sometimes spoken of by writers of the court party as though they spoke of matters comparatively trifling—a sort of temporary detention or honourable arrest. What follows will show the full extent of the dangers to which men of high birth and fortune were now content to expose themselves, in the hope, by such means, of still more quickening the sympathies and strengthening the purposes of the mass of the common people. It describes the capture and imprisonment of Sir Robert Philips, Pym's intimate friend on the occasion now in question; and describes, also, there can be little doubt, the course adopted, at the same time and for the same reason, towards Pym himself. It is in the shape of a petition from Francis Philips to King James, praying for the release of his brother, Sir Robert.

"It is not for myself," he writes, "I thus implore your majesty's grace, but for one that is far more worthy, and in whom all that I am consists—my dear brother; who, I know not by what misfortune, hath fallen, or rather been pushed, into your majesty's displeasure: not in dark and crooked ways, as corrupt and ill-affected subjects use to walk, and neer to break their necks in, but even in the great road, which both himself and all good Englishmen that know not the paths of the court, would have sworn would have led most safely and

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 53.

† A ludicrous anecdote of what very ominously befell the king on the same day is given in a manuscript letter of the time. "The Parliament was, on Wednesday, cleanly dissolved by proclamation. The same day his majesty rode by coach to Theobald's to dinner, not intending, as the speech is, to returne till towards Easter. After dinner, riding on horseback abroad, his horse stumbled and cast his majesty into the New River, where the ice brake: he fell in, so that nothing but his boots were seene. Sir Richard Yong was next, who alighted, went into the water, and lifted him out. There came much water out of his mouth and bodie; his majesty rode back to Theobald's, went into a warme bed, and, as we heare, is well, which God continue."—*Harl. MSS.*, 360.

‡ Rushworth, vol. i., p. 56.

\* See *Parl. Hist.*, vol. v., p. 514-16. *Memorial of the King's Reasons for destroying the Protestation of the Commons.*

most directly to your majesty's service from your majesty's displeasure. There needs no other invention to crucify a generous and honest-minded suppliant, upon whom hath issued and been derived a whole torrent of exemplary punishment, wherein his reputation, his person, and his estate grievously suffered; for, *having (upon the last process of Parliament) retired himself to his poor house in the country, with hope a while to breathe after these troublesome affairs, and still breathing nothing but your majesty's service, he was sent for, ere he had finished his Christmas, by a sergeant at arms, who arrested him in his own house, with as much terror as belongs to the apprehending of treason itself; but (thanks be to God) his conscience never started, and his obedience herein showed it was not in the power of any authority to surprise it; for at the instant, without asking one minute's time of resolution, he rendered himself to the officer's discretion, who (according to his directions) brought him up captive, and presented him at the council-table as a delinquent, from whence he was as soon committed to the Tower, where he ever since hath been kept close prisoner, and that with so strict a hand, as his own beloved wife and myself, having some time since urgent and unfeigned occasion to speak with him about some private business of his family, and hereupon making humble petition to the lords of your majesty's most honourable privy council for the favour of access, we were, to our great discomforts, denied it; by reason, as their lordships were pleased to declare unto us, that he had not satisfied your majesty fully in some points, which is so far from being his fault, as, I dare say, it is the greatest part of his affliction, that he sees himself debarred from the means of doing it. The lords commissioners that were appointed by your majesty to examine his offence, since the first week of his imprisonment have not done him the honour to be with him, by which means not only his body, but (the most part of his mind) his humble intentions to your majesty, are kept in restraint. May it please, therefore, your most excellent majesty, now at length, after five months' imprisonment and extreme durance, to ordain such expedition in this cause as may stand with your justice, and yet not avert your mercy—either of them will serve our turns—but that which is most agreeable to your royal and gracious inclination will best accomplish our desire. To live still in close prison is all one as to be buried alive; and for a man that hath any hope of salvation, it were better to pray for the day of judgment than to lie languishing in such wailing misery; yet not ours, but your majesty's will be done."*

A subsequent passage of the petition runs thus: "If (I say) it be not yet time to have mercy, but that he must still remain within the walls of bondage to expiate that which he did in these privileged ones, my hope is that he will die at any time for your majesty's service, and will find patience to live anywhere for your majesty's pleasure; only thus much let me beseech your majesty's grace, again and again, not to deny your humble and most obedient suppliant, that you will, at least, be pleased to mitigate the rigour of his sufferings so far as to grant him the liberty of the Tower, that he may no longer groan under the burthen of those in-

commodities which daily prejudice his health and fortune in a higher degree (I believe) than either your majesty knows or intends."

No answer was returned by the king; and under this kind of restraint Pym and his friends were all, with one exception,\* kept close prisoners,† until, as Roger Coke states, the breaking of the Spanish match necessitated the king to call another Parliament. Such sufferings, however, while they excite all the sympathies of the heart and mind, are much too high for pity. "I had rather," said Pym on more than one occasion, "I had rather suffer for speaking the truth, than that the truth should suffer for want of my speaking." The prisons of such men are the sanctuaries of philosophy and patriotism.

The last Parliament of James was summoned, and Pym, having obtained his release, again sat for Calne. The proceedings of this Parliament have been followed so minutely in the biography of Eliot,‡ that it is not necessary to say more here than that Pym's exertions, during its continuance, were chiefly employed upon the declaratory statute against monopolies, and against the delinquencies of the Lord-treasurer Middlesex.

James died, and Charles ascended the throne. The precise condition of affairs at this juncture has been already placed before the reader;§ and it will be only necessary to remind him, that the bitter distrust awakened in the English people towards their young king by the Earl of Bristol's exposure of the circumstances attending the breach of the Spanish treaties at the close of the reign of James, was aggravated by ostentatious and ill-timed indulgences granted to the professors of the Roman Catholic religion immediately upon Charles's accession. Under the influence of these feelings, the first Parliament of the new reign met, when Pym took his seat, for the first time, as member for the borough of Tavistock, in Devonshire, which he represented in all succeeding Parliaments till his death.

The first matter we find him engaged in here¶ was the case of the king's chaplain, Doc-

\* This exception was in the case of Selden, who, though not a member of the Parliament, had been consulted by it, and given very decisive opinions respecting questions of privilege. He was released in consequence of the earnest intercession of the subtle Lord-keeper Williams, an extract from whose letter on this subject, addressed to Buckingham, supplies us with one or two curious hints of character. "Now," says our artful bishop, "poor Mr. Selden petitions your lordship's mediation and favour. He and the world take knowledge of that favour your lordship hath ever afforded my motions; and myself, without the motion of any; and so draweth me along to entreat for him, the which I do the more boldly, because, by his letter enclosed, he hath absolutely denied that ever he gave the least approbation of that power of judicature lately usurped by the House of Commons. My lord, the man hath excellent parts, which may be diverted from an affectation of applause of idle people to do some good and useful service to his majesty. He is but young, and it is the first offence that ever he committed against the king. I presume, therefore, to leave him to your lordship's mercy and charity."—Hacket's *Scrinia Reserata*, part i., p. 69. Doctor Hacket proceeds, after giving this letter, in his characteristic style: "These soft words mollified anger, and Mr. Selden was released by the next packet that came from the court in progress."

† Detection, vol. i., p. 130.

‡ See speech on the journals of the last Parliament of James; also on the 17th March, 1641. § P. 6, 8.

¶ Life of Eliot, p. 9, 10.

¶ I should mention, also, that Pym was a very active member of the celebrated committee known by the name of its chairman, Mr. Sergeant Glanville. This was that grand

tor Montague, which may be very briefly explained. The then inseparable connexion, in the minds of the English people, between Popery and despotism, has been very frequently touched on. The effect of the Reformation—the sense of emancipated intellect which had naturally flowed from it—had been such as to imbue men's minds generally with the deepest sense of the paramount importance of a pure system of religious ethics in matters of political government. This sense struck still more deeply into the heart of England, when in every quarter of the Continent the Romish cause appeared as the cause of the oppressor, while the Protestant was that of the oppressed; and nowhere was a struggle for good government to be seen, that had not instantly arrayed against it all the powers and influences of the Roman Catholic Church. If anything was wanting to strengthen a consequent necessity, on the part of the men who now enjoyed the confidence of the great masses of the people, of a bitter opposition to the doctrines of Popery, it was furnished by the conduct of those High Church court divines who were known to be most favourable to the despotic system in politics. They made every effort to introduce, under the cover of the Arminian tenets, a sort of bastard Popery into the Church of England. Their design was plainly to secure a safe retreat for absolute monarchy under a timely alliance of prerogative with priestcraft and Church power.

Foremost in support of this design was Montague, one of the king's chaplains; and upon this divine Pym fastened with inveterate purpose. He had republished, on Charles's accession, a book which Archbishop Abbot had censured, at the request of the House of Commons, in the preceding year. Encouraged by Laud, he composed also a defence of this book, called it an appeal to Cæsar, and inscribed it to Charles. Here he asserted the Romish Church to be a true church, resting on the same authority and foundation as the English, and differing from it only in some points of lesser importance; defended the use of images; affirmed that the saints had knowledge and memory of human things, and exercised peculiar patronage over certain places and persons; maintained the real presence; numbered ordination among the sacraments; and approved confession and absolution, and the use of the sign of the cross. In the same work, as a contrast to all this, much bitterness was indulged against the Puritans; lecturing and preaching were decried; even the reading of the Scriptures was alluded to with a sneer; and, finally, by way of gratifying the despotic propensities of the king, a prerogative was claimed for him, founded on divine right, and paramount to the English laws.\*

Pym was the author of the report upon this book presented to the House of Commons.

committee of privileges, whose report is still referred to as an eminent achievement of "Parliamentary reform." Advancing from their decisions on certain contested returns, they drew out a general outline and system of the legal right of voting, and issued new writs to several places, to three Buckinghamshire boroughs among them, where the custom of returning members had fallen into disuse. Hampden was also an active member of this famous committee.

\* See Montague's works, entitled "A new Gag for an old Goose," and "Appello Cæsarem."

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Montague was ordered immediately after into the custody of the serjeant at arms, and brought, for submission, before the bar of the House. A vehement intercession was then made for him by Laud, who so far betrayed himself, in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, as to declare that it was impossible to conceive how any civil government could be supported, if the contrary of Montague's doctrines were to be maintained; and urged him to engage the king to reclaim to himself the judgment of the cause, as a branch of his prerogative.\* Upon this Charles interfered, but with no other effect than to expose himself still more to the distrust of his people. Notwithstanding his request that, since Montague was his servant, the punishment might be referred to himself, the prisoner was obliged to give bail for his appearance before the House when called on, in the sum of £2000.

After the first ill-advised dissolution, and on the eve of the issue of writs for Charles's second Parliament, Rushworth tells us that "Bishop Laud procured the Duke of Buckingham to sound the king concerning the cause, books, and tenets of Doctor Richard Montague; and understanding by what the duke collected that the king had determined within himself to leave him to a trial in Parliament, he said, '*I seem to see a cloud arising and threatening the Church of England: God for his mercy dissipate it!*'"†

But this Parliament, guided by the energy and intellect of Eliot, had higher game in hand; and Pym found himself, some few days after its assembling, appointed one of the secret managers of an impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. This impeachment has been already described at some length,‡ but one or two characteristic extracts from the speech with which Pym presented the eleventh and twelfth articles to the judgment of the House of Lords will find a proper place here. Those articles, it will be recollected, charged the duke with procuring titles of honour and grants of land for poor and unworthy creatures of his own, and also with embezzling the king's money, and securing to himself grants of crown property of enormous value on dishonest conditions, to the gross prejudice of the crown no less than of the subject.§

Pym began his task by observing that "want of oratory" would be no disadvantage to his cause, since the "proportion of matter" he had to deliver was such that their lordships would not be likely to criticise his "art or expression." Having read the eleventh article, he proceeded to point out the fatal consequences to the well-being of the state, no less than to the morals of the subject, which must result from the continuance of such practices as those of the duke. A grave, deliberative, and weighty style will

\* See Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 137. Cabala, p. 156.

† Rushworth, Coll., vol. i., p. 199.

‡ Eliot's Life, p. 13-16.

§ Anthony Wood observes, "Pym was a great enemy to the favourite of King Charles I., called George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and very active in aggravating some of the articles that were put up against him; viz., that he forced Sir Richard Roberts, Bart., knowing him to be rich, to take the title of Lord Roberts of Truro upon him, and that, in consideration thereof, to make him pay for it to him the said duke £10,000. Farther, also, that he sold the office of lord-treasurer to the Earl of Manchester for £20,000, and the office of master of the wards to the Earl of Middlesex for £3000," &c., &c.—*Ath. Ox.*, vol. ii., p. 73.

arrest the reader's attention in the extracts which follow ; and let him think what a masterly and effective foil this must have been to the quick and impassioned eloquence of Eliot.

"There are some laws," he said, alluding to the tampering of the duke with grants and honours, "peculiar, according to the temper of several states ; but there are other laws that are co-essential and co-natural with government, which being broken, all things run unto confusion ; and such is that law of suppressing vice and encouraging virtue by apt punishments and rewards. Whosoever moves the king to give honour, which is a double reward, binds himself to make good a double proportion of merit in that party that is to receive it—the first of value and excellency, the second of continuance ; for as this honour lifts them above others, so should they have virtue beyond others ; and as it is also perpetual, not ending with their persons, but depending upon their posterity, so *there ought to be, in the first root of this honour, some such active merit to the Commonwealth as may transmit a vigorous example to their successors, to raise them to an imitation of the like.*" Waving, then, with great dignity, any reflections "on those persons to whom this article collaterally relates, since the commands I have received from the Commons concern the Duke of Buckingham only," the speaker proceeded to urge, from the facts stated in the article itself, the heavy nature of the grievance charged. "It is prejudicial," he said, "*first, to the noble barons ; secondly, to the king, by disabling him from rewarding extraordinary virtue ; thirdly, to the kingdom, which comprehends all. It is prejudicial to this high Court of Peers.* I will not trouble your lordships with recital how ancient, how famous this degree of barons hath been in the western monarchies ; I will only say, the baronage of England hath upheld that dignity, and doth conceive it in a greater height than any other nation. The lords are great judges—a court of the last resort ; they are great commanders of state, not only for the present, but as law-makers and counsellors for the time to come ; and this, not by delegacy and commission, but by birth and inheritance. If any be brought to be a member of this great body who is not qualified to the performance of such state functions, it must needs prejudice the whole body ; as a little water put into a great vessel of wine, which, as it receives spirits from the wine, so doth it leave therein some degrees of its own infirmities and coldness. *It is prejudicial to the king.* Not that it can disable him from giving honour, for that is a power inseparable from the crown ; but, by making honour ordinary, it becomes an incompetent reward for extraordinary virtue. When men are made noble, they are taken out of the press of the common sort : and how can it choose but fall in estimation when honour itself is made a press ! *It is prejudicial to the kingdom.* Histories and records are full of the great assistance which the crown has received from the barons on foreign and domestic occasions ; and not only by their own persons, but their retinue and tenants ; and therefore they are called by Bracton, ROBER BELLE. How can the crown expect the like from those who have no tenants, and are hardly able to maintain

themselves ! Besides, this is not all ; for the prejudice goes not only privatively from thence, in that they cannot give the assistance they ought, but positively, in that they have been a greater burden to the kingdom since, by the gifts and pensions they have received—nay, they will even stand in need to receive more for the future support of their dignities. This makes the duke's offence greater, that in this weakness and consumption of the state he hath not been content alone to consume the public treasure, which is the blood and nourishment of the state, but hath brought in others to help him in this work of destruction ; and, that they might do it the more eagerly by enlarging their honour, he hath likewise enlarged their necessities and appetites." With several precedents from early reigns, clearly and forcibly urged to the House, in proof that "when men are called to honour, and have not livelihood to support it, it induceth great poverty, and causeth bribes, extortions, embraceries, and maintenance," Pym concluded his "aggravation" of this article.

He now desired the twelfth article to be read, embodying various charges of embezzlement in various ways, both of money and land ; and then, having subdivided these charges into separate branches, he presented each to the attention of the House with such popular clearness and brevity, and in such a natural and lucid order, that what must otherwise have been confused and unintelligible to all save those peers who were thoroughly versed in the nicest distinctions of property and technicalities of law, took, from the style of Pym, a remarkable simplicity and plainness. In speaking of the lands which the duke had procured, with unusual conditions of favour, from the crown, and urging the monstrous grievance, "that in a time of necessity, so much land should be conveyed to a private man," the orator interposed thus : "And because the Commons aim not at judgment only, but at reformation, they wish that, when the king bestows any lands for support of honours, those ancient cautions might be revived of annexing the land to the dignity (lest, being wasted, the party returns to the crown for a new support) ; by which provision the crown will reap this benefit, that as some lands go out by new grants, others will come in by extinct entails." Observing next upon the unusual clauses inserted in these grants for the duke, Pym directed their lordships' attention more especially to "the surrender of divers parcels of those lands back to the king, after he had held them some years, and taking others from the king in exchange. Hence," continued he, "the best of the king's lands, by this course, being passed away, the worst remained upon his hand ; so that, having occasion to raise money, such lands could not supply him. Opportunity was also hereby left to the duke to cut down woods, to enfranchise copyholders, to make long leases ; and yet, the old rent remaining still, the land might be surrendered at the same value. Whether this be done I am uncertain, not having time to examine ; but I recommend it to your lordships to inquire after it ; and the rather, for that the manor of Couphill, in Lincolnshire, was so dismembered, and by a surrender turned back to the king."



in the next branch of his subject, a favourite type of embezzlement with Buckingham was admirably handled—that of selling the king's lands, and causing tallies to be struck for the money paid, as if it had really gone into the Exchequer, whereas it had notoriously been received by the duke. "Divers parcels of land were sold and contracted for by his own agents, and the money received to his own use; and yet tallies struck as if the moneys had come into the Exchequer. This is to be proved by its own officers, by the officers of the Exchequer, and by the tallies themselves, which tallies amount to £44,090 5s. Whence I observe, 1. That there ran one thread of falsehood towards the king through all his dealings. 2. That it was a device to prevent the wisdom of parliament, if it should be thought fit, from making a resumption; for by these means these grants seem to have the face of a valuable consideration, whereas they were free gifts. 3. That the title of these lands prove questionable, yet, it appearing by record as if the king had received the money, he was bound in honour to make the estate good, and yet the duke had no profit."

Alluding afterward to Buckingham's gross practice of procuring, under pretence of secret service, great sums to be issued by privy seals, sundry of his creatures, Pym thus, with earnest gravity—in a speaker whose style was as steady and deliberative it would have seemed for severity or passion—hinted at the mishap which such practices might require. The quality of the fault," he said, "I leave to your lordships. I leave to your lordships the proportion of judgment in which you will use it—whether to that crime which in the civil law is called *crimen peculatus*, which was when any man did unjustly turn to his own use that money which was either *sacra*, dedicated to God's service, or *religiosa*, used about funerals or monuments of the dead, or *publica*, as the business now in question is; the rather, because the public treasure was held in the same reputation with that which was dedicated to God and religion. This offence—*crimen peculatus*—is that law, was death and confiscation. Or whether your lordships will think it to carry proportion with that crime which is called in the civil law *crimen falsi*, and is defined to be when any shall *simulatione veri sum compendium, alieno impendio, facere*, viz., by semblance of truth make gain to himself out of others' losses; which, in the case of a bondman, was death, and in the case of other men was banishment and confiscation, as the nature of the fact required. Or whether your lordships will esteem it according to the sentence of the Star Chamber ordinary in cases of fraud, or according to the common law, which so much detests this dealing, which they term *covin*, as it doth vitiate ordinary and lawful actions. Or, lastly, whether your lordships will estimate it according to the duke's own judgment, in his own conscience; for direct actions are not afraid to appear open-faced, but all dealings desire to be masked with subtlety and closeness; and therefore it were even of justice sufficient, were there no more than a cunning concealing of what he received from the king, since that argues either guilt of unthankfulness, in hiding his master's bounty;

guilt of unworthiness, as if he durst not avow the receipt of that which he had not merited; or guilt from fear of punishment, by these inquisitions into his actions which now are come to pass."

One extract more—in reference to the great danger that had been done to the state in the confusion between the king's estate and Buckingham's, by the duke's practices of falsifying the records and entries—will illustrate the quarter from which Pym doubtless derived his admirable habits of business and order. "By the wisdom of the law, in the constitution of the Exchequer, there be three guards set upon the king's treasurer and accompts. The first is a legal impignoration, whereby the estates, personal and real, of the accountants, are made liable to be sold for the satisfaction of their debts. The second is an act of controlment, that the king relies not upon the industry nor sincerity of any one man; but, if he fail in either, it may be discovered by the duty of some other officer, sworn to take notice of it. The third is an evidence and certainty, not for the present time only, but of perpetuity, because the king can neither receive nor pay anything but by record. All these ways have been broken by the Duke of Buckingham, both in the case next before recited, and in these that follow. The custom of the Exchequer, my lords, is the law of the kingdom for as much as concerneth the revenue. Now every breach of that law, by particular offence, is punishable; but such an offence, as is the destruction of the law itself, is of a far higher nature." Pym next alluded to "two privy seals of release—the one the 16th, the other the 20th Jac.—concerning divers sums secretly received to his majesty's use, but by virtue of these releases to be converted to the Duke of Buckingham's own profit, the proof whereof is referred to the privy seals themselves;" and thus continued: "Hence, my lords, appear the duke's subtilties, by which he used to wind himself into the possession of the king's money, and to get that by cunning steps and degrees, which, peradventure, he could not have obtained at once. A good master will trust a good servant with a greater sum than he would give him; yet after, when it is out of his possession, will be drawn the more easily to release him from accounting for it, than to have made it a free gift at first."

Having gone through the various charges in detail, Pym now presented to the House in one mass the gross amount in money and land absorbed from the public estate by Buckingham, and afterward summed up his share of the great duty that had been assigned to him by the House of Commons in this grave and deliberate manner. "This is a great sum in itself, but much greater by many circumstances. If you look upon the time past, never so much came into any one private man's hands out of the public purse. If you respect the time present, the king had never so much want, never so many occasions, foreign, important, and expensive. The subjects have never given greater supplies, and yet those supplies are unable to furnish those expenses. But as such circumstances make that sum the greater, so there are other circumstances which make the sum



little, if it be compared with the inestimable gain the duke hath made by the sale of honours and offices, and projects hurtful to the states both of England and Ireland, or if it be compared with his own profuseness. Witness, notwithstanding this gift, his confession before both Houses of Parliament to be indebted £100,000 and above. *If this be true, how can we hope to satisfy his immense prodigality? if false, how can we hope to satisfy his covetousness?* And, therefore, no wonder the Commons so earnestly desire to be delivered from such a grievance. I shall now produce the precedents of your lordship's predecessors. Precedents they are in kind, but not in proportion, for in that view there are no precedents. The first is the 10th Rich. II., which was in the complaint against Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, out of which I shall take three articles. The first, that being chancellor, and sworn to the king's profit, he had purchased divers lands from the king, more than he had deserved, and at an under rate. The second, that he had bought an annuity of £50 per annum, which grant was void, and yet he procured the king to make it good. The third, whereas the master of St. Anthony's, being a schismatic, had forfeited his estate into the king's hands, this earl took it in farm at 20 marks the year, converting the overplus, which was 1000 marks, to his own benefit, which should have come to the king. The next precedent is one of the 11th Rich. II., out of the judgment against Robert de Vere and others, out of which I shall take two articles, the fifth and seventh. The fifth was for taking lands and manors annexed to the crown, whereby they themselves were enriched, and the king made poor. The seventh was intercepting the subsidies granted for the defence of the kingdom. The third precedent is 28 Hen. VI., in the Parliament roll, out of the complaint against William, duke of Suffolk, to the effect that, being next and privatest of council to the king, he had procured him to grant great possessions to divers persons, whereby the king was much impoverished, the expense of his house unpaid, wages, the wardrobe, castles, navy debts unsatisfied; and so, by his subtle counsel and unprofitable labour, the revenues of the crown, of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of other the king's inheritances, so diminished, and the commons of the realm so extremely charged, that it was near a final destruction; and, moreover, that the king's treasure was so mischievously diminished to himself, his friends, and well-wishers, that, for lack of money, no armour nor ordnance could be provided in time. These precedents, my lords, the Commons produce as precedents in kind, but not in proportion; and, since these great persons were not brought to judgment upon these articles alone, you will observe this as a just conclusion, that ravening upon the king's estate is always accompanied with other great vices. All these considerations I humbly submit to your lordship's great wisdom, and conclude with hoping that, as this great duke has so far exceeded all others in his offences, he may not fall short of them in punishment.\*

\* See the Old Parliamentary History, vol. vii., p. 123-129. The recent editors of the Parl. Hist. have entirely omitted this striking speech. I cannot resist subjoining, in

The result of this great movement against Buckingham, the abrupt dissolution of the second Parliament, and the disastrous events that followed, have been sufficiently placed before the reader. Pym was thrown into prison, and only again released on his return to the third Parliament for Tavistock. In that memorable third Parliament, his exertions were only second to those of Eliot. With that great patriot and statesman, indeed, Pym went hand in hand;\* and his deference to Eliot's powers was only less admirable than the extent and capacity of his own.

When, after the first debate on grievances, in which the member for Tavistock did not fail to distinguish himself, the motion for granting five subsidies was brought forward, in accordance with the noble plan of operations determined upon by Eliot, and already fully described in my account of his exertions, it was Pym who urged most emphatically upon the House the necessity of the immediate grant. "In business of weight," he said, "despatch is better than discourse. We came not hither without all motives that can be towards his majesty. We must add expedition to expedition: let us forbear particulars. A man in a journey is hindered by asking too many questions. To give speedily is that which the king calls for. 'A word spoken in season is like an apple of gold set in pictures of silver;' and actions are more precious than words. Let us hasten our resolutions to supply his majesty."† Now it might really have been upon

this note, a very remarkable list of precedents similar to those urged by Pym, which were furnished by Sir Robert Cotton, when sitting in the previous Parliament at Oxford. "I will tell you what I have found, since this assembly at Oxford, written by a reverend man, twice vice-chancellor of this place: his name was Gascoigne—a man that saw the tragedy of De la Pole. He tells you that the revenues of the crown were so rent away by ill counsel, that the king was enforced to live *de tallagis populi*, and was grown in debt *quinque centena milia librarum*; that his great favourite, in treating a foreign marriage, had lost his master a foreign duchy; that, to work his ends, he had caused the king to adjourn the Parliament in *villis et partibus remotis regni*, where few people, *propter defectum hospitii et vicualium*, could attend, and by the shifting that assembly from place to place, to enforce (I use the author's own words) *illos paucos qui remanebant de communitate regni concedere regi quævis pessima*. It was," says he, in conclusion, "a speeding article against the Bishop of Winchester and his brother, in the time of Edward III., that they engrossed the person of the king from his other lords. It was not forgotten against Gaveston and the Spencers in the time of Edward II. The unhappy ministers of Richard II., Henry VI., and Edward VI., felt the weight, to their ruin, of the like errors. I hope we shall not complain in Parliament again of such. I am glad we have neither just cause nor undutiful dispositions to appoint the king a council to redress those errors in Parliament, as those 43 Henry III. We do not desire, as 5 Henry IV. or 29 Henry VI., the removing from about the king any evil counsellors. We do not request a choice by name, as 14 Edward II., 3, 5, 11 Richard II., 8 Henry IV., 31 Henry VI.; nor to swear them in Parliament, as 35 Edward I., 9 Edward II., 5 Richard II.; or to line them out their directions of learning, as 43 Henry III. and 6 Henry VI." This sort of display of learning has a wonderful significance of meaning beneath it. See History 15, from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 10, 11.

\* Pym was the only man in the House of Commons who seemed to have a perfect understanding with Eliot as to the course of his intentions towards Buckingham, and, in prosecuting the matter in such a way as to give the greatest possible effect to Eliot's policy, he showed himself master of the same large ulterior views. When the news of the arrest of Eliot was carried to the House of Commons, Pym was the only person present who did not seem startled out of his self-possession. In the midst of tumultuous shouting and cries for instant adjournment, his voice was heard counselling judgment and temper. See Journals, May 12, 1626. † Parl. Hist., vol. vii., p. 430.

such words as these, spoken with a view to give effect to the noble and temperate policy which was thought necessary for the achievement of the petition of right, that Lord Clarendon afterward ventured,\* in his indulgence of revengeful spleen against the memory of Pym, to ground his famous accusation, that, at a particular time, "Mr. Pym made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the crown, in which he had so ill success that his interest and reputation visibly abated." The time named by the historian is indeed much later; but the speech which has just been quoted is about the best semblance of authority for such a charge that can be found on the debates or journals of the House of Commons;† and it will scarcely be maintained that, in the absence of such corroborative authority, Lord Clarendon's assertion upon such a matter is entitled to the smallest weight.‡

Certainly the court was soon fated to be undeceived, if it had ever persuaded itself to construe these words of the patriot leader into a shrinking or relenting from the popular cause. Pym's activity in searching every possible quarter for precedents during the preparation of the petition of rights was marked and incessant; he was said by Sir Edward Coke to have examined every state paper in the manuscript collections at Lambeth. Equally indefatigable were his exertions during the progress of that great measure through the houses; and many of the wretched expedients vainly resorted to by Charles, day by day, and week by week, to elude the purpose or weary out the perseverance of his opponents, were defeated by Pym's address and courage. When Secretary Cooke carried down Charles's brief and peremptory message to the House, desiring to know whether they would or would not rest upon his royal word,§ it was Pym's voice which broke the long silence that followed the startling question. He rose and said, with consummate presence of mind and admirable temper, "We have his majesty's coronation oath to maintain the laws of England—what need we then to take his word?" and afterward quietly proposed to move "whether we should take the king's word or no." Old Cooke, upon this, started from his seat with the indignant question, "What would they say in foreign parts if the people of England refused to trust their king?" "Truly," rejoined Pym, quickly, "truly, Mr. Speaker, I am just of the same opinion I was, namely, that the king's oath is as powerful as his word." Eliot then came to the assistance of Pym, and the dishonest message was rejected.¶ So, when the petition of rights itself was sent down from the House of Lords with the addition of the saving clause proposed by Williams, to the effect that "they would

leave entire the SOVEREIGN POWER with which his majesty was trusted, for the protection, safety, and happiness of the people," Pym rose from his seat, and uttered these remarkable words: "I am not able to speak to this question. I know not what it is. All our petition is for the laws of England, and this 'power' seems to be another distinct power from the power of the law. I know how to add sovereign to the king's person, but not to his power. We cannot 'leave' to him a sovereign power, for we never were possessed of it."\* The issue has been fully described.

Great as Pym's exertions were, however, during the progress of the petition of right, we do not find that they in any way served to abate his attendance on the various religious committees of this famous session, at all of which he sat as chairman. An ingenious admirer of Charles I. has, in allusion to this, observed: "The profound politicians among the patriots, as Pym and Hampden, now allied themselves to the religionists. The factions at first amalgamated, for each seemed to assist the other, and, while the contest was doubtful, their zeal, as their labours, was in common. Religion, under the most religious of monarchs, was the ostensible motive by which the patriots moved the people. When, on one occasion, it was observed that the affairs of religion seemed not so desperate that they should wholly engross their days, Pym replied, that they must not abate their ardour for the true religion, that being the most certain end to obtain their purpose and maintain their influence."† This is not correctly stated, since no such alliance, except in so far as the objects of both parties could not be kept apart, was at this time formed. Pym was never, at any period of his life, a Nonconformist; he died, as he had lived, in the discipline, no less than in the faith, of the pure English Church, "a faithful son of the Protestant religion."‡ It is true that he was the means of exacting from the country party in the House of Commons a greater attention than they had before been used to pay to matters of religious faith and doctrine, but with what aim? not, most surely, to inflame the religious passions of the people, or to strengthen any set of dissenters from the Church, but to assault, through the sides of court divines, the strongest holds of absolute power. The sect of the Puritans was not increased by Pym's exertions. It was the good work of Laud, and of such as Laud, to enlist upon their side the deepest sympathies of even the most sober sections of the English people, who thought it hard indeed that vast numbers of high-minded, industrious, and conscientious men, firmly attached to the laws of England, should be driven from their native soil, or harassed in property and estate, or mutilated in person, only for scrupling to comply with a few indifferent ceremonies that had no relation to the favour of God or to the practice of virtue. Laud Puritanized England. Pym's share in the work, as well as his general principle of Parliamentary interference in religious affairs,

\* See Hist. of Rebellion, vol. iv., p. 438.

† I have carefully examined them all with this view, and may here remark, that were I to give only the names of the numberless committees of which Pym was the leading member through all the Parliaments of Charles, I might fill half this volume with such details alone. His habits of business must have been wonderful indeed!

‡ See post, p. 183, note. The speech there referred to is not upon the journals.

§ They are all described in the Life of Eliot.

¶ "Upon this there was silence for a good space."—See Rushworth, vol. i., p. 553; Parl. Hist., vol. xviii., p. 95; Life of Eliot, p. 22.

‡ Sloane MSS., 4177.

\* Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 118.

† D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Life of Charles the First, vol. iii., p. 296, 297.

‡ His own words. See Rushworth's Collections, vol. v., p. 377.

will be best explained by his speech in the case of Doctor Mainwaring.

While the House of Commons were deliberating, in distrust and resentment, on the king's first answer to the petition of right, which had just been presented to them, Pym seized the occasion of carrying up to the House of Lords a "declaration" against Mainwaring. During the last interval of Parliament, this divine, one of the royal chaplains, had rendered himself notorious by the slavish doctrines of his sermons. In obedience to Laud's instructions\* to the clergy to "preach the loan," he had delivered two infamously servile discourses, with a view to show that "the king could make laws and do whatsoever pleased him; that he was not bound by any pre-existing law respecting the rights of the subject; and that his sole will in imposing taxes without the consent of Parliament obliged the subjects' conscience, on pain of eternal damnation."† One extract from these effusions will show their style and character. "Of all relations, the first and original is between the Creator and the creatures; the next between husband and wife; the third between parents and children; the fourth between lord and servants; from all which forenamed respects there doth arise that most high, sacred, and transcendent relation between king and subject."

On Wednesday, the 4th of June, Pym presented himself to the Lords as the accuser of Mainwaring. He began by saying that he should speak to this cause with more confidence, because he saw nothing to discourage him. "If I consider the matter," he continued, "the offences are of a high nature and of easy proof; if I consider your lordships, who are the judges, your own interest, your own honour, the examples of your ancestors, the care of your posterity, all will be advocates with me in this cause on the behalf of the commonwealth. And when I consider the king our sovereign—the pretence of whose service and prerogative might, perchance, be sought unto as a defence and shelter for this delinquent—I cannot but remember that part of the king's answer to the petition of right of both houses, 'that his majesty held himself bound in conscience to preserve their liberties,' which this man would persuade him to impeach. Nor, my lords, can I but remember his majesty's love to piety and justice, manifested upon all occasions; and *I know Love to be the root and*

\* These instructions commenced thus. They were drawn up by Laud in the name of the king: "We have observed that the Church and the State are so nearly united and knit together, that, though they may seem two bodies, yet, indeed, in some relation they may be accounted but as one, inasmuch as they are both made up of the same men, which are differenced only in relation to spiritual or civil ends. This nearness makes the Church call in the help of the State to succour and support her whensoever she is pressed beyond her strength. And the same nearness makes the State call in for the service of the Church, both to teach that duty which her members know not, and to exhort them to, and encourage them in, that duty which they know. It is not long since we ordered the State to serve the Church, and, by a timely proclamation, settled the peace of it; and now the State looks for the like assistance from the Church, that she and all her ministers may serve God and us by preaching peace and unity at home, that it may be the better able to resist foreign force uniting and multiplying against it." Who can doubt the design so plainly intimated in this passage, of a crusade of Church and State against the people's liberties?

† Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 8-10.

*spring of all other passions and affections. A man therefore hates, because he sees somewhat in that which he hates contrary to that which he loves; a man therefore is angry, because he sees somewhat in that wherewith he is angry that gives impediment and interruption to the accomplishment of that which he loves.\** If this be so, by the same act of apprehension by which I believe his majesty's love to piety and justice, I must needs believe his hate and detestation of this man, who went about to withdraw him from the exercise of both."

After this very striking commencement, Pym proceeded to that which he said was the task enjoined him, "To make good every clause of that which had been read unto them; which, that he might the more clearly perform, he proposed to observe that order of parts into which the said declaration was naturally dissolved.

1. Of the preamble. 2. The body of the charge. 3. The conclusion, or prayer of the Commons.

"The preamble consisted altogether of recital—*first*, of the inducements upon which the Commons undertook this complaint; *second*, of those laws and liberties against which the offence was committed; *third*, of the violation of those laws which have relation to that offence. Now," he continued, "from the connexion of all these recitals, it was to be observed that there did result three positions, which he was to maintain as the groundwork and foundation of the whole cause. The *first*, that the form of government in any state could not be altered without apparent danger of ruin to that state. The *second*, that the law of England, whereby the subject is exempted from taxes and loans not granted by common consent of Parliament, was not introduced by any statute, or by any charter or sanction of princes, but was the ancient and fundamental law, issuing from the first frame and constitution of the kingdom. The *third*, that this liberty of the subject is not only most convenient and profitable for the people, but most honourable and necessary for the king; yea, in that very point of supply for which it was endeavoured to be broken.

"As for the first position, the best form of government is that which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of a state to the common good; and as those parts give strength and ornament to the whole, so they receive from it again strength and protection in their several stations and degrees. If this mutual relation and intercourse be broken, the whole frame will quickly be dissolved and fall in pieces; for while, instead of this concord and interchange of support, one part seeks to

\* Mr. Browning has worked upon the same noble thought in his poem:

\* \* \* \* \*  
All love renders wise  
In its degree; from love which blends with love—  
Heart answering heart—to that which spends itself  
In silent mad idolatry of some  
Pre-eminent mortal—some great soul of souls—  
Which ne'er will know how well it is adored!  
\* \* \* Love is never blind, but rather  
Alive to every the minutest spot  
That mars its object, and which hate (supposed  
So vigilant and searching) dreams not of.

\* \* \* \* \*  
Trust me,  
If there be friends who seek to work our hurt,  
To ruin and drag down earth's mightiest spirits,  
Even at God's foot, 'twill be from such as love—  
Their zeal will gather most to serve their cause—  
And least from those who hate."—*Paracelsus*, part 2.

uphold the old form of government, and the other part to introduce a new, they will miserably consume and devour one another. Histories are full of the calamities of whole states and nations in such cases. But it is equally true that time must needs bring about some alterations, and every alteration is a step and degree towards a dissolution: those things only are eternal which are constant and uniform. Therefore it is observed by the best writers on this subject, *that those commonwealths have been most durable and perpetual which have often reformed and recomposed themselves according to their first institution and ordinance*; for by this means they repair the breaches, and counterwork the ordinary and natural effects of time.

"The second is as manifest. There are plain footsteps of those laws in the government of the Saxons: *they were of that vigour and force as to overlie the Conquest—nay, to give bounds and limits to the Conqueror*, whose victory only gave him *hope*, but the assurance and possession of the crown he obtained by composition, in which he bound himself to observe these and the other ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom, and which afterward he likewise confirmed by oath at his coronation; and from him the said obligation descended to his successors. It is true they have been often broken, and they have been often confirmed by charters of kings and by acts of Parliaments; but the petitions of the subjects, upon which those charters and acts were founded, were ever *PETITIONS OF RIGHT, demanding their ancient and due liberties, not suing for any new*.

"To clear the third position may seem to some men more a paradox, that those liberties of the subject should be so convenient and profitable to the people, and yet most necessary for the supply of his majesty. But surely," he said, "if those liberties were taken away, there would remain no more industry, no more justice, no more courage; *for who will contend, who will endanger himself for that which is not his own?* And yet," he added, "he would not insist upon any of those points, nor upon others equally important; but only observe, that if those liberties were taken away, there would remain no means for the subjects, by any act of bounty or benevolence, to ingratiate themselves with their sovereign." And, in reference to this point, he desired their lordships to remember "what profitable prerogatives the laws had at various times appointed for the support of sovereignty, as wardships, treasures-trove, felons' goods, fines, amercements, and other issues of courts, wrecks, escheats, and many more, too long to be enumerated; which, for the most part, are now, by charters and grants of several princes, dispersed into the hands of private persons; and that, besides the ancient demesnes of the crown of England, William the Conqueror did annex to the crown, for the better maintenance of his estate, great proportions of those lands which were confiscated from those English who persisted to withstand him, of which, notwithstanding, very few remain at this day in the king's possession; yet also, since that time, the revenue of the crown hath been sup-

plied and augmented by attainders and other casualties, and in the age of our fathers by the dissolution of monasteries and chantries, of which near a third part of the whole land came into the king's possession." He remembered farther that constant and profitable grant of the subjects in the act of tonnage and poundage. "But of what avail," he added, "have all these grants and prerogatives been? They were now so alienated, anticipated, or overcharged with annuities and assignments, that no means were left for the pressing and important occasions of the time but one, and that one the voluntary and free gift of the subjects in Parliament. It is that which is now assailed; but trust me, my lords," Pym exclaimed, "*the hearts of the people, and their bounty in Parliament, are the only constant treasure and revenue of the crown which cannot be exhausted, alienated, anticipated, or otherwise charged and encumbered!*"

There is nothing more remarkable in the speeches of Pym than what may be emphatically termed their *wisdom*. This will have frequent and abundant illustration in the course of this memoir. Never, in the most excited moments of even his latter life, did he seem other than far removed above the idle clamours of party, and the little views of the "ignorant present," while with this he could combine, at will, the most immediate and most practical resources of the orator; for the wisdom I have spoken of was, as it always is with the greatest men, a junction of the plain and practical with the profound and contemplative; to such an extent, however, in his case, and in such perfection, as may not be equalled in that of any other speaker of ancient or modern time, with the single exception of Burke. Hence his speeches were not simply a present achievement of the matters he had in hand, but a grand appeal, on their behalf, to the enlightened judgment of the future; and the presenting the more prominent passages of them thus, for the first time, to the attention and admiration of his fellow-countrymen, is no less to discharge a very tardy act of justice to his memory, than to furnish the most striking, and, as it were, living materials for a judgment on the great times in which he lived.

After a farther homiletic subdivision of his subject, a practice of which he was extremely fond, and which gave a certain weight and scholastic formality to the commonest point he touched on, Pym proceeded at great length through the second grand division of his speech, step by step—to "show the state of the case as it stood both in the charge and the proof;" to "take away the pretensions of mitigation and limitation of his opinions urged by the doctor in defence;" to "observe circumstances of aggravation;" and "to propound some precedents of former times, wherein, though he could not match the offence now in question, yet he should produce such as should sufficiently declare how forward our ancestors would have been in the prosecution and condemning of such offences, if they had been then committed." The materials of the charge, he observed, were contrived into three distinct articles. The first of these comprehended two clauses: "First. That his majesty is not bound

to keep and observe the good laws and customs of the realm concerning the right and liberty of the subject to be exempted from all loans, taxes, and other aids laid upon them without common consent in Parliament. Second. That his majesty's will and command, in imposing any charges upon his subjects without such consent, doth so far bind them in their consciences that they cannot refuse the same without peril of eternal damnation!" Two kinds of proof were produced upon this article: "The first was from assertions of the doctor's, concerning the power of kings in general, but, by necessary consequence, to be applied to the kings of England. The next was from his Censures and Determinations upon the particular case of the late loan, which, by necessity and parity of reason, were likewise applicable to all cases of a like nature; and lest, by frailty of nature, he might mistake the words or invert the sense, he desired leave to resort to a paper, wherein the places were carefully extracted out of the book itself."

And then he read each particular clause, pointing to the page for proof, and afterward proceeded and said, that from this evidence of the fact doth issue a clear evidence of his wicked intention to misguide and seduce the king's conscience, touching the observations of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to scandalize and impeach the good laws and government of the realm, and the authority of Parliaments. "Now, my lords," continued Mr. Pym, "if to give the king ill counsel in one particular action hath heretofore been heavily punished in this high court, how much more heinous must it needs be thought to pervert and seduce, by ill counsel, his majesty's conscience—that sovereign principle of all moral actions in man, from which they are to receive warrant for their direction before they be acted, and judgment for their reformation afterward! If scandalum magnatum—slander and infamy cast upon great lords and officers of the kingdom—has been always most severely censured, *how much more tender ought we to be of that slander and infamy which is here cast upon the laws and government, from whence are derived all the honour and reverence due to those great lords and magistrates!* All men, my lords, and so the greatest and highest magistrates, are subject to passions and partialities, whereby they may be transported into over-hard injurious crosses; and though these considerations can never justify, they may sometimes excuse, the railing and evil speeches of men who have been so provoked; it being a true rule, that whatsoever gives strength and enforcement to the temptation in any sin, doth necessarily imply an abatement and diminution of guilt in that sin. But to slander and disgrace the laws and government is without possibility of any such excuse, *it being a simple act of a malignant will, not induced nor excited by any outward provocation; for the laws, carrying an equal and constant respect to all, ought to be revered equally by all.*" And thus he derived the proofs and enforcements upon the first article of the charge.

In the same strain of grave and lofty eloquence Pym urged the second and third articles of the impeachment, and then observed, with conclusive effect, upon Mainwaring's at-

tempted limitations of his doctrines. The doctor had pleaded, for instance, among other things, that "he did not attribute to the king any such absolute power as might be exercised at all times or upon all occasions, but only upon necessity extreme and urgent;" and to this Pym answered, "That it is all one to leave the power absolute, and to leave the judgment arbitrary when to execute that power; for, although these limitations should be admitted, yet it is left to the king alone to determine what is an urgent and pressing necessity, and what is a just proportion, both in respect of the ability and of the use and occasion; and what shall be said to be a circumstance, and what the substance of the law. Thus the subject is left without remedy; and, the legal bounds being taken away, no private person shall be allowed to oppose his own particular opinion, in any of these points, to the king's resolution; so that all these limitations, though specious in show, are in effect fruitless and vain."

Having answered, in the same easy strain, all Mainwaring's flimsy defence, he now took up some "circumstances of aggravation," and presented them to the Lords. The remark he makes on the fact of some of these sermons having been preached before the "king and court at Whitehall," is very singular and significant.

"The first," he said, alluding to the circumstances of aggravation, "was from the place where these sermons were preached—the court, the king's own family, *where such doctrine was before so well believed that no man need to be converted.* Of this there could be no end but either simoniacal, by flattery and soothing to make way for his own preferment, or else extremely malicious, to add new afflictions to those who lay under his majesty's wrath, disgraced and imprisoned, and thus to enlarge the wound which had been given to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The second was from the consideration of his holy function. He is a preacher of God's word, and yet he had endeavoured to make that, which was the only rule of justice and goodness, to be the warrant for violence and oppression. He is a messenger of peace, but he had endeavoured to sow strife and dissension, not only among private persons, but even betwixt the king and his people, to the disturbance and danger of the whole state. He is a spiritual father; but, like that evil father in the Gospel, he hath given his children stones instead of bread; instead of flesh he hath given them scorpions. Lastly, he is a minister of the Church of England, but he hath acted the part of a Romish Jesuit: they labour our destruction, by dissolving the oath of allegiance taken by the people; he doth the same work, by dissolving the oath of protection and justice taken by the king."

With the same eloquent boldness he next observed, as a circumstance of aggravation, that the authors quoted by Mainwaring in support of his doctrines were "for the most part friars and Jesuits;" and, worse than this, that he had been guilty of "fraud and shifting in citing even those authors to purposes quite different from their own meanings." In this portion of his great task, Pym gave some memorable illustrations of the labour and learning

he had applied to it, only one very short specimen of which may be given here. "In the twenty-seventh page of his first sermon," Mr. Pym continued, "he cites these words, *Suarez de Legibus*, lib. v., cap. 17: *Acceptationem populi non esse conditionem necessariam, ex vi juris naturalis aut gentium, neque ex jure communi*. Now the Jesuit adds, *Neque ex antiquo jure Hispania*, which words are left out by the doctor, lest the reader might be invited to inquire what was *antiquum jus Hispania*; though it might have been learned from the same author, in another place of that work, that about two hundred years since this liberty was granted to the people by one of the kings, that no tribute should be imposed without their consent; and this author adds farther, that after the law is introduced, and confirmed by custom, the king is bound to observe it." From this place Pym took occasion to make this short digression: "*That the kings of Spain, being powerful and wise princes, would never have parted with such a mark of absolute royalty if they had not found in this course more advantage than in the other; and the success and prosperity of that kingdom, through the valour and industry of the Spanish nation, so much advanced since that time, do manifest the wisdom of the change.*" It would be scarcely possible to illustrate Pym's courage and high-minded indifference to popular prejudice better than by these few words in praise of the Spanish nation, at that time the object of universal execration with the English people.

As a concluding point of aggravation, Pym now mentioned the circumstance of Mainwaring's having repeated, "in his own parish church of St. Giles," the very offensive doctrines originally charged against him, "even since the sitting of Parliament and his being questioned in Parliament;" and then "desired the Lords that this circumstance might be carefully considered, because the Commons held it to be a great contempt offered to the Parliament for him to maintain that so publicly which was here questioned. A great presumption, they held it, for a private divine to debate the right and power of the king, which is a matter of such a nature as to be handled only in this high court, and that with moderation and tenderness."

Pym now, in conclusion, produced some such precedents as might testify what the opinion of our ancestors would have been, if this case had fallen out in their time; and herein, he said, "he would confine himself to the reigns of the first three Edwards, two of them princes of great glory." He began with the eldest—West. I., cap. 34: "By this statute, 3 Edw. I., provision was made against those who should tell any false news or device, by which any discord or scandal may arise betwixt the king, his people, and great men of the kingdom. By 17 Edward I. (Rot. Parl., n. 20), it was declared by the king's proclamation, sent into all the counties of England, that they that reported that he would not observe the great charter were malicious people, who desired to put trouble and debate betwixt the king and his subjects, and to disturb the peace and good estate of the king, the people, and the realm. In 6 Edward II. (Inter novas Ordinationes), Henry de Beaumont, for giving the king ill counsel

against his oath, was put from the council, and restrained from coming into the presence of the king under pain of confiscation and banishment. By 19 Edward II. (Clause, Mem. 26, indors.), commissions were granted to inquire upon the statute of West. I. touching the spreading of news, whereby discord and scandal might grow betwixt the king and his people. In 10 Edw. III. (Clause, M. 26), proclamation went out to arrest all of those who had presumed to report that the king would lay upon the woods certain sums, besides the ancient and due customs; where the king calls these reports 'exquisita mendacia, &c., quæ non tantum in publicam læsionem, sed in nostrum cedunt damnum, et dedecus manifestum.' In 12 Edward III. (Rot. Almanie), the king writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, excusing himself for some impositions which he had laid, professing his great sorrow for it; desires the archbishop, by indulgences and other ways, to stir up the people to pray for him; hoping that God would enable him, by some satisfactory benefit, to make amends, and comfort his subjects for those pressures." Having added to these temporal precedents one or two from ecclesiastical records, Pym presented to their lordships the following result to be collected from them: "If former Parliaments were careful of false rumours and news, they would have been much more tender of such doctrines as these, which might produce great occasions of discord betwixt the king and his people. If those who reported the king would lay impositions and break his laws were thought such heinous offenders, how much more should the man be condemned who persuaded the king he is not bound to keep those laws! If that great king Edward was so far from challenging any right in this kind, that he professed his own sorrow and repentance for grieving his subjects with unlawful charges—if confessors were enjoined to frame the conscience of the people to the observances of these laws, certainly such doctrines as those of Mainwaring, and such a preacher as this, would have been held most strange and abominable in all those great times of England!"

Then, having recited the prayer of the Commons, desiring Mainwaring to be brought to examination and judgment, Pym concluded, "That, seeing the cause had strength enough to maintain itself, his humble suit to their lordships was, that they would not observe his infirmities and defects, to the diminution or prejudice of that strength."\*

Laud trembled at the effects of this speech, and even expressed to the king his alarm for an impeachment against himself; but Charles told him to be under no uneasiness till he saw him forsake his other friends.† Yet even Charles winced from an open defiance of the manifest feeling excited by Pym, and for a time pretended to yield up Mainwaring to the judgment of Parliament. "Truly," says Sander-son,‡ "I remember the king's answer to all: 'He that will preach other than he can prove, let him suffer; I give them no thanks to give

\* I have collected this speech from various documents; but a fair report will be found in the Old Parliamentary History, vol. iii., p. 171-189.

† Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 171. See, also, Laud's Diary.

‡ Life of Charles the First, p. 115.

me my due;' and so, being a Parliament business, he (Mainwaring) was left by the king and Church to their sentence." Immediately after the passing of the petition of right, that sentence was pronounced by the upper House; and, in spite of Mainwaring's tears and affected penitence, to say nothing of his impudent hypocrisy, he was condemned to imprisonment during the pleasure of Parliament; to be fined a thousand pounds to the king; to make a submission, both in writing and personally, at the bar of the House, and also at the bar of the Commons; to be suspended from the ministry for three years; and to be incapable of ever holding an ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, or of preaching at court. Lastly, the peers ordered his sermons to be burned.\* "A heavy sentence, I confess," observes Heylin,† "but such as did rather affright than hurt him; for his majesty, looking on him in that conjuncture as one that suffered in his cause, preferred him first to the parsonage of Stamford-Rivers in Essex (void not long after by the promotion of Montague to the see of Chichester), afterward to the deanery of Worcester, and, finally, to the bishopric of St. David's. This was indeed the way to have his majesty well served, but such as created him some ill thoughts towards the Commons for his majesty's indulgence to him."

These disgraceful promotions, strengthened by the translation of Laud himself to the see of London, took place during the prorogation of Parliament, and the feelings with which the Commons reassembled in consequence have already been described.‡ Pym took an active part in their debates on the spread of Arminianism, and spoke with bitterness of the recent promotions. "Who," he asked, "could pretend to ignorance of the articles of the true Protestant religion? Had they not been settled by the Articles set forth in 1552; by the Catechism set forth in King Edward the Sixth's days; by the writings of Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Wicliffe, and others; by the constant profession, sealed by the blood of so many martyrs, as Cranmer, Ridley, and others; by the Thirty-nine Articles set forth in Queen Elizabeth's time; and by the Articles set forth at Lambeth as the doctrine of the Church of England, which King James sent to Dort and to Ireland as the truth professed here? Lastly, had they not been set forth by his majesty's own declaration and proclamation to maintain unity in the settled religion? Yet these are now perverted and abused, to the ruin and subversion of religion! Consider the preferments which such have received since the last Parliament who have heretofore taught contrary to the truth! Then consider again for what overt acts these men have been countenanced and advanced! what pardons they have had for false doctrines! what manner of preaching hath been lately before the king's majesty! what suppression of books that have been written against their doctrines, and what permitting of such books as have been written for them!" Subsequently Pym propounded certain remedial measures, which he urged it to be the duty of the Parliament in general, and of each Chris-

tian in particular, to follow, "For," he continued, "*howsoever it is alleged that the Parliament are not judges in matters of faith, yet ought they to know the established and fundamental truths, and the contrary to them;*" for Parliaments have confirmed acts of general councils, which have not been received until they have been so authorized; and Parliaments have enacted laws for trial of heretics by juries. The Parliament punished the Earl of Essex for countenancing of heretics; and there is no court can meet with these mischiefs but the court of Parliament. The convocation cannot, because it is but a provincial synod, only of the jurisdiction of Canterbury, and the power thereof is not adequate to the whole kingdom; while the convocation of York may, perhaps, not agree with that of Canterbury. The High Commission cannot, for it hath its authority derived from Parliament, and the derivative cannot prejudice the original. It is, in short, reserved for the judgment of the Parliament, that being the judgment of the king and of the three estates of the kingdom."<sup>4</sup>

The result of these debates was the famous vow or declaration respecting religion, which, as Carte takes upon himself to inform us, "Mr. Pym, having the more time to take care of other people's religion because he had very little of his own, drew up, and presented to the House."<sup>5</sup> This was the last great act of that most celebrated Parliament, in which Pym had achieved for himself, almost equally with Eliot, the pursuing hatred of the court. Fortunately, however, he was not an actor in the stormy and tempestuous scene of its dissolution, and therefore escaped that vengeance by which the popular cause lost so formidable a champion, and himself so dear a friend.

But another friend had fallen from his side some few months before, alienated by a worse stroke, in the thought of Pym, than that of imprisonment or death. Sir Thomas Wentworth had gone over to the court; and Pym, who is described to have been the only one of the leading popular men, besides Hollis; really intimate with Wentworth, is said to have felt this desertion with singular acuteness. Vainly imagining that

"Mutual league,  
United thoughts and counsels, equal hope,  
And hazard in the glorious enterprise,"

had joined them inseparably, it was probably Pym who, whenever Eliot impugned the trust-

\* In Aikin's Life of Charles, and also in the history from Mackintosh, the following words are attributed to Pym in this debate: "It belongs to Parliament to establish true religion and to punish false." But the passage in the text is the original from which that truly sweeping apophthegm of Parliamentary supremacy and persecution has been taken; and, it is scarcely necessary to add, it does not by any means authorize such a violent and absurd construction. I had before observed (Life of Eliot, p. 30) that Rushworth's reports of this session are very incorrect, and the words in question are taken from Rushworth. But for the correct speech, see Old Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 362-363.

† Oliver Cromwell's first reported speech in Parliament was made on this occasion, and is worth subjoining. He said "that he heard by relation from one Dr. Beard, that Dr. Alabaster had preached flat popery at St. Paul's Cross, and that the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Neile) commanded him, as he was his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. He said that Mainwaring, so justly censured for his sermons in this House, was, by this bishop's means, preferred to a rich living. If these are steps to Church preferments, what may we not expect?"

‡ See the Life of Eliot, p. 33.

§ Carte, History, vol. iv., p. 300.

\* Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 151, &c. Rushworth, vol. i., p. 585-593.

† Life of Laud, p. 180.

‡ Life of Eliot, p. 30.

worthiness of Wentworth, pledged his own faith for him, and so increased for himself the bitterness of the present desertion. Feeling, therefore, in all its force, the truth of one of his own favourite thoughts, hatred now sprang into the place of his former love. The anecdote which dates the first terrible dawning of the change rests on the cautious authority of Doctor Welwood.\* "There had been a long and intimate friendship," he says, "between Mr. Pym and Sir Thomas Wentworth, and they had gone hand and hand in the House of Commons. But when Sir Thomas Wentworth was upon making his peace with the court, he sent to Pym to meet him alone at Greenwich, where he began in a set speech to sound Mr. Pym about the dangers they were like to run by the courses they were in, and what advantages they might have if they would but listen to some offers which would probably be made them from the court. Pym, understanding his drift, stopped him short with this expression: You need not use all this art to tell me that you have a mind to leave us; but remember what I tell you: *You are going to be undone; and remember also, that though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders!*" Pym kept his word.

The desperate course of government by prerogative now began. Charles, while disrobing himself on the day of the Parliament's dissolution, passionately vowed that he would never put on those robes again; and, not content with a violent declaration of his reasons for the dissolution, issued a proclamation which forbade even the word Parliament to cross the lips of his people, since he who alone had the power of calling, continuing, and dissolving Parliaments, was the best judge when to assemble them, and now declared that though such an event might happen, it would only be after the country had evinced a better disposition, and the "vipers of the Commonwealth" had received their condign punishment, and "those who are misled by them had come to a better understanding of his majesty and themselves." With deep sorrow for the miseries which now, for a time, impended over England, and afflicted to the soul by the personal sufferings of many of his dearest friends, it may be yet supposed that Pym looked forward deliberately and undespairingly, since, if for no reason else, he had to keep the appointment he had made with Wentworth.

It will be necessary to sketch very briefly the measures by which the executive now sought to enslave the people.

The duties of tonnage and poundage, which Charles had solemnly pledged himself never to take but as a gift from his people, were rigorously extorted; warrants were issued by the council to seize the goods of all who attempted to land them without authority, and to detain them till the customs were paid; and orders were despatched to imprison all who attempted to recover their property by replevin. Richard Chambers—a name ever memorable among London citizens—courageously appealed from the vengeance of the council; but he was dragged into the Star Chamber, fined £2000, and doomed to imprisonment till he made various

abject submissions: these he refused to make, and for twelve years he languished in prison, from which he was released a beggar. Various merchants made attempts to elude these measures by sending their goods beyond the seas; but nothing is so vigilant as tyranny, and the goods were seized in England, while unlimited orders were issued in consequence to search warehouses, and prevent what was denominated a fraud on the revenue.

Equally disgraceful were the taxes imposed for the support of muster-masters of the militia; coat and conduct money was also exacted, while soldiers were billeted as of old. But the grievance which out-Heroded all the rest was the revival of monopolies. This was carried to an extent which was truly appalling. Under the pretext, for instance, that certain persons had made discoveries in the manufacture of soap, and that the dealers in general imposed a bad article upon the people, these persons were erected into a corporation, and the right of the manufacture and sale of the commodity vested in them exclusively, they having paid ten thousand pounds for their patent, and rendered themselves liable to a tax of eight pounds per ton upon the sale. The original pretext, it may be easily supposed, was a lie, the commodity being, in fact, so adulterated as to ruin the clothes of the people. In the same manner, almost every article of ordinary consumption, whether of manufacture or not, was exposed to a similar abuse. Upon everything, no matter how insignificant, the fetters of monopoly were fixed. Salt, starch, coals, iron, wine, pens, cards and dice, beavers, felts, bone-lace, meat dressed in taverns, tobacco, wine-casks, brewing and distilling, lamprons, weighing of hay and straw in London and Westminster, gauging of red herrings, butter casks, kelp and seaweed, linnen cloth, rags, hops, buttons, hats, gutstring, spectacles, combs, tobacco-pipes, saltpetre, gunpowder, down to the sole privilege of gathering of rags, were all subjected to monopolies, and consequently heavily taxed!

Some few of these shocking enormities may be illustrated by extracts from the Rev. Mr. Garrard's letters\* to the lord-deputy. "Here is much ado," he writes on one occasion, "about the soap business; it is very doubtful whether in the end it will stand or no. For the present, it is strongly backed, and I hear a proclamation shall come forth to stop all mouths that speak against it. Commissioners have been appointed: the Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir William Becher, Sir Abraham Williams, Spiller, joined to the lord-mayor and some aldermen. They have had two general washing-days at Guildhall; most of them have given their verdict for the new soap to be the better: yet continual complaints rise up that it burns linen, scalds the laundress's fingers, wastes infinitely in keeping, being full of lime and tallow; which if true, it is of that use in this kingdom that it will not last. The lord-mayor of London, by the king's commandment, received a shrewd reprimand for his pusillanimity in this business, being afraid of a troop of women that clamorously petitioned him against the new soap: my lord-privy-seal, his brother-in-law, was to

\* See Memorials of English Affairs, p. 46, 47.

\* See Life of Stratford, p. 91.



give it down at the board, and did very sharply. "Here are two commissions afloat," he writes on another occasion, "which are attended diligently, which will bring, as it is conceived, a great sum of money to his majesty. The first, concerning the licensing of those who shall have a lease for life to sell tobacco in and about London, and so in all the boroughs and villages in England; fifteen pounds fine, and as much rent by the year. . . . The other is for buildings in and about London since a proclamation in the thirteenth of King James." In the cases of the latter, three years' rent, and "some little rent to the king" additional, was exacted by the commissioners as a composition for suffering the buildings to stand. "How far this will spread," Garrard adds, "I know not; but it is confidently spoken that there are above £100,000 rents upon this string about London. I speak much within compass. For Tuttle [Tothill], St. Giles's, St. Martin's Lane, Drury Lane, Covent Garden, Lincoln's Inn Fields, Holborn, and beyond the Tower from Wapping to Blackwall, all come in, and are liable to fining for annoyances, or being built contrary to proclamation, though they have had licenses granted to do so: my Lord of Bedford's license in this case, as it is said, will not avail him."† The first notice of coal as an article of export is made thus: "My Lords of Dorset and Holland have obtained a beneficial suit of the king, worth better than £1000 a year apiece to them, for seacoal exported." Then we are startled by the following: "We have very plausible things done of late. The book called the Declaration of the King's for rectifying of taverns, ordinaries, bakers, ostelries, is newly come forth. I'll say no more of it; your agent here will send it to your lordship. All back doors to taverns on the Thames are commanded to be shut up: only the Bear at the bridge-foot is exempted, by reason of the passage to Greenwich. To encourage gentlemen to live more willingly in the country, all game fowl, as pheasants, partridges, ducks, as also hares, are by proclamation forbidden to be dressed or eaten in any inns, and butchers are forbidden to be graziers."‡

The first introduction of hackney-coaches is next commemorated by Mr. Garrard: "Here is one Captain Bailey; he hath been a sea-captain, but now lives on the land about this city, where he tries experiments. He hath erected according to his ability some four hackney-coaches, put his men in a livery, and appointed them to stand at the Maypole in the Strand, giving them instructions at what rates to carry men into several parts of the town, where all day long they may be had. Other hackney-men seeing this way, they flocked to the same place, and perform their journeys at the same rate, so that sometimes there is twenty of them together, which disperse up and down, so that they and others are to be had anywhere." But now, within two short months of this date, during which time the plan, serving as a comfort and luxury to the great mass of the people,

had succeeded to an extraordinary extent, we find Garrard mentioning "a proclamation coming forth about the reformation of hackney-coaches, and ordering of other coaches about London: nineteen hundred was the number of hackney-coaches of London, base lean jades, unworthy to be seen in so brave a city, or to stand about a king's court." Nothing that contributed, unencumbered by monopoly, to the comfort of the people, was permitted to continue! Again Garrard writes, "Here is a proclamation coming forth to prohibit all hackney-coaches to pass up and down in London streets; out of town they may go at pleasure, as heretofore. Also the attorney-general hath sent to all taverns to prohibit them to dress meat; somewhat was required of them—a halfpenny a quart for French wine, and a penny for sack and other richer wines, for the king; the gentlemen vintners grew sullen and would not give it, so they are well enough served."\* No single thing escaped that had escaped monopoly: the monopolists only were allowed to thrive. Soon after the above we find Garrard mentioning "a project for carrying people up and down in close chairs, for the sole doing whereof Sir Sander Duncombe, a traveller, now a pensioner, hath obtained a patent from the king, and hath forty or fifty making ready for use." The next enormity which Garrard alludes to in his packets of news is monstrous indeed. "Here is at this present," he says, "a commission in execution against cottagers, who have not four acres of ground laid to their houses, upon a statute made the 31 Eliz., which vexeth the poor people mightily, all for the benefit of the Lord Morton, and the secretary of Scotland, the Lord Sterling: much crying out there is against it, especially because mean, needy, and men of no good fame, prisoners in the Fleet, are used as principal commissioners to call the people before them, to fine and compound with them."† Subsequently he remarks, "The taverns begin to victual again; some have got leave. 'Tis said that the vintners within the city will give £6000 to the king to dress meat as they did before; and the suburbs will yield somewhat."‡ Such illustrations, curious and valuable as they are, considering the source whence they proceed, and to whom they are addressed, might be largely indulged; but one more will serve. "Here," writes Garrard, "here are abundance of new projects on foot, upon seacoal, salt, malt, marking of iron, cutting of rivers, setting up a new corporation in the suburbs of London—much opposed by the Londoners and many others. Where profit may come to the king, let them pass; but to enrich private men, they have not my wishes. Discontinuance of Parliaments brings up this kind of grain, which commonly is blasted when they come."§

And all these fearful outrages were committed upon the people, while there was probably not a single family in England, with the smallest share of education or intelligence, in whose house a copy of the famous *PETITION OF RIGHT*

\* *Strafford's Papers*, vol. i., p. 507.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 306.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 176.

§ Rushworth has recorded that in the first year of Charles there were not above twenty coaches to be had for hire in and about London. "The grave judges of the law," he

adds, "constantly rid on horseback, in all weathers, to Westminster."—*Collections*, vol. ii., p. 317.

\* *Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 507.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 117.

‡ *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 303.

§ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 53.

might not be found! But this consideration it was, beyond every other, that still sustained with the strongest hope, during the twelve terrible years' continuance of such outrages, such men as Pym and Hampden. It was this which, even while their friend Eliot sank to his death under the murderous vengeance of the court, and while others of their friends, as Noy, Digges, Littleton, and Glanville, crept over to the side of the public enemy—it was this which reassured them that least of all were they then to despair. The breath of God was not to be monopolized, neither was the petition of rights to be recalled.

In enforcement of the illegal patents and proclamations of the king, most grievous commissions also were granted, to one or two of which Garrard's correspondence has alluded. They were such, for instance, as a commission touching cottages and inmates; another about services; one for compounding with offenders for transporting butter; another for compounding with those who used or imported logwood; one to compound with sheriffs, and such as had been sheriffs, for selling under-sheriffs' places; another for compounding for the destruction of wood in iron works; another for concealments, and encroachments within twenty miles of London; and the list might be stretched indefinitely.

Nor had the resources of tyranny expended themselves here. Under the candid pretext of curing defects in titles of land, a proclamation was issued, proposing to grant new titles upon the payment of a reasonable composition; and all who declined to avail themselves of this general offer from the court were threatened, in no measured terms, with the loss of their property: nor, indeed, were such cases unfrequent. Many pretended flaws in titles were dragged into the courts, where a parcel of obsequious judges sat ready to establish the objections. Even the form of the judges' patents was changed to fix their slavish dependence more surely! The old clause, *quamdiu se bene gesserit* was changed into *durante bene placito*, and the benefit of the first clause was even denied to one judge who had received his patent before the change, because he was thought too upright for the designs in hand.\*

Other means, too, were adopted to bring the civil government of England into unison with these enormities. The jurisdiction and powers of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission were enlarged to a most extraordinary degree. New illegal oaths were enforced, and new courts, with vast powers, erected without colour of law; and when commissions were issued for examining into the extent of fees that were complained of, the commissioners compounded with the delinquents, not only for their past offences, but their future extortions. Finally, the orders of the council board were received as positive law. Clarendon tells us that Finch, who, for

his conduct in the late Parliament, had been promoted to the office of lord-keeper of the great seal, now boldly declared "that while he was keeper no man should be so saucy as to dispute orders of the council board, but that the wisdom of that board should be always ground enough for him to make a decree in chancery."

An extract from the same noble historian shall complete my sketch of the civil government of England at this period. "Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws; and so tonnage and poundage, and other duties upon merchandises, were collected by order of the board, which had been positively refused to be settled by act of Parliament, and new and greater impositions laid upon trade; obsolete laws were revived and vigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was, by too strict a detaining of what was his, to put the king as strictly to inquire what was his own. And by this ill husbandry the king received a vast sum of money from all persons of quality, or, indeed, of any reasonable condition, throughout the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood. And no less unjust projects of all kinds—many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous—were set on foot, the envy and reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men. To recompense the damage the crown sustained by the sale of the old lands and by the grant of new pensions, the old laws of the forest were revived, by which not only great fines were imposed, but great annual rents intended, and like to be settled by way of contract; which burden lighted most upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and were, therefore, like to remember it with more sharpness. For the better support of these extraordinary ways, and to protect the agents and instruments who must be employed in them, and to discountenance and suppress all bold inquirers and opposers, the council table and Star Chamber enlarged their jurisdictions to a vast extent, 'holding' (as Thucydides said of the Athenians) 'for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited;' and being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine rights, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury—the council table by proclamations enjoining to the people what was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited, and the Star Chamber censuring the breach, and disobedience to those proclamations, by very great fines and imprisonment, so that any disrespect to acts of state, or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right, by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed."† The reader will scarcely conceive this picture capable of aggravation; but the noble historian afterward proceeds, very dryly, to tell how the people chiefly borne down by these terrible measures were Protestants, while the Papists were not only encouraged, but protected, as the chief promoters of the mischief. "They grew," he says,

\* See May's History, p. 17. Hist. Mem., vol. i., p. 132. Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 16. For the various authorities in support of the text, see Mr. Brodie (Hist. of Brit. Emp., vol. ii., p. 275-280); also Rushworth, throughout his first and third volumes of Collections; Old Parl. Hist., vol. ii., p. 62, et seq.; Hilyard's Case; Clarendon's Life, p. 81, 73; May's History; Aikin's Charles the First; and Strafford's Letters.

† Hist. of Rebellion, vol. i., p. 110-122.

## BRITISH STATESMEN.

and some convivers, but public processions of and ministers in, the most common, as that of soap, formed, and executed by almost a corporation of that religion, which, under that license and action, might be, and were suspected to be, qualified for other agitations." No wonder the Roman Catholics were hated! It is to be added, that whatever trifling fragments of law or protection might be supposed to remain to the people still, were utterly swept away from a long line of northern counties by the terrible administration of the presidency of the North.

Yet the king continued poor! His advocate has hinted a justification of him in the extract just given, to the effect that while the reproach of these monstrous extortions came to him, the profit went to other men; but this is much more in the nature of an aggravation. When Charles found that the case was so, it served him only as a better excuse for breaking down the spirit of the people by still heavier burdens. What Clarendon has said is indeed quite true, that the tax upon the community was infinitely beyond what came into the Exchequer. For the monopoly of wine, for instance, the king received only £38,000 per annum; but then the vintners paid 40s. per tun to the patentees, which, upon 45,000 tuns, raised the tax to £90,000. The vintners, again, imposed 2d. per quart, which raised it to £8 per tun, or £360,000—nearly twelve times as much as went into the Exchequer.\* And so with other impositions. The difficulties of the court, therefore, in the disastrous career they had entered on, were only becoming, day by day, more imminent, when the famous invention of Mr. Attorney-general Noy† came in to give a longer lease to tyranny, and make more fatal its final redemption.

"Lastly" (I again avail myself of the language of Lord Clarendon), "for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions, a writ was framed in a form of law, and directed to the sheriff of every county of England, 'to provide a ship of war for the king's service, and to send it, amply fitted and provided, by such a day to such a place;' and with that writ were sent to each sheriff instructions that,

'instead of a ship, he should levy upon his county such a sum of money, and return the same to the treasurer of the navy for his majesty's use, with direction in what manner he should proceed against such as refused;' and from hence that tax had the denomination of SHIP-MONEY; a word of lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom, by which for some years really accrued the yearly sum of £200,000 to the king's coffers; and it was, in truth, the only project that was accounted to his own service."

A lively illustration of the manner in which this tax was worked will be supplied by one or two extracts from Garrard's letters to the Lord-deputy of Ireland. In one letter\* he writes, "In my last I advertised your lordship that the Mayor of London received some reprimand for being so slow in giving answer to the writ sent into the city about the shipping business; afterward the city council were called before the Lords, and received some gentle check, or, rather, were admonished to take heed how they advised the city in a case so clear for the king, wherein his majesty had first advised with his learned counsel and with his council of state. It wrought this effect, that they all yielded, and instantly fell to seizing in all the wards of London. It will cost the city at least £35,000. They hoist up the merchant strangers, Sir William Curtyre, £360; Sir Thomas Cuttcale, £300: great sums to pay at one tax, and we know not how often it may come. It reaches us in the Strand, being within the liberties of Westminster, which furnisheth out one ship. My Lord of Bedford, £60; my Lord of Salisbury, £25; my Lord of Clare, £40; the lord-keeper and lord-treasurer, £20 apiece: nay, lodgers, for I am set at 40s. Giving subsidies in Parliament, I was well content to pay to, which now hath brought me into this tax; but I tell my Lord Cottington that I had rather give and pay ten subsidies in Parliament than 10s. this new-old way of dead Noy's. Letters are also gone down to the high sheriffs of the maritime counties to quicken them. Have you heard the answer given by a great lord that hath been a judge? 'Tis true this writ hath not been used when tonnage and poundage was granted, now 'tis not, but taken by prerogative, ergo, this writ is now in full force." On a subsequent occasion he writes, "The sheriff of Sussex sent up to the Lords to receive their farther directions what he was to do, giving them information that seven or eight poor towns in that county stood out, and would not pay towards the shipping. But as soon as they heard that the sheriff, by a new command, began to distrain, they came roundly in and paid their money."† The lord-deputy speedily corrected his correspondent's complaints about the tax, having furnished the court with his opinion that it was "the greatest service the legal profession had done the crown in his time;" while he added, "but unless his majesty hath the like power declared to raise a land army upon the same exigent of state, the crown seems to me to stand but upon one leg at home, to be considerable but by halves to foreign princes abroad; yet sure this, methinks, convinces

\* See the Old Parl. Hist., vol. ix., p. 62, *et seq.*

† "He was a man," says Dr. Heylin, in his *Life of Laud*, p. 301, "extremely well versed in old records, with which consulting frequently in the course of his studies, he had excerpted and laid by many notes and precedents for the king's levying of such naval aid upon the subjects, by his own authority, whenever the preservation and safety of the kingdom did require it of them; which notes and precedents, taken as they came in his way, on small pieces of paper (most of them no bigger than one's hand), he kept in the coffin of a pye, which had been sent him by his mother, and kept there till the mouldiness and corruptibleness had perished many of his papers." The singularity of Noy's manners gives colour to this story. I cannot resist subjoining another anecdote, which seems a proof, in a certain sort, that Noy winced a little under his new position, after, as his friends used to say, "he was bewitched to become the king's." When created attorney-general, a messenger, as usual, was sent to attend on him; but, after enduring his presence with very angry scowlings for a few days, Noy could not bear it any longer. He ordered him to get home and bide himself, "lest the people, who have always seen me walk free and alone, should fancy me a state prisoner." See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. ii., p. 382. Noy died soon after his discoveries in the matter of ship-money, and they were wonderfully improved upon by Finch: see Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 16-21. For admirable characters of Noy and Finch, see Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. i., p. 129-131.

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. i., p. 258.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 372.

a power for the sovereign to raise payments for land forces, and consequently submits to his wisdom and ordinance the transporting of the money or men into foreign states, so to carry, by way of prevention, the fire from ourselves into the dwellings of our enemies (an art which Edward III. and Henry V. well understood); and if, by degrees, Scotland and Ireland be drawn to contribute their proportions to these levies for the public, *omne tulit punctum*. Well fortified," Wentworth continued, "this piece forever vindicates the royalty at home from under the conditions and restraints of subjects, and renders us also, abroad, even to the greatest kings, the most considerable monarchy in Christendom."\* Stimulated thus, the court partially extended their views that way, and, advancing gradually from the maritime districts, levied the hated tax upon almost every man in England. "For home news," Garrard writes in one of his subsequent letters,† "the shipping business goes on currently all over England, so 'tis apprehended at court. Some petitions have been offered to the king from poor towns, which he hath referred to his council." Again: "The Londoners have not been so forward in collecting the ship-money, since they have been taught to sing *Hey-down-derry*, and many of them will not pay till after imprisonment, that it may stand upon record they were forced to it. The assessments have been wonderful unequal and unproportionable, which is very ill taken, it being conceived they did it on purpose to raise clamour through the city." And again, he writes, "Your lordship is very right, that there is no reason all public works should be put upon the crown. And yet you see how unwilling the people are to contribute to any, be it never so honourable or necessary for themselves. Witness the ship-money, which at this very present ending of the term is under argument in the Exchequer chamber before all the judges, brought thither upon a case of Mr. Hamden's, as I think; but I am sure, either upon a case of his or the Lord Say's. So have you the greatest news of the time."

Great news this was indeed! Many men had resisted ship-money; many poor men had been flung into prison for refusing to pay it, and lay there languishing and unknown; many rich men had vainly stirred themselves against it; but at last, in the person of Hampden, the popular party prepared to make their final and resolved resistance, and in his great name all the renown of that resistance has been absorbed.‡

Pym and St. John were Hampden's close counsellors in the interval before the public trial, and six months were passed in preparations on both sides. At last, after a display of extra-

ordinary learning and power on the part of St. John, till then almost unknown in the courts, and a scarcely less remarkable exhibition of venal prostitution of research on the part of the crown lawyers, judgment was pronounced in favour of ship-money, and against the illustrious defendant, by nine out of the twelve judges. Of the three dissentients—Hutton,\* Croke, and Denham—Croke would also have given judgment for the crown, had not his wife, a lady of eminent piety and a truly heroic spirit, sustained his sinking virtue. "She told him," says Whitelocke,† "she hoped he would do nothing against his conscience, for fear of any danger or prejudice to her or his family; and that she would be contented to suffer want, or any misery with him, rather than be the occasion for him to do or say anything against his judgment or conscience."

Lord Clarendon observes that this decision "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service. Men before," he adds, "pleased themselves with doing somewhat for the king's service, as a testimony of their affection, which they were not bound to do;‡ many really believing the necessity, and therefore thinking the burden reasonable. But when they heard this demanded in a court of law as a right, and found it, by sworn judges of the law, adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being kind and dutiful to the king; and instead of giving were required to pay, and by a logic that left no man anything which he might call his own; when they saw in a court of law (that law that gave them title to, and possession of, all that they had) reasons of state urged as elements of law, judges as sharp-sighted as secretaries of state, and in

\* Hutton was a friend of Lord Wentworth's, and addressed a long and curious letter to him, exculpatory of the honest course he pursued on this question. I subjoin a characteristic extract from the lord-deputy's reply: "Considering it is agreed by common consent that in time of public danger and necessity such a levy may be made, and that the king is therein sole judge how or in what manner or proportion it is to be gathered, I conceive it was out of humour opposed by Hamden, beyond the modesty of a subject, and that reverence wherein we ought to have so gracious a sovereign; it being ever to be understood, the prospects of kings into mysteries of state are so far exceeding those of ordinary common persons, as they be able to discern and prevent dangers to the public afar off, which others shall not so much as dream of till they feel the unavoidable stripes and smart of them upon their naked shoulders; besides, the mischief which threatens states and people are not always those which become the object of every vulgar eye, but then commonly of most danger when least discovered—nay, very often, if unseasonably over early published, albeit privately known to the king long before, might rather inflame than remedy the evil; therefore it is a safe rule for us all, in the fear of God, to remit these supreme watches to that regal power, whose peculiar indeed it is; submit ourselves in these high considerations to his ordinance, as being no other than the ordinance of God itself; and rather attend upon his will, with confidence in his justice, belief in his wisdom, assurance in his parental affections to his subjects and kingdoms, than feed ourselves with the curious questions, with the vain flatteries of imaginary liberty, which, had we even our silly wishes and conceits, were we to frame a new Commonwealth even to our own fancy, might yet, in conclusion, leave ourselves less free, less happy than now, thanks be to God and his majesty, we are, nay, ought justly to be, reputed by every moderate-minded Christian."

† Memorials, p. 25.

‡ But they were, before the decision, bound to obey the tax, and that by sharper conditions than attended any other levy. These and other expressions of Lord Clarendon in the extract are artful misrepresentations, easily seen through; the extract is very valuable evidence, notwithstanding.

\* *Stratford Papers*, vol. ii., p. 61, 62.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 468.

‡ It may be observed, at the same time, that doubtless the court party were to be consulted as to the choice of a person in whose case the right of resistance was to be decided, since up to this period, when refusers of ship-money had gone before the courts, the judges on circuit had overruled, or declined to entertain, any plea founded on the assumed illegality of the imposition, and thus the question of right had remained undecided. Unable, however, to resist any longer the demand for a settlement of the question, it is probable that the king's party thought that, in its progress, the "affability and temper" of Hampden as an opponent would serve them best. It is certain that Lord Say and Sele was distinctly refused a trial.

the mysteries of state, judgment of law grounded upon matter of fact, of which there was neither inquiry nor proof, and no reasons given for the tax in question but what included the estates of all the standers-by, they no more looked upon it as the case of one man, but the case of the kingdom, nor as an imposition laid upon them by the king, but by the judges, which they thought themselves bound in conscience to the public justice not to submit to." In other words, the event justified the policy of the leaders of the people, and they now quietly resumed their former position, hopeful and determined. Laud soon wrote to Wentworth that the "faction are grown very bold, and the king's moneys come in a great deal more slowly than they did in former years, and that to a very considerable sum;"\* and Whitelocke closes his description of the proceedings with these words: "Hampden and many others of quality and interest in their counties were unsatisfied with the judgment, and continued, with the utmost of their power, in opposition to it, yet could not at that time give any other stop or hinderance; but it remained *altâ mente repòstum*."

Leaving it thus, for a time, in the minds of Pym and Hampden, it is now necessary—in completion of such a sketch of the present government of England as will be thought essential to a right judgment of the exertions of Pym's latter life—that I should slightly revert to Laud's administration of religious affairs. It was frightfully consistent with the view that has been furnished of the condition of civil matters. The barbarous punishment of Leighton,† the Scotch divine; the cruel persecution of Balmerino‡ at Edinburgh; the shocking severities that were practised upon Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick,§ need only be alluded to to

recall the horror and disgust with which their sufferings have passed into history. The very name of toleration was banished from England. A refusal to attend divine worship in the parish church was, in all persons, without exception, punished in the first instance by fine, and on a repetition of such refusal by transportation. Popish recusants, indeed, were allowed to compound for these penalties by a heavy annual payment; and the celebration of mass, though illegal, was connived at; but no similar indulgence was extended to the religious services of Protestant dissenters. The dissenting ministers, in point of fact, did not yet form a distinct class; they were, with very rare exceptions, ordained and benefited clergy of the English Church; and being thus lawfully subject to the authority of their diocesan, the means of detecting and punishing their deviations from conformity were easy and obvious. Accordingly, from Laud they found no quarter. At the thought of every episcopal visitation the clergy groaned and trembled. Lecturers were peremptorily silenced; domestic chaplains in the houses of private gentlemen punished, and their patrons ordered to attend their parish churches; while the parochial clergy, where non-conformable, were fined, suspended, in some cases deprived, and ultimately, in very many instances, driven out of England with the more zealous of their followers, happy to escape without some mutilation of their persons, for scarcely a sitting of the Star Chamber passed without its victim, and its consequent exhibition, in the public streets, of some scene of bloody human agony! On one occasion, while Lilburne and Wharton, after having suffered a severe whipping, were standing exposed in the pillory, news was carried to the Star Chamber that Wharton, ~~am~~ailed by his suffering or his shame, was scattering pamphlets about and haranguing the mob; and the court, happening to be sitting at the moment, made an order that he should be gagged, and the order was executed instantly! Prynne, having had his old ears stitched to his head, "relapsed," as Garrard expresses it, "into new errors," and again suffered a mutilation of the fragments! Meanwhile, the language of Wentworth and Laud held out no hope of change. "Go it as it shall please God with me," wrote Wentworth, "believe me, my lord, I will be still *thorough* and *thoroughout*, one and the same." The cure of this grievous and over-spreading leprosy is, in my weak judgment, to be effected rather by corrosives than lenitives; less than *thorough* will not overcome it: there is a cancerous malignity in it, which must be cut forth!"

What wonder if, in the midst of all this frightful despotism over the property and consciences of men, large numbers of the English people now sent their thoughts across the wide Atlantic towards the New World that had risen beyond its waters! Such were the gloomy apprehensions and terrors with which the Old World was filled, that only two alternatives

while they stood in the pillory, and win acclamations from the people, and have notes taken of what they speak, and those notes spread in written copies about the city, and that when they went out of town to their several imprisonments, there were thousands suffered to be upon the way to take their leave, and God knows what else!"

\* Strafford Papers, vol. i., p. 298.

\* Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 170.

† See Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 55; Whitelocke, p. 15; Neal, vol. i., p. 547; and see Laud's Diary for November 16, 1630.

‡ See Carte, vol. iv., p. 222. State Trials, vol. iii., &c. See Laud's Diary; Neal's History of the Puritans; Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 230, et seq. Heylin's Life of Laud, 249, &c. Garrard writes to Lord Wentworth: "Some few days after the end of the term, in the palace-yard two pillories were erected, and there the sentence of Star Chamber against Burton, Bastwick, and Prynne was executed: they stood two hours in the pillory; Burton by himself, being degraded in the High Commission Court three days before. The place was full of people, who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropt. Dr. Bastwick was very merry: his wife, Dr. Poe's daughter, got a stool, and kissed him; his ears being cut off, she called for them, and put them in a clean handkerchief, and carried them away with her. Bastwick told the people, the lords had collar-days at court, but this was his collar-day, rejoicing much in it. Since warrants are sent from the lords to the sheriffs of the several counties where they are to be imprisoned, to receive them and see them placed. Also Dr. Layton, *homo ejusdem farinae*, censured seven years since, and now prisoner in the Fleet, is removed to some remote prison of the kingdom." From that prison Leighton was not released till ten years after, when he had lost sight, hearing, and the use of his limbs! Another of the lord-deputy's correspondents had before described the mutilation of Prynne: "No mercy showed to Prynne: he stood in the pillory, and lost his first ear in a pillory in the palace at Westminster in full term, his other in Cheapside; where, while he stood, his volumes were burned under his nose, which had almost suffocated him." Lastly, Laud himself wrote thus to Wentworth: "I have done expecting of throw on this side, and therefore shall betake myself to that which you say, and I believe, is the next best; and yet I would not give over neither. But what can you think of throw where there shall be such slips in business of consequence? What say you to it that Prynne and his followers should be suffered to talk what they pleased

indeed now seemed to many persons to remain : that, as May expresses it,\* " Things carried so far on in a wrong way must needs either enslave themselves and posterity forever, or require a vindication so sharp and smarting as that the nation would groan under it." Too weak to contemplate the last alternative, and too virtuous to submit to the first, crowds of victims to the tyranny of Church and State now accordingly left their homes and their country, willing to encounter any sufferings, privations, and dangers in the distant wilderness they sought, because of the one sole hope they had, that there, at least, would be found some rest and refuge for liberty, for religion, for humanity!

So extensive, however, did the emigration threaten to become, that Laud thought it necessary to interfere at last, and—with a refinement of tyranny of which, it has been truly said, the annals of persecution afford few equally strong examples—to seek to deprive the conscientious sufferers of that last and most melancholy of all resources, a rude, and distant, and perpetual exile. On the 1st of May, 1638, eight ships bound for New England, and filled with Puritan families, were arrested in the Thames by an order in council. It has been a very popular "rumour of history," that among the passengers in one of those vessels were Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, and Hazelrig.

Were this anecdote authentic, the hand of fate had been visible upon Charles indeed! But there is no good authority† for it, and it is deficient in all the moral evidences of truth. The mind cannot bring itself to imagine the spirits of such men as these yielding so easily to the despair of country; and at this moment Hampden was the "argument of all tongues" for his resistance to ship-money, while to Pym the vision of the fatal meeting to which he had summoned Wentworth now became daily more and more distinct. Nor are we wanting of absolute circumstances of proof, obvious enough to me, of the utter incorrectness of the statement. In the same part of Rushworth's Collections where the original order is to be found, a subsequent proclamation may be seen also, wherein, after stating the seizure of the ships, the following passage occurs: "Howbeit, upon the humble petition of the merchants, passengers, and owners of the ships now bound for New England, and upon the reasons by them represented to the board, his majesty was graciously pleased to free them from their late restraint, to proceed in their intended voyage."‡ So that, in

fact, there is no reason for supposing that all who had embarked for New England on board the eight ships alluded to did not proceed to New England. No doubt they did so.

The anecdote in question, however, is not without ground of a certain kind. Some years before its date, the attention of the leading men among the patriots had been strongly directed to the subject of the colonization of part of the North American Continent, with a view to its affording a refuge of safety and comfort to such of their party or their families as the sad troubles which impended over England might force from their homes. The subject had occupied even Eliot's thoughts in his prison, as a passage from one of Hampden's letters to him may serve to show. "The paper of considerations concerning the Plantation might be very safely conveyed to me by this hand, and after transcribing, should be as safely returned, if you vouchsafe to send it to me."\* The result of all this consideration of the subject was the purchase of a large grant of land in the name of Lord Brook, and Lord Say and Sele; and in 1635, according to Horace Walpole, these two lords "sent over Mr. George Fenwick to prepare a retreat for them and their friends, in consequence of which a little town was built, and called by their joint names Saybrooke."† Now in this scheme there can be little doubt that Hampden was concerned; and I have found certain evidence, in Garrard's letters to Lord Strafford, that Pym was a party to it. "Our East India Company," writes that indefatigable newsmonger, "have this week two ships come home, which a little revives them. The traders also into the Isle of Providence, who are the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Say, the Lord Mandeville, the Lord Brook, Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Mr. Pym, and others, have taken a prize, sent home worth £15,000 by virtue of letters of marque granted to the planters there by his majesty for some injuries done them by the Spaniards."‡ The date of this letter is December, 1637; and from that date, as the prospects of the court darkened, the hopes of Pym and Hampden must have grown with the passage of every day.

Time and fate soon pressed in hard, indeed, upon the government of Charles. Driven to the close of every expedient, his last hope centred in the Lord-deputy of Ireland, and Wentworth's capacity and vigour had now twice restored the court finances and paid the king's debts. Ruin again impended, when Laud, as if to dash at once into the gulf, made a desperate attempt to impose the yoke of the Common Prayer Book upon the Scotch people. A fool might have seen the result, and indeed one fool did see it, and was whipped for his folly. I do not know that it has been remarked before, but the disgrace of the famous Archy, the jester of Charles I., took place at this time. "Archy is fallen into a great misfortune," writes a letter of the time. "A fool he would be, but a foul-mouthed knave he hath proved himself; being in a tavern in Westminster, drunk, he saith himself, he was speaking of the Scottish

\* History of the Long Parliament, p. 17.

† "The plantations of Ormond and Clare," writes Laud to Wentworth at this time, "are a marvellous great work for the honour and profit of the king and safety of that kingdom, and you have done very nobly to follow that business so close; but I am sorry to read in your letters that you want men extremely to fill that work; and this is the more considerable a great deal, that you should want men in Ireland, and that, the while, there should be here such a universal running to New England, and God knows whither; but that it is, when men think nothing is their advantage but to run from government. As for your being left alone in the tedious and thorny part of the work, that is no news at least to me, who am forced to the like here, scarce a man appearing where the way is rough indeed."

‡ The only known authorities are Dr. George Bates and Dugdale, both zealous Royalists, and, on this point, quite beneath consideration.

§ See Rushworth, vol. ii., p. 409, and see Alkin's Charles, vol. i., p. 472.

\* Eliot MSS. in Lord Eliot's possession.

† See Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii., p. 352, ed. Park.

‡ Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 140.

business, he fell a railing on my Lord of Canterbury, said he was a monk, a rogue, and a traitor. Of this his grace complained at council, the king being present: it was ordered he should be carried to the porter's lodge, his coat pulled over his ears, and kicked out of the court, never to enter within the gates, and to be called into the Star Chamber. The first part is done, but my Lord of Canterbury hath interceded to the king that there it should end. There is a new fool in his place, Muckle John, but he will never be so rich, for he cannot abide money." This last must have seemed a fool indeed!

The affairs of Scotland belong to general history, and require only a brief mention here. Suffice it, then, to say, that after several months' alternation of persecution and negotiations, the Scottish people remained firm. Most truly has it been said of the conduct of the Covenanters, that the display they now made of fearless purpose, and even of fearless reason; of unwearyed, unwinking energy and sagacity; of ardour without violence, and enthusiasm without extravagance, has done imperishable honour to the Scottish character. Why should it be denied that Pym, Hampden, and others of the English opposition placed themselves immediately in communication with those men? It stands upon the authority of Whitelocke, and may not be denied. With the dawning of the fierce opposition in Scotland to the frightful tyranny of conscience attempted by Laud, sprang up the consummation of the hopes entertained during twelve long years of oppression by Pym and Hampden, that a day for the liberties of England would still come. Let the friends of Charles I. make what use of the admission they please, it is quite certain that at the London meetings of the Scotch commissioners from the Covenant, headed by Lords Loudon and Dumferling, not only Pym and Hampden took an active part, but also Lords Essex, Holland, Bedford, and Say.

Meanwhile Lord Wentworth stood by the side of Charles in England, and a war was resolved upon against the Scottish people. The lord-deputy's unparalleled exertions at this period have been already described,\* but the silent efforts of Pym and Hampden flung them powerless back, and all the attempts at loans and ship-money levies now fell flat to the ground. The strong spirit of hope was in truth again gone forth among all classes of men, and that word which had been proscribed by Charles twelve years before, was again heard as a familiar word in England.

A Parliament, it was resolved, should be instantly summoned. Wentworth was created Lord Strafford; returned to Ireland as lord-lieutenant; called a Parliament there; procured a large sum of money from them, with a farther offer of "their persons and estates," if required; and in the beginning of April returned to England. The example of the Irish Parliament would, it was vainly hoped, influence the Parliament of England. Meanwhile, the elections for members had been concluded without a single demonstration of tumult in any part of the country; and on the 3d of April, 1640, the king opened the houses in person, and in the midst of a larger number of

members of the Commons than had ever been known to assemble on the first day of the session. His speech was equally short and ungracious. "My lords and gentlemen," he said, "there never was a king that had a more great and weighty cause to call his people together than myself: I will not trouble you with the particulars. I have informed my lord-keeper, and command him to speak, and desire your attention."† The lord-keeper's speech was in the absurdest strain of high prerogative. He observed that "his majesty's kingly resolutions were seated in the ark of his sacred breast, and it were a presumption of too high a nature for any Uzzah uncalled to touch it; yet," he continued, "the king is now pleased to lay by the shining beams of majesty, as Phœbus did to Phaeton, that the distance between sovereignty and subjection should not bar you from that filial freedom of access to his person and councils; only let us beware how, like the son of Clymene, we aim not at the guiding of the chariot." He proceeded subsequently to say, "that his majesty did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation, which would not be grateful to him; but that they should, as soon as might be, give his majesty a supply, and that he would give them time enough afterward to represent any grievances to him."‡

"The House," proceeds Lord Clarendon, who on this occasion made his first entrance into the House of Commons as Edward Hyde, member for the borough of Wootton-Basset, "met always at eight of the clock, and rose at twelve, which were the old Parliament hours, that the committees, upon whom the greatest burden of business lay, might have the afternoons for their preparation and despatch. It was not the custom to enter upon any important business during the first fortnight, both because many members used to be absent so long, and that time was usually thought necessary for the appointment and nomination of committees, and for other ceremonies and preparations that were usual; but there was no regard now to that custom; and the appearance of the members was very great, there having been a large time between the issuing out of the writs and the meeting of the Parliament, so that all elections were made and returned, and everybody was willing to fall to the work."§

A leader only was wanting; and in this great position, by the common consent of all, Pym now placed himself. As he looked round the seats, crowded as they were with members, what gaps must have appeared in them to him! The line of his early friends and associates was broken indeed. "The long intermission of Parliament," observes Clarendon, "had worn out most of those who had been acquainted with the rules and orders observed in those conventions." Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips were dead now, and Sir John Eliot

\* Rushworth, vol. iii. (part second), p. 1114. Rushworth was appointed, this session, clerk-assistant to the House of Commons.

† See Clarendon, vol. i., p. 223.

‡ Clarendon's History, vol. i., p. 223-224.

§ "Sir Robert Philips," wrote Garrard to the lord-deputy on the 10th of May, 1638, "Sir Robert Philips, your old acquaintance, has died of a cold—choked with phlegm."—Strafford Papers, vol. ii., p. 164.

\* See Life of Strafford, p. 117.

had perished in his prison. But it was a great and redeeming consolation to Pym that Hampden still sat by his side, and that up to the close of their illustrious career the most intimate private friendship henceforth united them even more closely, if that were possible, than the great public objects they pursued in common. Hitherto Hampden had been "rather of reputation in his own country than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom;" but the business of ship-money had made him the argument of all tongues; and to the toils and perils of public life he now, by Pym's side, entirely devoted himself. He brought up all his family to London from their seat in Buckinghamshire, which only at a few chance intervals he ever saw again; and it is an additional proof of the close intimacy I speak of, that henceforward they lived in lodgings near Pym's house,\* which was then in Gray's Inn Lane, until the commencement of the following Parliament, when Pym having changed his residence to Westminster, Hampden removed there also.† Before the meeting of the present Parliament, I should also mention, they had ridden together through several of the English counties, less with the view, as Anthony à Wood states, of "promoting elections of the Puritanical brethren," than of urging the people to meet and send petitions to the House of Commons as soon as possible after it had assembled. Petitioning Parliament was first organized thus, as a system, by Pym and Hampden. The result was sensibly felt the day after the delivery of the king's speech, when several county members rose and presented petitions from their respective counties,‡ complaining of ship-money projects and monopolies, the Star Chamber and High Commission courts, and other heavy grievances. Hence—though the king had, at the close of the lord-keeper's speech the day before, distinctly asked of the House that they should proceed at once to the consideration of the Scotch business with a view to supplies, and for this purpose had specially ordered the lord-keeper's speech and his own to be entered on the journals—even the Royalist members of the House could not but recognise, after the presentation of such a series of petitions from the people they represented, a certain sort of "divided duty." This was exactly the occasion Pym had sought, and he availed himself of it.

"While men gazed upon each other," says Lord Clarendon, "looking who should begin (much the greater part having never before sat in Parliament), Mr. Pym, a man of good reputation,§ but much better known afterward, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice; and in a set discourse of above two hours, after mention of the king with profound reverence, and commendation of his wisdom and justice, he observed, 'that by the long intermission of Parliaments many unwarrantable things had been practised, notwithstanding the great virtue of his majesty;' and then enumerated all the projects which had been set on foot; all the ille-

gal proclamations which had been published, and the proceedings which had been upon those proclamations; the judgment upon ship-money, and many grievances which related to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; summing up shortly and sharply all that most reflected upon the prudence and justice of the government, and concluding 'that he had only laid that scheme before them that *they might see how much work they had to do to satisfy their country*, the method and manner of the doing whereof he left to their wisdoms.' " To this may be added the characteristic description given by May, the historian of the Long Parliament: "Master Pym, a grave and religious gentleman, in a long speech of almost two hours, recited a catalogue of the grievances which at that time lay heavy on the Commonwealth, of which many abbreviated copies, as extracting the heads only, were with great greediness taken by gentlemen, and others throughout the kingdom, for it was not then in fashion to print speeches of Parliament."

The effect of this speech was so extraordinary throughout England, that it has been made matter of general comment with all the historians of the period. The only reference they are able to give, however, is to the abstract supplied by Rushworth:‡ and this seemed to me to be so unsatisfactory a version, that I commenced a search among the pamphlets at the British Museum, in the hope that some publication of a speech that had produced such results, and which might possibly have taken place with Pym's authority, had escaped the notice of the indefatigable collector. This hope was not disappointed; and some extensive extracts shall now be laid before the reader, from a report which received the subsequent correction of Pym himself. These extracts are remarkable on every account: they do not simply illustrate the period better than any laboured history can; they will be found to mark, also, most emphatically, a certain grave and subdued style and manner in the speaker, which singularly contrasts with his tone at the meeting of the Parliament that followed. It is as though he spoke—and doubtless he did speak—with the thorough knowledge that, as the present Parliament had been called by the king, the next was to be forced into existence by the people. The report is given in the third person, and opens thus:

"Never Parliament had greater businesses to dispatch, nor more difficulties to encounter; therefore wee have reason to take all advantages of order and addresse, and hereby wee shall not only doe our owne worke, but dispose and inable ourselves for the better satisfaction of his majestie's desire of supply. *The grievances being removed*, our affections will carry us with speede and cheerefulness, to give his majestie that which may be sufficient both for his honour and support. Those that in the very first place shall endeavour to redresse the grievances, will be found not to hinder, but to bee the best furtherers of his majestie's service. *Hec that takes away weights doth as much advantage motion as he that addeth wrings*. Divers pieces of this maine worke have bene already propounded; his endeavour should be to present

\* See Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden, vol. i., p. 109.

† See Clarendon's Life.

‡ Rushworth, vol. iii., p. 1131.

§ Whitelocke thus describes him: "Master Pym, an ancient gentleman of great experience in Parliamentary affairs, and no less known fidelity to his country."

\* Vol. iii., p. 1131. Old. Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 425.



to the House a modell of the whole. In the creation, God made the world according to that idea or forme which was eternally pre-existent in the divine minde. Moses was commanded to frame the tabernacle after the patterne shewed him in the mount. *Those actions are seldome well perfected in the execution which are not first well moulded in the designe and proposition.*"

In such passages as these, for abundance of argument, and weight, no less than closeness of reasoning, the eloquence of Pym approaches to the more deliberate compositions of Lord Bacon.

"He said he would labour to contract those manifold affaires, both of the Church and State, which did so earnestly require the wisdom and faithfulness of this House, into a double method of grievances and cures. And because there wanted not some who pretended that these things wherewith the Commonwealth is now grieved are much for the advantage of the king, and that the redresse of them will be to his majestie's great disadvantage and losse (hee said), he doubted not but to make it appeare that in discovering the present great distempers and disorders, and procuring remedie for them, we should bee no lesse serviceable to his majestie, who hath summoned us to this great councell, than usefull to those whom we doe here represent. For the better effecting whereof he propounded three maine branches of his discourse. In the first (he said) he would offer them the severall heads of some principall grievances under which the kingdome groaned. In the second he undertook to prove that the disorders from whence those grievances issued were as hurtfull to the king as to the people. In the third he would advise such a way of healing and removing those grievances as might bee equally effectuall to maintaine the honour and greatnesse of the king, and to procure the prosperitie and contentment of the people.

"In the handling whereof he promised to use such expressions as might mitigate the sharpnesse and bitterness of those things whereof he was to speake, so far as his duty and faithfulness would allow. It is a great prerogative to the king, and a great honour attributed to him, in a maxime of our law, that he can doe no wrong; he is the fountaine of justice; and, if there be any injustice in the execution of his commands, the law casts it upon the ministers, and frees the king. *Activitie, life, and vigour are conveyed into the subluary creatures by the influence of Heaven; but the malignitie and distemper, the cause of so many epidemicall diseases, doe proceed from the noysome vapours of the earth, or some ill affected qualities of the aire, without any infection or alteration of those pure, celestiall, and incorruptible bodies.* In the like manner (he said), the authoritie, the power, and countenance of princes may concur in the actions of evill men, without partaking in the injustice and obliquitie of them. These matters whereof we complaine have been presented to his majestie, either under the pretence of royall prerogatives, which he is bound to maintaine, or of publike good, which is the most honourable object of regall wisdom. But the covetous and ambitious designes of others have interposed betwixt his royall intentions and the happiness of his people, making those

things pernicious and hurtfull which his majestie apprehended as just and profitable."

How admirable is the grace and modesty of expression in the first passage that follows, and how thoughtful and comprehensive the tone of the rest!

"He said, the things which he was to propound were of a various nature, many of them such as required a very tender and exquisite consideration. In handling of which, as he would be bold to use the libertie of the place and relation wherein he stood, so he would be very carefull to expresse that modestie and humilitie which might be expected by those of whose actions he was to speake. And if his judgement or his tongue should slip into any particular mistake, *he would not thinke it so great a shame to faile by his own weaknesse, as he should esteem it an honour and advantage to be corrected by the wisdom of that House to which he submitted himselfe, with this protestation, that he desired no reformation so much as to reforme himselfe.*

"The greatest libertie of the kingdome is religion; thereby we are freed from spirituall evils, and no impositions are so grievous as those that are laid upon the soule. The next great libertie is justice, whereby we are preserved from injuries in our persons and estates; from this is derived into the Commonwealth peace, and order, and safety; and when this is interrupted, confusion and danger are ready to overwhelm all. The third great libertie consists in the power and priviledge of Parliaments; for this is the fountaine of law, the great councell of the kingdome, the highest court; this is enabled, by the legislative and consiliarie power, to prevent evils to come; by the judiciarie power, to suppress and remove evils present. If you consider these three great liberties in the order of dignitie, this last is inferiour to the other two, as meanes are inferiour to the end; but if you consider them in the order of necessitie and use, this may justly claime the first place in our care, because the end cannot be obtained without the meanes; and if we doe not preserve this, we cannot long hope to enjoy either of the other. Therefore (he said), being to speake of those grievances which lie upon the kingdome, hee would observe this order:

"1. First to mention those which were against the priviledge of Parliaments. 2. Those which were prejudiciall to the religion established in the kingdome. 3. Those which did interrupt the justice of the realme in the libertie of our persons and propriety of our estates.

"The priviledges of Parliament were not given for the ornament or advantage of those who are the members of Parliament. They have a real use and efficacie towards that which is the end of Parliaments. We are free from suits that we may the more intirely addict ourselves to the publike services; we have, therefore, libertie of speach, that our counsels may not be corrupted with feare, or our judgements perverted with selfe respects. Those three great faculties and functions of Parliament, the legislative, judiciarie, and consiliarie power, cannot be well exercised without such priviledges as these. The wisdom of our laws, the faithfulness of our counsels, the

righteousnesse of our judgements, can hardly be kept pure and untainted if they proceed from distracted and restrained mindes.

"It is a good rule of the morall philosopher, *Et non ledas mentem gubernatricem omnium actionum*. These powers of Parliament are to the bodie politike as the rationall faculties of the soule to a man: *that which keeps all the parts of the Commonwealth in frame and temper, ought to be most carefully preserved in that freedome, vigour, and activitie which belongs to its selfe*. Our predecessors in this House have ever beene most carefull in the first place to settle and secure their priviledges; and (he said) he hoped that we, having had greater breaches made upon us than heretofore, would be no lesse tender of them, and forward in seeking reparation for that which is past, and prevention of the like for the time to come.

"Then hee propounded divers particular points wherein the priviledge of Parliament had beene broken. First, in restraining the members of the House from speaking. Secondly, in forbidding the speaker to put any question.

"These two were practiced the last day of the last Parliament (and, as was alledged, by his majestie's command); and both of them trench upon the very life and being of Parliaments; for if such a restraining power as this should take root and bee admitted, it will be impossible for us to bring any resolution to perfection in such matters as shall displease those about the king.

"Thirdly, by imprisoning divers members of the House for matters done in Parliament. Fourthly, by indictments, informations, and judgements in ordinary and inferiour courts, for speeches and proceedings in Parliaments. Fifthly, by the disgraceful order of the King's Bench, whereby some members of this House were enjoyned to put in securitie of their good behaviour; and for refusall thereof were continued in prison divers yeares, without any particular allegation against them. *One of them was freed by death.*\* Others were not dismissed† till his majestie had declared his intention to summon the present Parliament. And this he noted not onely as a breach of priviledge, but as a violation of the common justice of the kingdoms. Sixthly, by the sudden and abrupt dissolution of Parliaments, contrary to the law and custom.

"Often hath it beene declared in Parliaments that the Parliament should not be dissolved till the petitions be answered. This (he said) was a great grievance, because it doth prevent the redresse of other grievances. It were a hard case that a private man should bee put to death without being heard. As this representative body of the Commons receives a being by the summons, so it receives a civill death by the dissolution. Is it not a much more heave

doome by which we lose our being, to have this civill death inflicted on us in displeasure, and not to be allowed time and libertie to answer for ourselves? that we should not onely die, but have this mark of infamy laid upon us? to bee made intestables, disabled to make our wills, to dispose of our businesse, as this House hath always used to doe before adjournments or dissolutions? Yet this hath often beene our case! We have not beene permitted to poure out our last sighes and groanes into the bosome of our deare soveraigne. *The words of dying men are full of piercing affections*; if we might bee heard to speake, no doubt we should so fully expresse our love and faithfulnessse to our prince, as might take off the false suggestions and aspersions of others: at least we should in our humble supplications recommend some such things to him in the name of his people as would make for his owne honour and the publike good of his kingdom.

"Thus he concluded the first sort of grievances, being such as were against the priviledge of Parliament, and passed on to the next, concerning religion, all which hee conveyed under these four heads. The first was the great encouragement given to poperie, of which he produced these particular evidences: 1. A suspension of all laws against Papists, whereby they enjoy a free and almost publike exercise of that religion. Those good statutes which were made for restraint of idolatrie and superstition are now a ground of securitie to them in the practice of both, *being used to no other end but to get money into the king's purse*; which, as it is clearly against the intentions of the law, so it is full of mischief to the kingdom.

Here Pym interposed a few words, which vindicate his memory from the charge that has so often beene urged against it, of religious bigotry and intolerance. Laud's indulgences to the Catholics may possibly be thought nowadays, and justly so thought, unworthy of either regret or blame; but let the reader place himself in the position of a Protestant Nonconformist of that period, and think of the hardships he would have suffered for refusing to bow his conscience to certain prescribed formulæ in doctrine and ceremoniall, and contrast them next with these Catholic indulgences; or, considering himself only as a statesman bent on the achievement of responsible government, let him, knowing the connexion in that day of popery with absolute power, observe the eager servility with which the "indulged" Catholics sought to make themselves, upon every occasion, the most active instruments of Charles's despotism. Thoroughly was Pym justified in saying what follows!

"By this means a dangerous party is cherished and increased, who are ready to close with any opportunitie of disturbing the peace and safety of the state. Yet (hee said) *hee did not desire any new laws against poperie, or any rigorous courses in the execution of those already in force: he was far from seeking the ruin of their persons or estates; onely he wish't they might be kept in such a condition as should restrain them from doing hurt*.

"It may bee objected, there are moderate and discreet men amongst them, men of estates, such as have an interest in the peace

\* This allusion to Eliot is interesting; and I should add that, two or three days after, Pym moved "that it be referred to the committee of the Tower to examine after what manner Sir John Eliot came to his death, his usage in the Tower, and to view the rooms and places where he was imprisoned, and where he died, and to report the same to the House." I have not been able to find the report. The terms of the notice are very remarkable, and suggest other notions besides that of Pym's affection for his old friend.

† That is, not released from bail. They were all released from prison before Eliot.

and prosperitie of the kingdome as well as wee. These (hee said) were not to be considered according to their owne disposition, but according to the nature of the body whereof they are parties. The planets have severall and particular motions of their owne, yet they are all rapt and transported into a contrarie course by the superior orbe which comprehends them all. The principles of poperie are such as are incompatible with any other religion. There may be a suspension of violence for some by certain respects; but the ultimate end even of that moderation is, that they may with more advantage extirpate that which is opposite to them. Laws will not restrain them—oathes will not. The pope can dispense with both these, and where there is occasion, his command will move them to the disturbance of the realme, against their owne private disposition—yea, against their owne reason and judgement—to obey him; to whom they have (especially the Jesuiticall party) absolutely and intirely obliged themselves, not onely in spiritual matters, but in temporal, as they are in order *ad spiritualia*. Henry III. and Henry IV. of France were no Protestants themselves, yet were murdered because they tolerated the Protestants. The king and the kingdome can have no securitie but in their weakness and disability to do hurt.

"2. A second incouragement is their admission into places of power and trust in the Commonwealth, whereby they get many dependants and adherents, not onely of their owne, but even of such as make profession to be Protestants. 3. A third, their freedome of resorting to London and the court, whereby they have opportunitie, not onely of communicating their counsels and designes one to another, but of diving into his majestie's counsels, by the frequent access of those who are active men amongst them, to the tables and company of great men; and, under subtile pretences and disguises, they want not means of cherishing their owne projects, and of endeavouring to mould and biasse the publike affairs to the great advantage of that partie. 4. A fourth, that as they have a congregation of cardinals at Rome, to consider of the aptest wayes and means of establishing the pope's authoritie and religion in England, so they have a nuncio here, to act and dispose that partie to the execution of those counsels, and, by the assistance of such cunning and Jesuiticall spirits as swarm in this town, to order and manage all actions and events to the furtherance of that maine end.

"The second grievance of religion was from those manifold innovations lately introduced into severall parts of the kingdome, all inclining to poperie, and disposing and fitting men to entertain it. The particulars were these: 1. Divers of the chiefeest points of religion in difference betwixt us and the Papists have boene publicly defended, in licensed bookes, in sermons, in universitie acts and disputations. 2. Divers popish ceremonies have boene not only practised, but countenanced, yea, little less than injoynd, as altars, images, crucifixes, bowings, and other gestures and observances,\* which put upon our churches a shape and face of poperie. *Hee compared this to the drie bones*

*in Ezekiel. First, they came together; then the sinews and the flesh came upon them; after this the skin covered them; and then breath and life was put into them! So (hee said), after these men had moulded us into an outward forme and visage of poperie, they would more boldly endeavour to breathe into us the spirit of life and poperie.*

"The third grievance was the countenancing and preferring those men who were most forward in setting up such innovations: the particulars were so well knowne that they needed not to be named.

"The fourth was the discouragement of those who were knowne to bee most conscionable and faithfull professors of the truth. Some of the wayes of effecting this he observed to be these: The courses taken to inforce and enlarge those unhappy differences, for matters of small moment, which have boene amongst ourselves, and to raise up new occasions of further division, whereby many have boene induced to forsake the land, not seeing the end of those voluntarie and human injunctions in things appertaining to God's worship. Those who are indeed lovers of religion, and of the churches of God, would seek to make up those breaches, and to unite us more entirely against the common enemy. 2. The over-rigid prosecution of those who are scrupulous in using some things injoynd, which are held by those who injoyn them to be in themselves indifferent. It hath boene ever the desire of this House, exprest in many Parliaments in Queene Elizabeth's time and since, that such might be tenderly used. It was one of our petitions delivered at Oxford to his majestie that now is; but what little moderation it hath produced is not unknowne to us all! *Any other vice almost may be better endured in a minister than inconformitie!* 3. The unjust punishments and vexations of sundry persons for matters required without any warrant of law: as, for not reading the booke concerning recreation on the Lord's day; for not removing the communion table to bee set altarwise at the east end of the chancell; for not coming up to the railles to receive the sacrament; for preaching the Lord's day in the afternoon; for catechising in any other words and manner than in the precise words of the short catechisme in the Common Prayer Booke.

"The fifth and last grievance concerning religion was the inroachment and abuse of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The particulars mentioned were these: 1. Fining and imprisoning in cases not allowed by law. 2. The challenging their jurisdiction to be appropriate to their order, which they alledge to be jure divino. 3. The contriving and publishing of new articles, upon which they inforce the churchwardens to take oathes and to make inquiries and presentments, as if such articles had the force of canons; and this, he said, was an effect of great presumption and boldnesse, not onely in the bishops, but in their archdeacons, officials, and chancellors, taking upon themselves a kinde of synodall authoritie. The injunctions of this kinde might, indeed, well partake in name with that part of the common law which is called the extravagants!"

A more masterly statement than this, of the precise bearings of one of those great questions of the time, which it is probably the most diffi-

\* See the Life of Eliot, p. 30; and Life of Strafford, p. 99-101.

cult to sympathize with now, except, indeed, in the broad statement of a certain widely-felt ecclesiastical oppression, could not possibly be furnished; and from such a speaker it is invaluable.

But Pym's treatment of the civil oppressions of the state is felt, from the nature of the subject, with still greater force. A more massive document was never given to history. It has all the solidity, weight, and gravity of a judicial record, while it addresses itself equally to the solid good sense of the masses of the people, and to the cultivated understandings of the time. The deliberative gravity, the force, the broad, decided manner of this great speaker, contrast forcibly with those choice specimens of awkward affectations and laboured extravagances that have not seldom passed in modern days for oratory.

"Having dispatched these several points, hee proceeded to the third kinde of grievances, heing such as are against the common justice of the realme, in the libertie of our persons and proprietie of our estates, of which (he said) he had many to propound: in doing whereof, he would rather observe the order of time wherein they were acted than of consequence; but when hee should come to the cure, hee should then persuade the House to begin with those which were of most importance, as being now in execution, and very much pressing and exhausting the Commonwealt.

"He began with the tonnage and poundage, and other impositions not warranted by law; and because these burdens had long lain upon us, and the principles which produced them are the same from whence divers others are derived, he thought it necessarie to premise a short narrative and relation of the grounds and proceedings of the power of imposing herein practised. It was (he said) a fundamental truth, essential to the constitution and government of this kingdome—an hereditarie libertie and priviledge of all the freeborn subjects of the land—that no tax, tallage, or other charge might be laid upon us, without common consent in Parliament. This was acknowledged by the Conqueror; ratified in that contract which he made with this nation upon his admittance to the kingdome; declared and confirmed in the lawes which he published.

"This hath never beene *denied* by any of our kings, though broken and interrupted by some of them, especially by King John and Henry III. Then, againe, it was confirmed by Mag. Chart. and other succeeding lawes, yet not so well settled but that it was sometime attempted by the two succeeding Edwards, in whose times the subjects were very sensible of all the breaches made upon the common libertie, and, by the opportunitie of frequent Parliaments, pursued them with fresh complaints, and for the most part found redresse, and procured the right of the subject to be fortified by new statutes.

"He observed that those kings, *even in the acts whereby they did break the law, did really affirm the subject's libertie*, and disclaime that right of imposing which is now challenged; for they did usually procure the merchants' consent to such taxes as were laid, thereby to put a colour of justice upon their proceeding; and or-

dinarily they were limited to a short time, and then propounded to the ratification of the Parliament, where they were cancelled or confirmed, as the necessitie and state of the kingdome did require. But, for the most part, such charges upon merchandise were taken by authoritie of Parliament, and granted for some short time, in a greater or lesser proportion, as was requisite for supply of the publike occasions—six or twelve in the pound, for one, two, or three yeares, as they saw cause, to be employed for the defence of the sea; and it was acknowledged so clearly to be in the power of Parliament, that they have sometimes beene granted to noblemen, and sometimes to merchants, to be disposed for that use. Afterward they were granted to the king for life, and so continued for divers descents, yet still as a gift and grant of the Commons.

"Betwixt the time of Edward III. and Queene Mary, never prince (that he could remember) offered to demand any imposition but by grant in Parliament. Queene Mary laid a charge upon cloth, by the equitie of the statute of tonnage and poundage, because the rate set upon wooll was much more than upon cloth; and, there being little wooll carried out of the kingdome unwrought, the queene thought she had reason to lay on somewhat more; yet not full so much, as brought them to an equalitie, but that still there continued a lesse charge upon wooll wrought into cloth than upon wooll carried out unwrought, until King James's time, when, upon Nicholson's project, there was a further addition of charge, but still upon pretence of the statute, which is that we call *the pretermitted custome*.

"In Queene Elizabeth's time, it is true, one or two little impositions crept in, *the generall prosperitie of her raigne overshadowing small errors and innovations*. One of these was upon currants, by occasion of the merchants' complaints that the Venetians had laid a charge upon the English cloth, that so we might bee even with them, and force them the sooner to take it off. But this being demanded by King James, was denied by one Bates, a merchant, and upon a suit in the Exchequer, was adjudged for the king. Now the manner of that judgement was thus: There were then but three judges in that court, all differing from one another in the grounds of their sentences. The first was of opinion the king might impose upon such commodities as were forraigne and superfluous, as currants were, but not upon such as were native and to be transported, or necessarie, and to be imported for the use of the kingdome. The second judge was of opinion he might impose upon all forraigne merchandise, whether superfluous or no, but not upon native. The third, that forasmuch as the king had the custody of the ports and the guard of the seas, and that he might open and shut up the ports as he pleased, hee had a prerogative to impose upon all merchandise, both exported and imported. Yet this single, distracted, and divided judgement is the foundation of all the impositions now in practice! for after this King James laid new charges upon all commodities outward and inward, not limited to a certaine time and occasion, but reserved to himself, his heires and successors forever—the *first impositions in*

*fee simple that were ever heard of in this kingdome.* This judgement, and the right of imposing thereupon assumed, was questioned in septimo and duodecimo of that king, and was the cause of the breach of both those Parliaments. In 18 & 21 Jacobi, indeed, it was not agitated by this House, but onely that they might preserve the favour of the king for the dispatch of some other great businesses upon which they were more especially attentive.\* But in the first of his present majestie, it necessarily came to be remembered, upon the proposition on the king's part for renewing the bill of tonnage and poundage; yet so moderate was that Parliament, that they thought rather to confirm the impositions already set by a law to be made than to abolish them by a judgement in Parliament; *but that and divers ensuing Parliaments have bene unhappilie broken before that endeavour could be accomplished:* onely at the last meeting a remonstrance was made concerning the libertie of the subject in this point; and it hath alwayes bene expressed to bee the meaning of the House, and so it was (as hee said) his owne meaning in the proposition now made, to settle and restore the right according to law, and not to diminish the king's profit, but to establish it by a free grant in Parliament.

"However, since the breach of the last Parliament, his majestie hath, by a new booke of rates, very much increased the burden upon merchandise; and now tonnage and poundage, old and new impositions, are all taken by prerogative, without any grant in Parliament, or authoritie of law, as we conceive, from whence divers inconveniences and mischiefs are produced: 1. The danger of the president, that a judgement in one court and in one case is made binding to all the kingdome. 2. Men's goods are seized, their legall suits are stopped, and justice denied to those that desire to take the benefit of the law. 3. The great summes of money received upon these impositions, intended for the guard of the seas, claimed and defended upon no ground but that of publike trust, for protection of merchants and defence of the ports, are dispersed to other uses, and a new tax raised for the same purposes. 4. These burdens are so excessive, that trade is thereby very much hindered, the commodities of our owne growth extremely abased, and those imported much enhaūnced; all which lie not upon the merchant alone, but upon the generalitie of the subject; and by this means the stock of the kingdome is much diminisht, our exportation being lesse profitable, and our importation more changeable. *And if the wars and troubles in the neighbour parts had not brought almost the whole streame of trade into this kingdome,* we should have found many more prejudiciall effects of these impositions, long before this time, than yet wee have done. Especially they have bene insupportable to the poore plantations, whither many of his majestie's subjects have bene transported, in divers parts of the Continent and islands of America, in furtherance of a designe tending to the honour of the kingdome and the enlargement of his majestie's dominions. The adventurers in this noble worke have for the most part no other support but tobacco, upon whic hsuch a heave rate

is set, that the king receives twice as much as the true value of the commoditie to the owner. 5. Whereas these great burdens have caused divers merchants to apply themselves to a way of traffique abroad by transporting goods from one countrey to another, without bringing them home into England; but now it hath bene lately endeavoured to set an imposition upon this trade, so that the king will have a dutie even out of those commodities which never come within his dominions, to the great discouragement of such active and industrious men.

"The next generall head of civill grievances was inforcing men to compound for knighthood; which though it may seeme past, because it is divers yeares since it was used, yet upon the same grounds the king may renew it, as often as he pleaseth, for the composition looks backward, and the offence continuing is subject to a new fine. The state of that businesse he layed downe thus: Heretofore, when the services due by tenure were taken in kind, it were fit there were some way of triall and approbation of those that were bound to such services. Therefore it was ordained, that such as were to doe knight's services, after they came of age and had possession of their lands, should bee made knights; that is, publicly declared to be fit for that service: divers ceremonies and solemnities were in use for this purpose; and if by the partie's neglect this was not done, he was punishable by fine, there being in those times an ordinary and open way to get knighthood for those who were borne to it. Now it is quite true, that, although the use of this hath for divers ages bene discontinued, yet there have past very few kings under whom there hath not bene a generall summons, requiring those who had lands of such value as the law prescribes to appeare at the coronation, or some other great solemnitie, and to bee knighted, and yet nothing intended but the getting of some small fines. So this grievance is not altogether new in the kind, but it is new in the manner, and in the excesse of it, and that in divers respects: 1. First, it hath bene extended beyond all intention and colour of law. Not only innholders, but likewise leaseholders, copyholders, merchants, and others; scarce any man free from it. 2. The fines have bene immoderate, far beyond the proportion of former times. 3. The proportion have bene without any example, president, or rule of justice; for though those that were summoned did appeare, yet distresses infinite were made out against them, and issues increased and multiplied, and no way open to discharge those issues, by plea or otherwise, but onely by compounding with the commissioners at their owne pleasure.

"The third generall head of civill grievances was the great inundation of monopolies, whereby heave burthens are laid, not onely upon forraigne, but also native commodities. These began in the soape pattent. The principall undertakers in this were divers popish recusants, men of estate and qualitie, such as in likelihood did not onely aime at their private gaine, but that by this open breach of law the king and his people might be more fully divided, and the wayes of Parliament men more thoroughly obstructed. Amongst the infinite inconveniences and mischiefs which

\* The war with the Palatinate. See Life of Eliot, p. 6-8.

this did produce, these few may be observed : 1. The impairing the goodnesse, and enhauncing the price of most of the commodities and manufactures of the realme, yea, of those which are of most necessarie and common use, as salt, soape, beere, coles, and infinite others. 2. That, under colour of licences, trades and manufactures are restrained to a few hands, and many of the subjects deprived of their ordinary way of livelihood. 3. That upon such illegall grants, a great number of persons had bene unjustly vexed by pursevants, imprisonments, attendance upon the councill-table, forfeiture of goods, and many other wayes.

"The fourth head of civill grievances was that great and unparalleled grievance of the ship-money, which, though it may seeme to have more warrant of law than the rest, because there hath a judgement passed for it, yet in truth it is thereby aggravated, if it bee considered that the judgement is founded upon the naked opinion of some judges without any written law, without any custome, or authoritie of law-bookes, yea, without any one president for it ! Many expresse lawes, many declarations in Parliaments, and the constant practice and judgement at all times being against it ! yea, in the very nature of it, it will be found to be disproportionable to the case of '*necessitie*' which is pretended to be the ground of it ! *Necessitie* excludes all formalities and solemnities. It is no time then to make levies and taxes, to build and prepare ships. Every man's person, every man's ships, are to be employed for the resisting of an invading enemy. The right on the subject's part was so cleare, and the pretences against it so weake, that hee thought no man would venture his reputation or conscience in the defence of that judgement, being so contrary to the grounds of the law, to the practice of former times, and so inconsistent in its selfe.

"Amongst many inconveniences and obliques of this grievance, he noted these : 1. That it extendeth to all persons and to all times ; it subjecteth our goods to distresse, and our persons to imprisonment ; and, the causes of it being secret and invisible, referred to his majestie's breast alone, the subject was left without possibilitie of exception and reliefe. 2. That there were no rules or limits for the proportion ; so that no man knew what estate he had, or how to order his course or expences. 3. That it was taken out of the subject's purse by a writ, and brought into the king's coffers by instructions from the lords of his most honourable privie councill. Now in the legall defence of it, the writ onely did appeare ; of the instructions there was no notice taken, which yet in the real execution of it were most predominant. *It carries the face of service in the writ, and of revenue in the instructions.* Why, if this way had not bene found to turn the ship into money, it would easily have appeared how incompatible this service is with the office of a sheriffe in the inland counties, and how incongruous and inconvenient for the inhabitants ! *The law in a body politike is like Nature, which always prepareth and disposeth proper and fit instruments and organs for every naturall operation.* If the law had intended any such charge as this, there should have bene certaine rules,

suitable meanes and courses, for the levying and managing of it.

"The fifth head was the enlargement of the forrests beyond the bounds and perambulations appointed and established by act of Parliament, 27 & 28 Edward I. ; and this is done upon the very reasons and exceptions which had bene on the king's part propounded, and by the Commons answered, in Parliament, not long after that establishment. It is not unknowne to many in this House, that those perambulations were the fruit and effect of that famous charter which is called *Charta de forrestâ*, whereby many tumults, troubles, and discontents had bene taken away, and composed between the king and his subjects ; and it is full of danger, that, by reviving those old questions, wee may fall into the like distempers. Hereby, however, no blame could fall upon that great lord, who is now justice in Eyre, and in whose name these things were acted ; it could not be expected that he should take notice of the lawes and customes of the realme, therefore he was carefull to procure the assistance and direction of the judges ; and if any thing were done against law, it was for them to answer, and not for him.

"The particular irregularities and obliquities of this businesse were these : 1. The surreptitious procuring a verdict for the king, without giving notice to the countrey, whereby they might be prepared to give in evidence for their own interest and indemnity, as was done in Essex. 2. Whereas the judges in the justice seat in Essex were consulted with about the entry of the former verdict, and delivered their opinion touching that alone, without meddling with the point of right, this opinion was after enforced in other counties, as if it had bene a judgement upon the matter, and the counsell for the county discountenanced in speaking, because it was said to be already adjudged. 3. The inheritance of divers of the subjects have bene hereupon disturbed, after the quiet possession of three or four hundred years, and a way opened for the disturbance of many others. 4. Great summes of money have bene drawn from such as have lands within these pretended bounds, and those who have forborne to make composition have bene threatened with the execution of these forrest lawes. 5. The fifth was the selling of nuisances, or at least some such things as are supposed to be nuisances. The king, as father of the Commonwealth, is to take care of the publike commodities and advantages of his subjects, as rivers, highways, common sewers, and such like, and is to remove whatsoever is prejudiciall to them ; and for the trial of those, there are legall and ordinary writs of *ad quod damnum* ; but of late a new and extra-judiciall way hath bene taken, of declaring matters to be nuisances ; and divers have thereupon bene questioned, and if they would not compound, they have bene fined ; if they doe compound, that which was first prosecuted as a common nuisance is taken into the king's protection, and allowed to stand ; and having yeilded the king money, no further care is taken whether it be good or bad for the Commonwealth. *By this a very great and publike trust is either broken or abused.* If the matter compounded for be truly a nuisance, then it

is broken to the hurt of the people; if it bee not a nuisance, then it is abused to the hurt of the partie. The particulars mentioned were: First, The commission for buildings in and about this towne, which heretofore hath bene presented by this House as a grievance in King James his time, but now of late the execution hath bene much more frequent and prejudicial than it was before. Secondly, Commission for depopulations, which began some few yeares since, and is still in hot prosecution. By both these the subject is restrained from disposing of his owne. Some have bene commanded to demolish their houses; others have bene forbidden to build; others, after great trouble and vexation, have bene forced to redeeme their peace with large summes, and they still remaine, by law, as lyable to a new question as before; for it is agreed by all, that the king cannot licence a common nuisance; and although indeede these are not such, yet it is a matter of very ill consequence, that under that name they should be compounded for, and may in ill times hereafter be made a president for the kings of this realme to claime a power of licencing such things as are nuisances indeed.

"The seventh great civill grievance hath bene the militarie charges laid upon the severall countiees of the kingdome, sometimes by warrant under his majestie's signature, sometimes by letters from the councill-table, and sometimes (such hath bene the boldnesse and presumption of some men) by the order of the lord-lieutenants, or deputy-lieutenant alone. This is a growing evil, still multiplying and increasing from a few particulars to many, from small summes to great. It began first to be practised as a loane, for supply of coat and conduct money; and for this it hath some countenance from the use in Queene Elizabeth's time, when the lords of the councill did often desire the deputy-lieutenants to procure so much money to be laid out in the countrey as the service did require, with a promise to pay it againe in London, for which purpose there was a constant warrant in the Exchequer. This (he said) was the practice in her time, and in a great part of King James's. But the payments were then so certaine, as it was little otherwise than taking up money upon bills of exchange. At this day they follow these presidents in the manner of the demand (for it is with a promise of a repayment), but not in the certaintie and readinesse of satisfaction.

"The first particular brought into a tax (as he thought) was the muster-master's wages, at which many repined; but being for small summes, it began to bee generally digested; yet, in the last Parliament, this House was sensible of it, and to avoid the danger of the president that the subjects should be forced to make any payments without consent in Parliament, they thought upon a bill that might bee a rule to the lieutenants what to demand, and to the people what to pay. But the hopes of this bill were dashed in the dissolution of that Parliament. Now of late divers other particulars are growing into practice, which make the grievance much more heave. Those mentioned were these: 1. Pressing men against their will, and forcing them which are rich or unwilling to serve, to find others in their place.

2. The provision of publike magazines for powder and other munition, spades and pickaxes. 3. The salarie of divers officers besides the muster-master. 4. The buying of cart-horses and carts, and hiring of carts for carriages.

"The eighth head of civill grievances was the extra-judiciall declarations of judges, whereby the subjects have bene bound in matters of great importance without hearing of councill or argument on their part, and are left without legall remedie, by writ of error or otherwise. He remembered the expression used by a former member of the House, of a 'teeming Parliament.' This (hee said) was a teeming grievance; from hence have issued most of the great grievances now in being: the ship-money, the pretended nuisances already mentioned, and some others which have not yet bene toucht upon, especially that concerning the proceedings of ecclesiastical courts.

"The ninth generall head was, that the authoritie and wisdom of the councill-table have bene applied to the contriving and managing of severall monopolies, and other great grievances. The institution of the councill-table was much for the advantage and securitie of the subject, to avoid surreptitious and precipitate courts in the great affaires of the kingdome. But by law an oath should be taken by all those of the king's councill, in which, amongst other things, it is exprest that they should for no cause forbear to doe right to all the king's people. If such an oath be not now taken, he wisht it might be brought into use againe.

"It was the honour of that table to bee, as it were, incorporated with the king; his royall power and greatnesse did shine most conspicuously in their actions and in their counsell. Wee have heard of projectors and resoures heretofore; and what opinion and relish they have found in this House is not unknowne. But that any such thing should be acted by the councill-table which might give strength and countenance to monopolies, as it hath not bene used till now of late, so it cannot be apprehended without the just griefe of the honest subject, and encouragement of those who are ill affected. He remembered that in tertio of this king, a noble gentleman, then a very worthy member of the Commons' House, now a great lord and eminent counsellour of state, did in this place declare an opinion concerning that clause used to bee inserted in pattents of monopolie, whereby justices of peace are commanded to assist the patentees; and that he urged it to bee a great dishonour to those gentlemen which are in commission to be so meanely employed: with how much more reason may wee, in jealousie of the honour of the councill-table, humbly desire that their precious time, their great abilities, designed to the publike care and service of the kingdome, may not receive such a staine, such a diminution, as to be employed in matters of so ill report, in the estimation of the law; of so ill effect, in the apprehension of the people!

"The tenth head of civill grievances was comprised in the high court of Star Chamber, which some thinke succeeded that which in the Parliament rolls is called magnum concilium, and to which Parliaments were wont so often to referre those important matters which they had no time to determine. But now this court,

which in the late restauration or erection of it, in Henry VII.'s time, was especially designed to restrain the oppression of great men, and to remove the obstructions and impediments of the law—this, which is both a court of counsell and a court of justice—hath bene made an instrument of erecting and defending monopolies and other grievances; to set a face of right upon those things which are unlawfull in their owne nature, a face of publike good upon such as are pernicious in their use and execution. The soape-pattent and divers other evidences thereof may be given, so well knowne as not to require a particular relation. And as if this were not enough, this court hath lately intermeddled with the ship-money! divers sheriffes have bene questioned for not levying and collecting such summes as their counties have been charged with; and if this beginning bee not prevented, the Star Chamber will become a court of revenue, and it shall bee made *crime* not to collect or pay such taxes as the state shall require!

“The eleventh head of civill grievance was now come to. Hee said hee was gone very high, yet hee must go a little higher. That great and most eminent power of the king, of making edicts and proclamations, which are said to be *leges temporis*, and by means of which our princes have used to encounter with such sudden and unexpected danger as would not indure so much delay as assembling the great counsell of the kingdome—this, which is one of the most glorious beames of majestic, most rigorous in commanding reverence and subjection, hath, to our unspeakable griefe, bene often exercised of late for the injoyning and maintaining sundry monopolies and other grants, exceeding burdensome, and prejudiciall to the people.

“The twelfth next. Now, although he was come as high as he could upon earth, yet the presumption of evil men did leade him one step higher—even as high as heaven—as high as the throne of God! It was now (hee said) growne common for ambitious and corrupt men of the clergie to abuse the truth of God and the bond of conscience, preaching downe the lawes and liberties of the kingdome, and pretending divine authoritie for an absolute power in the king, to doe what he would with our persons and goods. This hath bene so often published in sermons and printed bookes, that it is now the high way to *preferment*!

“In the last Parliament we had a sentence of an offence of this kind against one Mainwaring, then a doctor, now a bishop, concerning whom (hee said) hee would say no more but this, that when he saw him at that barre, in the most humble and dejected posture that ever he observed, he thought he would not so soone have leapt into a bishop's chaire! But his successe hath emboldened others; therefore (hee said) this may well bee noted as a double grievance, that such doctrine should be allowed, and that such men should bee preferred—yea, as a roote of grievances, whereby they indeavour to corrupt the king's conscience, and, as much as in them lyes, to deprive the people of that royall protection to which his majestie is bound by the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, and by his owne personall oath.

“The thirteenth head of civill grievances he

would thus expresse: The long intermission of Parliaments, contrary to the two statutes yet in force, whereby it is appointed there should bee Parliaments once a yeare at the least; and most contrary to the publike good of the kingdome, since, this being well remedied, it would generate remedies for all the rest.”

These extracts will be thought as interesting as they are interesting by every student of English History, or of the noblest aspects of the English character. To abridge them would be indeed to realize the story of the man who put a brick in his pocket, thinking to show it as the model of a house. What a grave, clear, solid, and laborious style! What honest seriousness and simplicity of tone in the reasoning! What an exquisite general union of fact and feeling in the ideas! What tenacity and firmness in the expression! Nowhere is there any affectation of philosophy or fine taste; the understanding is invigorated and nourished throughout with its proper food. I will only observe farther, that the wonderful adaptation of the manner and construction of the speech to the peculiar circumstances of the occasion will be better felt by the reader hereafter.

“Having gone through the severall heads of grievances, he came to the second maine branch, propounded in the beginning: that the disorders from whence these grievances issued were as hurtfull to the king as to the people, of which he gave divers reasons: 1. The interruption of the sweet communion which ought to be betwixt the king and his people in matters of grace and supply. They have need of him by his generall pardon; to be secured from projectors and informers; to bee freed from obsolete lawes; from the subtle devices of such as seek to restrain the prerogative to their owne private advantage and the publike hurt; and he hath need of them for counsel and support in great and extraordinary occasions. This mutuall intercourse, if indeed sustained, would so weane the affections and interests of his subjects into his actions and designs, that their wealth and their persons would be his; his owne estate would be managed to most advantage; and publike undertakings would be prosecuted at the charge and adventure of the subject. The victorious attempts in Queene Elizabeth's time upon Portugall, Spaine, and the Indies were for the greatest part made upon the subjects' purses, and not upon the queene's, though the honour and profit of the successe did most accrew to her. 2. Those often breaches and discontentments betwixt the king and the people are very apt to diminish his reputation abroad, and disadvantage his treaties and alliances. 3. The apprehension of the favour and encouragement given to poperie hath much weakened his majestie's partie beyond the sea, and impaired that advantage which Queene Elizabeth and his royall father have heretofore made, of being heads of the Protestant union. 4. The innovations in religion and rigour of ecclesiastical courts have forced a great many of his majestie's subjects to forsake the land, whereby not onely their persons and their posteritie, but their wealth and their industry, are lost to this kingdome, much to the reduction, also, of his majestie's customes and subsidies. And, amongst other inconveniences of



such a sort, this was especially to be observed, that divers clothiers, driven out of the countrey, had set up the manufacture of cloth beyond the seas, whereby this state is like to suffer much by abatement of the price of woolls, and by want of employment for the poore, both which likewise tend to his majestie's particular losse. 5. It puts the king upon improper wayes of supply, which being not warranted by law, are much more burdensome to the subject than advantageous to his majestie. In France, not long since, upon a survey of the king's revenue, it was found that two parts in three never came to the king's purse, but were diverted to the profit of the officers or ministers of the crowne, and it was thought a very good service and reformation to reduce two parts to the king, leaving still a third part to the instruments that were employed about getting it in. It may well be doubted that the king may have the like or worse successe in England, which appears already in some particulars. The king, for instance, hath reserved upon the monopoly of wines thirty thousand pound rent a yeare; the vintner payes forty shillings a tun, which comes to ninety thousand pounds; the price upon the subject by retaile is increased twopence a quart, which comes to eight pound a tun, and for forty-five thousand tun brought in yearly, amounts to three hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which is three hundred and thirty thousand pounds losse to the kingdome above the king's rent! Other monopolies also, as that of soape, have beene very chargeable to the kingdome, and brought very little treasure into his majestie's coffers. Thus it is that the law provides for that revenue of the crowne which is naturall and proper, that it may be safely collected and brought to account; but this illegall revenue, being without any such provision, is left to hazard and much uncertaintie, either not to be retained, or not duly accounted of. 6. It is apt to weaken the industrie and courage of the subject, if they be left uncertaine whether they shall reape the benefit of their own paines and hazard. *Those who are brought into the condition of slaves will easily grow to a slavish disposition, who, having nothing to lose, doe commonly show more boldnesse in disturbing than defending a kingdome.* 7. These irregular courses doe give opportunitie to ill instruments to insinuate themselves into the king's service, for we cannot but observe that if a man be officious in furthering their inordinate burdens of ship-money, monopolies, and the like, it varnisheth over all other faults, and makes him fit both for employment and preferment; so that out of their offices, they are furnisht for vast expences, purchases, buildings, and the king loseth often more in desperate debts at their deaths than he got by them all their lives. Whether this were not lately verified in a Western man, much employed while he lived, he leaves to the knowledge of those who were acquainted with his course; and he doubted not but others might be found in the like case. The same course, againe, has beene pursued with those that are affected to poperie, to prophanenesse, and to superstitious innovations in matters of religion. *All kinds of spies and intelligencers have means to be countenanced and trusted if they will be but zealous in these kinde of services, which, how much it de-*

tracts from his majestie in honour, in profit, and prosperitie of publike affaires, lyes open to every man's apprehension. And from these reasons, or some of them, he thought it proceeded that through the whole course of the English story it might be observed, that those kings who had beene most respectfull of the lawes had beene most eminent in greatnesse, in glory, and successe, both at home and abroad; and that others, who thought to subsist by the violation of them, did often fall into a state of weaknesse, povertie, and infortunitie. 8. The differences and discontents betwixt his majestie and the people at home have in all liklyhood diverted his royall thoughts and counsell from those great opportunities which he might have, not onely to weaken the house of Austria and to restore the Palatinate, but to gaine himself a higher pitch of power and greatnesse than any of his ancestors; for it is not unknowne how weake, how distracted, how discontented the Spanish colonies are in the West Indies. *There are nowe in those parts, in New-England, Virginia, and the Carib Islands, and in the Bermudos, at least sixty thousand able persons of this nation, many of them well armed, and their bodies seasoned to that climate, which, with a very small charge, might be set downe in some advantageous parts of these pleasant, rich, and fruitfull countries, and easily make his majestie master of all that treasure, which not onely fomentes the warre, but is the great support of poperie in all parts of Christendome.* 9. And lastly, those courses are like to produce such distempers in the state as may not be settled without great charge and losse, by which means more may be consumed in a few months than shall be gotten by such wayes in many yeares.

"Having thus past through the two first general branches, he was nowe come to the third, wherein he was to set downe the wayes of healing and removing those grievances, which consisted of two maine branches: first, in declaring the law where it was doubtfull; the second, in better provision for the execution of law, where it is cleere. But (hee said) because he had already spent much time, and began to finde some confusion in his memory, he would refer the particulars to another opportunitie, and for the present onely move that which was generall to all, and which would give waight and advantage to all the particular wayes of redresse.

"That is, that wee should speedily desire a conference with the Lords, and acquaint them with the miserable condition wherein wee finde the Church and State; and as we have already resolved to joyn in a religious seeking of God, in a day of fast and humiliation, so to intreat them to concur with us in a Parliamentary course of petitioning the king, as there should be occasion, and in searching out the causes and remedies of these many insupportable grievances under which we lye; that so, by the united wisdom and authoritie of both houses, such courses may be taken as (through God's blessing) may advance the honour and greatnesse of his majestie, and restore and establish the peace and prosperitie of the kingdome.

"This (hee said) wee might undertake with comfort and hope of successe; for though there be a darknesse upon the land, a thick and palpable darknesse, like that of Egypt, yet, as in that the

*sunne had not lost his light, nor the Egyptians their sight (the interruption was only in the medium), so with us there is still (God be thanked) light in the sunne—wisdom and justice in his majesty—to dispell this darkness; and in us there remains a visual faculty, whereby we are enabled to apprehend, and moved to desire, LIGHT; and when we shall be blessed in the injoying of it, we shall thereby be incited to return his majesty such thanks as may make it shine more cleerely in the world, to his owne glory, and in the hearts of his people, to their joy and contentment.”\**

\* I found this speech, as I have already stated, in the very valuable collection of king's pamphlets now deposited in the British Museum. The effect it produced, and the numerous abridgments of it taken at the time by different members, for the purpose of circulation through the country, as described by May, have led to a curious confusion respecting it. The varying versions of the same speech have been treated as separate speeches by all the historians, collectors, and memorialists, except Lord Clarendon. I cannot account for the error in Rushworth's case (compare vol. i., p. 1131, of his collections, with vol. iv., p. 21), save by the supposition of the second report having been inserted by the publisher after the collector's death. The loose way in which it appears, thrown in, as it were, “in a lump,” with the other speeches that follow it, certainly favours this supposition; which is strengthened by the circumstance of this very collection of speeches, including the abridgment of Pym's speech in the April Parliament, having been published in 1641, as delivered in the Long Parliament, whereas many of them, with Pym's, belong to the previous meeting. Compare Rudyard's, Grimston's, &c. This would probably not be thought worth remarking on, were it not that it establishes Clarendon's accuracy on a point that has been disputed, and is important in reference to Pym himself. It is now clear to me, as Clarendon states, that the first speech delivered by this great statesman in the Long Parliament was the speech in which he denounced Lord Strafford. It marks emphatically the difference that was serious in his “temper.” I will subjoin, as a curiosity, the naked outline which Whitelocke gives of “Pym on grievances,” and upon which it is to be observed, that, though it is given in the mention of the opening proceedings in the Long Parliament, Whitelocke's words by no means imply a contradiction of the fact that it was delivered the Parliament before. He says, “many smart speeches were made in the House of Commons touching grievances, which Mr. Pym divided into three heads.” The following abstract is then given in an isolated form, no mention of its delivery, or the delivery of any thing like it, having been made by the memorialist in his report of the April Parliament:

“I. *Against privilege of Parliament.* II. *Prejudice of religion.* III. *Liberty of the subject.* Under the first head were reckoned, “1. Restraining the members of Parliament from speaking. 2. Forbidding the speaker to put a question. 3. Imprisoning diverse members for matters done in Parliament. 4. By proceedings against them therefor in inferior courts. 5. Enjoining their good behaviour and continuance in prison even unto death. 6. Abrupt dissolutions of Parliaments.” Under the second head, of religion, were mentioned, “1. The suspension of laws against them of the popish religion; *oaths and oaths will not restrain them; the pope dispenses with all.* 2. Their places of trust and honour in the Commonwealth. 3. Their free resort to London and to the courts to communicate their counsels and designs. 4. As they have a college in Rome for the pope's authority in England, so they have a nuncio here to execute it.” Under the innovations of religion were brought in, “1. Maintenance of popish tenets in books, sermons, and disputes. 2. Practice of popish ceremonies countenanced and enjoined, as altars, images, crucifixes, and bowings. 3. Discouragement of Protestants by rigid prosecution of the scrupulous for things indifferent; no vice made of so great as inconformity. 4. Encroachment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction: (1.) In *jury and imprisoning without law;* (2.) Challenging their jurisdiction to be appropriate to their order, *jure divino;* (3.) Contriving and publishing new orders of visitation in *force, as of canons, the boldness of bishops, and all their subordinate officers and officials.*” Under the third head, the grievances: “1. By *tonnage and poundage unduly taken.* 2. *Composition for knighthood.* 3. *The unparalleled grievance of ship-money.* 4. *Enlargement of the forests beyond the due bounds.* 5. *Selling of sentences by compounding for them.* 6. *The commission for building.* 7. *The commission for appointments.* 8. *Useless military charges, by warrant of the king, letters of the council, and orders of the justices of the counties and their deputies.* 9. *Extra-judicial declarations of judges, without hearing council or ar-*

When Pym resumed his seat, the king's solicitor, Herbert, attempted, “with all imaginable address,” to call off the attention of the members from the impression his extraordinary speech had made, but vainly. The deadly force of Pym's statements and reasoning, equalled only by the singular moderation of his tone, had diffused through the House a deep and settled calm of determination. A committee was immediately appointed to inquire into the violation of privilege by the speaker of the last House of Commons, in refusing to put a question on the ground of prohibition from the king; the proceedings in the Star Chamber and King's Bench respecting the imprisoned members and the deceased Eliot were ordered to be called for by the speaker's warrant, together with whatever proceedings had taken place in the Exchequer Chamber, and any other courts, respecting ship-money. Subsequently it was resolved that grievances should be considered before supply, and that conference on grievances should be desired by the Lords. Pym and St. John were appointed managers of this conference—“Mr. Pym for the first, and to make an introduction to the whole business.”\*

Meanwhile the House of Lords, at the earnest and humiliating entreaty of the king, had passed two resolutions, to the effect that supply ought to have precedence of grievances, and that the Commons should be invited to a conference in order to their being disposed thereto.”†

These resolutions had just passed, when Pym laid them before the House of Commons as a gross breach of privilege. An address to the Lords was, in consequence, agreed to and approved, “and that Mr. Pym should go up to that House with it.” Pym instantly proceeded to the Lords, and the words he uttered are indeed memorable: “Your lordships have meddled with, and advised concerning, both matter of supply and the time when the same should be made, and this before such time as the same was moved to your lordships by the Commons. As a course for the repair of this breach of privilege, the Commons beg to suggest that your lordships would, in your wisdoms, find out, yourselves, some sort of reparation, and of prevention of the like infringement for the future. And the Commons humbly desire, through me, to represent to your lordships that, in case your lordships have taken notice of any orders or proceedings of the Commons concerning religion, property, and privileges, and that they were to proceed to the supply, which they have some cause to conceive by these words: ‘That this being done, your lordships would freely join with the Commons in those three things;’ for the avoiding all misunderstandings between your lordships and the Commons for time to come, they desire your lordships hereafter to take no notice of any thing which shall be debated by the Commons until they shall themselves determine.” 10. *Monopolies countenanced by the council-table, and justices of the peace required to assist them.* 11. *The Star Chamber Court.* 12. *The king's edicts and proclamations lately used for maintaining monopolies.* 13. *The ambitious and corrupt clergy preaching divine authority and absolute power in kings to do what they will.* 14. *The intimation of Parliaments.*—Memorials, p. 36.

\* *Parl. Hist.*, vol. viii., p. 456.

† *Lords' Journals*, April, 1640.

*clare the same unto your lordships*, which the Commons shall always observe towards your lordships' proceedings, conceiving the contrary not to consist with the privileges of the House."<sup>\*</sup>

Some few short years before, such an assertion of power and privilege as this would have seemed monstrous; for it implies, it will be observed, that even upon the king's information and authority their lordships were not ever to touch upon the proceedings of the Commons. But the reader who has observed the course pursued by Pym and his associates in James's Parliaments of 1614 and 1620, as detailed in these pages, and reflects how deeply the principles then insisted on must have sunk, during the succeeding twenty years, into the minds of the people, and what a consequent vigour and diffusion had been given to the democratic principle, his surprise at Pym's tone will cease. How much more flagrantly absurd is the appearance which Charles's pretensions assume!

On Pym's return to the House, he was thanked "for the good service he did them;"<sup>†</sup> and the original conference appointed with the Lords was directed to proceed. Pym and St. John, on the part of the Commons, persisted in claiming precedence for redress of grievances; but the dispute was interrupted in this stage by a message from Charles, demanding an immediate answer whether he was to have supply or not; and followed by a proposition from the elder Vane, now secretary of state, as well as treasurer of the household, that the king would give up his *right* to ship-money in consideration of a grant of twelve subsidies, payable in three years. Strenuous debates arose on this proposition. Pym and Hampden, backed by the more fearless patriots, objected, not only that the sum was too great, but that such a transaction would recognise the legality of ship-money. The court party, seconded by Hyde and the trimmers, urged the advantage of closing with the offer. The debates lasted two days. On the second day, after the House had sat from eight in the morning till five in the afternoon, debating two antagonist resolutions from Hampden and Hyde, the latter proposing to grant a supply "without naming the amount," Vane told the House distinctly that the king would accept nothing short of his original demand in amount and manner, and an instant adjournment was the consequence. At an early hour on the following morning the Parliament was dissolved.

Clarendon has ascribed this dissolution to the perfidy of Vane, and asserts that Charles himself repented of the act the instant after it was performed. But the king's solicitor, Herbert, is not accused of perfidy, and Clarendon admits that he seconded Vane's statement, while all the other privy counsellors present sanctioned it in silence. The truth is, that the noble historian wishes to make it appear that the House would have favoured his proposal in the end, whereas Vane interpreted the temper and disposition of the members far more truly.<sup>‡</sup>

Neither Laud nor his biographer have accused Vane; Secretary Windebanke declared at the time, that though the dissolution was "a very great disaster," there was "no other way;"<sup>\*</sup> and, finally, the king himself has thoroughly repudiated the "case" his noble advocate strives to make out, by one of his own accustomed and deliberate acts of imbecile rage and madness. Some days after the dissolution, he consigned Mr. Crew, the chairman of the committee for religion, to the Tower, because that high-spirited gentleman refused to surrender certain petitions that had been intrusted to him, when their disclosure would have abandoned many clerical petitioners to the vengeance of their metropolitan. Two other members, Sir John Hotham and Mr. Bellasis, were also committed for refusing to disclose to the council what had passed in Parliament. And these proceedings were appropriately wound up by the issue of a declaration of reasons for the dissolution, in which, among other notable matters, Pym, Hampden, St. John, and the rest are thus described: "The ill-affected members of the House of Commons, instead of an humble and dutiful way of presenting their grievances to his majesty, have taken upon them to be the guiders and directors in all matters that concern his majesty's government, both temporal and ecclesiastical; and (as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in Parliament) they have, in a very audacious and insolent way, entered into examination and censuring of the present government, traduced his majesty's administration

with as much malice as falsehood, in order to throw all into confusion; either out of disaffection to his majesty, or a mortal hatred to the Earl of Strafford, who had opposed his promotion, and whose ruin was then projecting. There was no guessing at the motives of Herbert's conduct; and though his views were different from Vane's, they both joined in representing the general humour and disaffection of the House to be so violent, that if the members came together again, they would pass such a vote against ship-money as would blast that revenue and other branches of the receipt. The noble historian from whom this relation is taken, and who bore so considerable a part in the debate, seems to have thought this representation exaggerated; but it may well be questioned whether his candour and favourable opinion of some persons, with whom he unavowedly concurred in many of their measures, and whose dark designs he had not yet discovered, did not bias his judgment; and there was certainly a great failure at least of his memory in the accounts he gives of the debates, as if they had taken up two days, whereas what he says of them passed only on the second day (Monday), when the proposal of twelve subsidies was made, and embarrassed the question. On Saturday, the debate could only turn on the single point whether a supply should or should not be granted. If this question was not then put, it must be imputed to the strength of the party which was for postponing the supply till after the redress of grievances, and had the day before, by a majority of 257 to 148, rejected the Lords' desire of a present conference, because they would not be diverted from prosecuting the business of ship-money. Whoever likewise considers the whole tenor of proceedings in this Parliament, and compares them with those of the disaffected faction in the former Parliaments of this reign, after which it copied, and observes that a day for the judicial hearing of the cause of ship-money, in order to repeal the sentence of the judges, had been appointed without any appearance of an opposition, and was actually come, will be apt to think it not ill founded. \* \* His majesty could scarce entertain better hopes, or expect different measures, from an assembly whose proceedings were chiefly directed by Pym and Hampden; two whole days spent in debates, without coming to a conclusion or putting a question, showed sufficiently an indisposition to grant a supply; all appearances countenanced the suggestion of these terrible votes about ship-money, and other branches of the revenue, which would have been the utter ruin of his majesty's affairs."

\* See the Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii., p. 60.

<sup>\*</sup> Old Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 455.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid.

<sup>‡</sup> I subjoin a passage from a historian who equally admires both Clarendon and the king, and which seems to me to set the question at rest. Carte, in his General History, vol. iv., p. 281, 282, says: "From the part Vane acted soon after, he was supposed to have given those assurances

of justice, and rendered, as much as in them lay, odious to the rest of his majesty's subjects, not only the officers and ministers of state, but even his majesty's very government."

On the occasion of this dissolution there was no violence, no protest, no show of resistance in the smallest degree on the part of the Commons. Everything was deep, settled, calm: if there was a ruffle on the surface, it was one of joy. Hitherto the faces of sagacious men had darkened at a Parliament's dissolution, but they were serene and smiling now. "It was observed," says Clarendon, "that in the countenances of those who had most opposed all that was desired by his majesty, there was a marvellous serenity; nor could they conceal the joy of their hearts, for they knew enough of what was to come to conclude that the king would be shortly compelled to call another Parliament. Within an hour after the dissolving, Mr. Hyde met Mr. Saint John, who had naturally a great cloud in his face, and very seldom was known to smile, but then had a most cheerful aspect; and seeing the other melancholic, as in truth he was from his heart, asked him what troubled him; who answered, that the same that troubled him, he believed, troubled most good men: that in such a time of confusion, so wise a Parliament, which alone could have found remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed; the other answered, with a little warmth, '*That all was well; and that it must be worse before it could be better; and that this Parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done.*'"

The reflection of the joy which thus lighted up the countenance of St. John exhibited itself in the short-sighted multitude in the forms of turbulence and insurrection; and Clarendon takes the opportunity of observing that a general impression prevailed, that such a set of sober and dispassionate men, or fewer who brought ill purposes with them, as had gone to the formation of the House just dissolved, would never meet in Parliament again. This is simply one of Clarendon's thousand attempts to mislead the judgment. A comparison of the lists of the Parliaments of April and November\* will at once convince the reader that the so terrible change for the court was in the times, and not the men.

From the instant of the dissolution Pym's exertions were truly extraordinary. The party, and the purposes of the party, were now to be organized for the last time. "Mr. Pym," says Clarendon, "continued after the unhappy dissolution for the most part about London, in conversation and great repute amongst those lords who were most strangers to the court, and were believed most averse to it; in whom he improved all imaginable jealousies and discontents towards the state." There is no doubt that a close correspondence with the Scotch commissioners was now entered into, under the management of himself and Hampden; and two places, Broughton Castle, in Oxfordshire, the seat of Lord Say,† and Faws-

ley, in Northamptonshire, the house of Sir Richard Knightley (whose son had married Hampden's daughter), were, from their position with reference to the North Road, and their easy distance from London, fixed upon for the purposes of frequent consultation.\* Pym, Hampden, and St. John, with Lords Say and Brook, and, somewhat later in the year, the Earls of Bedford, Warwick, and Essex, Lord Holland, Nathaniel Fiennes, and young Vane, here held their meetings; and a private press, which Sir Richard Knightley's father had established at Fawsley, was brought into constant requisition. Whenever, on the other hand, necessity obliged the meetings to be held in London, they took place at Pym's house in Gray's Inn Lane, from whence various reports were instantly communicated to the chief places in the country.†

Meanwhile the disastrous war with Scotland was dragging the king daily, as Pym had foretold, to the feet of his subjects. Not a day now passed over the heads of the court party without accumulating upon them some fresh evidences of weakness or dishonour. The melancholy part which Strafford was forced to play has been already told. In the midst of their worst distresses, when Charles had been driven back to York after the disgraceful affair of Newbourne, and when, as Laud expresses it, the king's counsellors were "at the wall,"‡ Secretary Windebanke wrote to inform them of the frequent assemblage in London and elsewhere of certain persons of quality, mentioning Pym, Hampden, Lords Say, Russel, and Brook, who, he said, had prevailed with some lords to join them, "that had been observed not to be very well contented at the time, namely, the Earles of Essex, Warwick, and Bedford." These meetings, Windebanke added, were much apprehended to be "for some dangerous practice or intelligence with the rebels of Scotland." In Charles's worst moments of terror and alarm, he could not divest himself of his habits of deceit and perfidy. He now thought to avert the danger closing round him by imposing on his people something of the show of a Parliament, which should induce them to give what every arbitrary expedient had again failed in procuring, and disarm the popular leaders of their resources. Accordingly, upon a precedent of Edward III.'s time, he summoned to York a "council of peers." While his people, under the guidance

ings were usually heard amongst them, to the admiration of those who lived in the house, who could not see or discover the persons themselves."

\* Some have been found to charge dangerous consultations, years before this date, upon the same places. In a pamphlet (part 13 of No. 113 of King's Pamphlets), entitled, "The English Pope," published on 1st of July, 1643 (from MS. note), I find the following (p. 39): "It is reported that the Lord Digby, of late being at Mr. Knightley's house in Northamptonshire, in a parlour there, whilst his souldiers were busily searching, and plundering, and rifling other roomes, hee smote his hand upon the table, and swore 'that that was the table whereat all these civil wars had been plotted at least a dozen yeares before.' It should seem Mr. Pym had sojourned some time in that house, and that was sufficient for an inference that the nest of Anabaptists had been there too, and that that nest had studied something which neither our king's cabinet counsellors, nor the juntos of Italy or Spaine, could make defensible."

† Windebanke's letter in the second volume of Clarendon's State Papers.

‡ Hardwicke, State Papers, vol. ii., p. 168.

\* In Nelson, the Old Parliamentary History, or Rushworth.

† "It was much observed," says Echard, "that in the Lord Say's house there was a particular room, and a passage to it, which his servants were not permitted to come near; and when the company was complete, great noise and talk-

of Pym and Hampden, were advancing with giant strides into the just and responsible governments of the future, this imbecile man proposed to satisfy them by crawling back into precedents of the comparatively barbarous times of England!

As soon as this measure was made public, Pym saw that his work was accomplished. He prepared a petition for a Parliament; placed, with their consent, the names of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, and Warwick at its head; and, with Hampden and St. John, repaired to York.\* Eight more signatures were here obtained from the peers then assembled, and the petition was presented to the king. Bedford and Hertford, being called to a conference with the committee of state on the subject, declared boldly that they acted, not for themselves alone, but in trust for "many other noblemen, and most of the gentry in several parts of the kingdom." A second petition was forwarded to the committee immediately after from the hands of Pym, also praying for a Parliament, and subscribed by 10,000 citizens of London.† Other petitions from different quarters, but with the same prayer, reached York at the same moment; and the king, hunted through all his father's shifts and expedients of "kingcraft," issued writs for a new Parliament on the 3d of November.

And now again, without the pause of an instant, Pym and Hampden were seen in the discharge of their great duty as chiefs and advisers of the people. It is stated in several books of the time, and repeated by many of the historians,‡ that between the interval of the issue of the writs and the elections, they rode through every county in England, urging the electors to their duty. Warwick, Brook, and Bedford, Lord Kimbolton (the Earl of Manchester's son), Fiennes (Lord Say's second son), and the younger Vane, exerted themselves, meanwhile, in their respective districts; and Warwick soon wrote to his Essex friends from York, so recently the headquarters of the king, that "the game was well begun." The party of the king were not less active, but they were less successful.

In the opinion of the great mass of the people, Pym was the author of this Parliament§—by the common consent of all, he was to be

\* "At the same time," says Clarendon, "some lords from London (of known and since published affections to that invasion) attended his majesty at York with a petition, signed by others, eight or ten in the whole, who were craftily persuaded by the liegers there, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Saint John, to concur in it, being full of duty and modesty enough, without considering that nothing else at that time could have done mischief, and so suffered themselves to be made instruments towards those ends which in truth they abhorred."—Clarendon, vol. i., p. 259.

† The lord-mayor had been implored to suppress this petition, but refused.

‡ Echard; Carte; Warwick; Anthony Wood.

§ I find this in a curious pamphlet of the time, which I was not able to discover in the king's collection, but which I purchased from Mr. Rodd, of Newport-street, to whose intelligence and liberality so many historical collectors have to confess their obligations. The pamphlet is a petition sent up to the king by large numbers of the common people; and among answers to the king's charges against Pym, contains the following: "In the fifth article he is impeached, 'that he hath traitorously endeavoured to subvert the rights and very being of Parliaments.' To this we may answer with great facility, he was the chief cause that this Parliament was assembled, and it seems very incongruous that he should subvert the same."

placed in the position of its leader. Preparing himself for that great office, he well knew that the highest duty of his life, and the most fatal, there awaited him. He was to keep his old appointment with Wentworth, now the Earl of Strafford. Any allusion to this illustrious man has been hitherto avoided as much as possible, since a previous portion of this work was devoted to an analysis of his character and actions; and little allusion will even now be necessary for those who have had that analysis before them. Pym judged Wentworth's course as a minister too truly when, on the occasion of their separation twelve years before, he had threatened him with a visionary doom. The twelve years had realized one of the greatest geniuses for despotic government that the world has known; but they had also strengthened, with an almost superhuman power of popular resistance, the mind of Pym. Wentworth himself had received occasional very ominous proofs of this, and some correspondence passed concerning it between himself and the king; but Pym's silence respecting the minister in his famous speech of the preceding April, instead of seeming most ominous of all, had driven back, for a time, the fear of danger. The conduct of the great opposition leader, however, after the dissolution, recalled Strafford's worst apprehensions; and on the disastrous failure of his Scotch expedition, he prayed the king to be allowed to return to his Irish government. But the genius of Strafford was the king's last and only hope; and, pledging a "royal word" that not "a hair of his head" should be touched by the Parliament, the king ordered his minister's presence in London. Charles himself knew not so well as Pym how much Strafford's genius was indeed his last resource. And how much less did he know, that while he pledged his word for Strafford's safety, a few weightier words, lingering yet in the mind of Pym, would bring to the people's service the Tower and the Block, and break, in one short instant, that spell of arbitrary power with which he and his father, and the worst ministers of both, had been for upward of thirty years struggling to subdue the rising liberties! In the death of Strafford, Pym saw that the prestige of royalty, which had hitherto, in Charles's worst extremities, availed so much, would be utterly overthrown.

On the 3d of November the Long Parliament met. There are few well-informed students of English history who, with a fearless and frank admission of the errors of this illustrious assembly, do not pause with emotion at the mention of its name, mindful that there is scarcely a privilege of good and safe government now enjoyed by the common people of England that does not justly date from its commencement. The day that witnessed that commencement was a bright day for every one in England, save the ministers and apologists for tyranny. "It had a sad and melancholic aspect," says Lord Clarendon, "upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events. The king himself did not ride with his accustomed equipage nor in his usual majesty to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the Parliament stairs, and after to the church, as if it had been to a return of a prorogued or

adjourned Parliament. And there was likewise an untoward, and, in truth, an unheard-of accident, which broke many of the king's measures, and infinitely disordered his service beyond a capacity of reparation. From the time the calling a Parliament was resolved upon, the king designed Sir Thomas Gardiner, who was recorder of London, to be speaker in the House of Commons; a man of gravity and quickness, that had somewhat of authority and gracefulness in his person and presence, and in all respects equal to the service. There was little doubt but that he would be chosen to serve in one of the four places for the city of London, which had very rarely rejected their recorder upon that occasion; and, lest that should fail, diligence was used in one or two other places that he might be elected. But the opposition was so great and the faction so strong to hinder his being elected in the city, that four others were chosen for that service, without hardly mentioning his name; nor was there less industry used to prevent his being chosen in other places." This incident was indeed an omen of ill promise for the court. It was in that day the invariable usage to select a speaker on the king's private recommendation; yet on this occasion, without the smallest appearance of discourtesy, the slavish usage, by means of the admirable organization of the popular party, was warded off. The king, taken by surprise, and obliged to name another member hastily, recommended Lenthall, then only known as a practising barrister.

The members assembled in great crowds to hear the king's speech. All the chief leaders of the Commons were there: Pym (who had again been returned, with Lord William Russell, for Tavistock), Hampden (who sat for Buckinghamshire), St. John, Denzil Hollis, Nathaniel Fiennes, the younger Vane; and, still acting with the people, Lord Digby (the fantastically chivalrous son of the Earl of Bristol), Lord Falkland, and Edward Hyde. The chief popular peers were present also: Francis Russell, earl of Bedford (between whom and Pym there had been the friendship and mutual counsel of a life); William Fiennes and Robert Greville; Lords Say and Brooke; Robert Devereux, earl of Essex; the brothers Henry and Robert Rich, earls of Holland and Warwick; and Edward Montague, lord Kimbolton, son of the Earl of Manchester. Upon the faces of almost all these men, Clarendon says, there was a "marvellous elated" expression, and he proceeds to remark of the members of the Commons, that "the same men who six months before were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talked now in another dialect both of things and persons." The truth was, that as Mr. Hyde was returning from the House of Lords through Westminster, he fell into conversation with Pym, and that bold statesman, sounding Hyde with some distrust of his honesty, cared no longer to conceal his own prospects or his temper. The anecdote is worth giving in the words of one of the parties.

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"Mr. Hyde, who was returned to serve for a borough in Cornwall, met Mr. Pym in Westminster Hall, and conferring together upon the state of affairs, the other told Mr. Hyde 'that they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, IF ALL MEN WOULD DO THEIR DUTIES;' and used much other sharp discourse to the same purpose; by which it was discerned that the warmest and boldest counsels and overtures would find a much better reception than those of a more temperate allay, which fell out accordingly."

The first week was devoted to the appointment of committees and the reception of petitions. "Troops of horsemen," says Whitelocke, "came from several counties with petitions for redress of grievances and exorbitancies in Church and State."\* One or two sharp debates arose on the presentation of these petitions, but Pym took no share in them. On the 10th of November, Lord Strafford arrived in London.

On the 11th of November, Pym suddenly rose in his place in the House of Commons, stated that he had matter of the highest importance to lay before the House, and desired that the strangers' room should be cleared, the outer door of the House locked, and the keys laid upon the clerk's table. What followed this ominous announcement must be given chiefly in the words of one of the members present, since the destruction of this portion of the journals has left us without any other record of the momentous scene that passed.

"Mr. Pym," says Clarendon, "in a long formed discourse, lamented the miserable state and condition of the kingdom, aggravated all the particulars which had been done amiss in the government, as 'done and contrived maliciously and upon deliberation, to change the whole frame, and to deprive the nation of all the liberty and property which was their birth-right by the laws of the land; which were now no more considered, but subjected to the arbitrary power of the privy council, which governed the kingdom according to their will and pleasure; these calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pious and virtuous king, who loved his people, and was a great lover of justice.' And thereupon enlarging in some specious commendation of the nature and goodness of the king, that he might wound him with less suspicion, he said, 'We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed; what persons they were who had so far insinuated themselves into his royal affections as to be able to pervert his excellent judgment, to abuse his name, and wickedly apply his authority to countenance and support their own corrupt designs. Though he doubted there would be many found of this class who had contributed their joint endeavours to bring this misery upon the nation, yet he believed there was one

\* Whitelocke's Memorials.

† This is Rushworth's expression.

more signal in that administration than the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance, and of great industry to bring what he designed to pass; a man who, in the memory of many present, had sat in that House an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people, but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and, according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age had produced; and then he named 'the EARL of STRAFFORD, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and lord-president of the council established in York for the northern parts of the kingdom; who,' he said, 'had in both places, and in all other provinces wherein his service had been used by the king, raised ample monuments of his tyrannical nature; and that he believed, if they took a short survey of his actions and behaviour, they would find him the principal author and promoter of all those counsels which had exposed the kingdom to so much ruin;' and to this end instanced some high and imperious actions done by him in England and in Ireland, some proud and over-confident expressions in discourse, and some passionate advices he had given in the most secret councils and debates of the affairs of state; adding some lighter passages of his vanity and amours, that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former, might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion; and so concluded, 'that they would well consider how to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the farther mischiefs they were to expect from the continuance of this great man's power and credit with the king, and his influence upon his counsels.'"

In this brief sketch we may trace the outlines of Pym's speech on this great occasion, and it is a fresh proof of his extraordinary powers. But the resources of a profound understanding are as inexhaustible as the human heart itself. Various adapting to his various hearers the eloquent austerity of his invective, behold Strafford at one moment elevated to the alarm of every wise patriot, and in the next shrunk below the contempt of the meanest person present! Passion, prejudice, patriotism, every emotion that can actuate the virtuous or the base, were called into existence by the orator. It may be to Pym's advantage or disadvantage to state this, but it was so. When he had ceased, there was but one flame raging through that great assembly, and the power of Strafford was blasted forever.

Meanwhile, as several members from every side of the House were swelling the general outcry against the accused, a message arrived from the Lords, desiring instant conference on a treaty with the Scots. Pym, at once suspecting that the extraordinary precautions which had just been taken respecting the exclusion of strangers had given surprise and perhaps alarm in certain quarters, and that these messengers had a very different object from their professed one, despatched them quickly with an answer to decline the meeting, on the ground of very weighty and important business; and at the same moment gave "such advertisement to some of the lords, that that House might likewise

be kept from rising, which would otherwise very much have broken their measures."\*

"In conclusion," proceeds Clarendon, "after many hours of bitter inveighing, and ripping up the course of the Earl of Strafford's life before his coming to court, and his actions after, it was moved, according to the secret resolution taken before, 'that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason;' which was no sooner mentioned than it found a universal approbation and consent from the whole House; nor was there, in all the debate, one person [not even Mr. Hyde!] who offered to stop the torrent by any favourable testimony concerning the earl's carriage, save only that the Lord Falkland (who was very well known to be far from having any kindness for him), when the proposition was made for the present accusing him of high treason, modestly desired the House to consider 'whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their proceedings first to digest many of those particulars which had been mentioned by a committee before they sent up to accuse him, declaring himself to be abundantly satisfied that there was enough to charge him;' which was very ingenuously and frankly answered by Mr. Pym, 'that such a delay might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed farther than they had done already; that the earl's power and credit with the king, and with all those who had most credit with the king or queen, was so great, that when he should come to know that so much of his wickedness was discovered, his own conscience would tell him what he was to expect, and therefore he would undoubtedly procure the Parliament to be dissolved rather than undergo the justice of it, or take some other desperate course to preserve himself, though with the hazard of the kingdom's ruin; whereas, if they presently sent up to impeach him of high treason before the House of Peers, in the name and on the behalf of all the Commons of England, who were represented by them, the Lords would be obliged in justice to commit him into safe custody, and so sequester him from resorting to counsel, or having access to his majesty, and then they should proceed against him in the usual form with all necessary expedition.' These reasons of the haste they made," continues Clarendon, "so clearly delivered, gave that universal satisfaction, that, without farther considering the injustice and unreasonableness of it, they voted unanimously (for aught that appeared to the contrary by any avowed contradiction) that they would forthwith send up to the Lords, and accuse the Earl of Strafford of high treason, and several other crimes and misdemeanors, and desire that he might be presently sequestered from the council, and committed to safe custody; and Mr. Pym was made choice of for the messenger to perform that office."

After an interval of four hours, passed by many persons outside with intense and varied anxiety, the doors of the House of Commons opened at last to give way to Pym, who, issuing forth at the head of upward of 300 representatives of the English people, proceeded to the House of Lords, where "Mr. Pym, at the bar, and in the name of the lower House, and

\* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 302. Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 43.

of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, with the addition of all his other titles, of high treason.\*

The earl was already in the House, according to Clarendon,† when Pym appeared at the bar, and was even prepared with evidence of a correspondence between Pym and other popular leaders and the Scotch, supplied by the perfidy and forgery of Lord Savile, on which he designed at that very instant to accuse them of treason. According to the lively and graphic narrative of Baillie, however, Strafford had not yet entered the House with this view; but, after Pym's sudden appearance, the earl's is thus described: "The Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord-lieutenant, where he was with the king; with speed he comes to the House; he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens; his lordship, with a proud, glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head. But at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of those crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries with a loud voice for his man to carry my lord-lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered. Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way, through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach,' and so he behoved to do. For some days too many went to visit him; but since, the Parliament hath commanded his keeping to be straiter."‡

The result proved this to have been what Pym anticipated, the master-stroke of the time. In whatever view, or with whatever sense it is regarded, whether of regret or admiration, it cannot be denied to have been, in its practical results, the greatest achievement of this great age of statesmanship. It struck instant terror into every quarter of the court, and left the king, for a time, powerless and alone.

Every resolution of the House of Commons, from the hour of Strafford's impeachment, took the shape of action. Every discussion ended in something done. Monopolists and patentees

were at once declared incapable of serving in the House; the tax of ship-money, and the proceedings in Hampden's case, were declared subversive of property, of the laws, of the resolutions of former Parliaments, and the petition of rights; the new Church canons issued by Laud were condemned; and, on the 11th December, the London petition against the prelates and prelacy, signed by 15,000 citizens, and praying that that episcopal government, with all its dependancies, "roots and branches," might be abolished, was received in ominous silence by the House.

"William, lord-archbishop of Canterbury," was then, on the motion of Pym, accused of high treason; and Denzil Hollis carried up the accusation to the House of Lords.\* The Scotch commissioners denounced him at the same time as an "incendiary in the national differences;" and, after ten weeks' confinement in the house of the usher of the black rod, the Tower received Laud also.

Informations were now lodged against Wren, bishop of Ely, for oppression and idolatry; and against Pierce, bishop of Bath and Wells, for corruption of religion; and those prelates were ordered to give large securities that they would abide the judgment of Parliament. Impeachments of treason were next prepared against Secretary Windebanke and Lord-keeper Finch. Windebanke escaped to France, and Finch fled to Holland.

"So that," says Clarendon, "within less than six weeks, for no more time was yet elapsed, these TERRIBLE REFORMERS had caused the two greatest counsellors of the kingdom, and whom they most feared and so hated, to be removed from the king, and imprisoned under an accusation of high treason; and frighted away the lord-keeper of the great seal of England, and one of the principal secretaries of state, into foreign kingdoms, for fear of the like; besides the preparing all the lords of the council, and very many of the principal gentlemen throughout England, who had been high sheriffs and deputy-lieutenants, to expect such measure of punishment from their general votes and resolutions as their future demeanour should draw upon them for their past offences.†

These gentlemen had no cause, except in their own consciences, to tremble. The leaders of this great Parliament sought a severe, but a just atonement. They struck down the chief abettors of tyranny in the kingdom, but pardoned its miserable agents. Their terrible inquisition passed over the various sheriffs who had lent their influence to the enforcement of ship-money, while it fixed itself on the servile judges who had prostituted the laws to its support. Bramstone, Davenport, Berkeley, Crawley, Trevor, and Weston were obliged to give securities in enormous sums that they would abide the judgment of Parliament;‡ while Sir Robert Berkeley, as the principal supporter of the iniquitous tax, was impeached of treason, publicly arrested in the King's Bench court, "taken from off the bench where he sat, and

\* Clarendon's Hist., vol. i., p. 305.

† "It was about three of the clock in the afternoon when the Earl of Strafford (being infirm, and not well disposed in his health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning), hearing that both Houses still sat, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste then to accuse the Lord Say and some others of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom; but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers when the message from the House of Commons was called in."—History, vol. i., p. 350.

‡ Baillie's Letters, vol. i., p. 217.

\* Whitelocke says in his Memorials (p. 39) that Pym carried it up; but this is an error. See Journals.

† Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. i., p. 311.

‡ The old clause, *quandiu se bene gesserint*, was also restored, in place of the *durante bene placito*. See Old Parl. Hist., vol. ix., p. 308.



carried away to prison, which struck a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and in all his profession."\*

The speech which led to this latter startling step was delivered in the House of Commons on the 21 of December, and there is every reason to believe by Pym. It appears in pamphlets of the time without the speaker's name; but in Cromwell's Parliament of 1650, Sir Robert Goodwin brought forward a precedent which, he said, "was urged by John Pym in the Long Parliament," and the only resemblance to which is in the speech alluded to.† Some passages, indeed, at the commencement, would seem to discountenance this supposition of authorship, but the general tone and manner are, emphatically, those of the Long Parliament's most famous orator. In the sustained eloquence, the practical wisdom, the singular weight, gravity, and precision of language, and the careful protest it records against the hasty judgments of posterity, we feel the voice of Pym. Some passages are too remarkable to be omitted here. After a comparison of the body politic with the body natural—a favourite parallel with Pym—he thus proceeds:

"This Commonwealth is, Mr. Speaker, or should be, but one body; this House the great physician of all our maladies. But, alas! sir, of what afflicted part shall we poor patients complain first? Or, rather, of what shall we not complain? Are we not heart-sick? Is there in us that which God requires—unity, purity, and singularity of heart? Nay, is not religion, the soul of this body, so miserably distracted, that (I speak it not without terror) 'tis to be feared there is more confusion of religion among us than there was of tongues at the subversion of Babel? And is it not, then, high time that we understand one another, that we be reduced to one faith, one government? Sir, is the head whole—the seat of government and justice, the fountain from whence sweet influence all the inferior members of this body should receive both vigour and motion? Nay, hath not rather a general apoplexy, or palsy, taken or shaken all our members? Are not some dead; others buried quick; some dismembered; all disordered by the diversion of the course of justice? Is the liver, nature's exchequer, open, from whose free distribution each limb may receive his proper nutriment? or, rather, is it not wholly obstructed—our property taken from us? May it not justly be said of us,

"*Sic vos non vobis fertis Aratra?*"

The hard destiny which for so many years had attended upon labour, is now described with a noble pathos; and those views respecting Church government are stated, which are ascribed, with the greatest justice, to Pym.

"Our ancestors drank the juice of their own vines, reaped and ate the fruit of their own harvest, but now the poor man's plough goes to furrow the seas—to build ships! We labour, not for ourselves, but to feed the excrescences of nature—things grown up out of the ruins of the natural members—*monopolists*! Sir, these are *maxima*

*vitalia*—religion, justice, property—the heart, the head, the liver of this great body; and these being so distempered or obstructed, can the subordinate parts be free? The truth is, all is so far out of frame, that to lay open every particular grievance were to drive us into despair of a cure; in so great confusion, where to begin first requires not much less care than what to apply. Mr. Speaker, I know 'tis a right motion to begin with setting God's house in order first. Whoever presses that moves with such advantage, that he is sure no man will gainsay him. 'Tis a well-becoming zeal to prefer religion before our own affairs; and, indeed, 'tis a duty not to be omitted, where they are in equal danger; but in cures of the body politic or natural, we must prefer the most pressing exigencies. Physicians know that consumptions, dropsies, and such like lingering diseases are more mortal, more difficult to cure, than slight external wounds; yet if the least vein be cut, they must neglect their greater cures to stop that, which, if neglected, must needs exhaust the stock of nature, and produce a dissolution of the whole man. A defection from the duties of our religion is a consumption to any state: no foundation is firm that is not laid in Christ. The denial of justice, the abridgment of our liberties, are such an obstruction as renders the Commonwealth leprous; but the wounds in our property let out the life blood of the people. The reformation of Church government must necessarily be a work of much time; and, God be thanked, the disease is not desperate. We serve one God, we believe in one Christ, and we all acknowledge and profess one Gospel. The stop of justice can yet injure but particulars. 'Tis true, there may be many, too many, instances of strange oppressions, great oppressors, but 'twill be hard to judge the conclusion: *et sic de cæteris*. But take from us the property of our estates, our subsistence, we are no more a people: this is that vein which hath been so deep cut, so far exhausted, that to preserve our being we must doubtless stop this current. IT WILL BE TIME ENOUGH TO SETTLE RULES TO LIVE BY WHEN WE ARE SURE TO LIVE."

While this, as contrasted with Pym's tone in the Parliament of April, is a perfect illustration of his present change of temper, it was also, it cannot be doubted, intended to vindicate himself from a charge which I find brought against him by more than one of the Puritans at the time—a lukewarmness concerning the bold questions of episcopal government,\* in favour of the more practical strokes of policy by which he sought, first of all, to assault and take by storm the strongholds of the government of the king. The last words of the passage just quoted are a noble defence of what he had done and was about to do, with this great view. In truth, the difficulties of the period, the considerations which should weigh with posterity against a hasty judgment of the most startling measures, were never so weightily expressed

\* "Known," says Clarendon, speaking of Pym at this time, "to be inclined to the Puritan party, yet not of those furious resolutions against the Church as the other leading men were, and wholly devoted to the Earl of Bedford, who had nothing of that spirit."—History, vol. i., p. 323. Pym was, in fact, like Selden, and the majority of lawyers in the House of Commons, a disciple of Erastus in matters of Church government.

\* Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 39.

† See Burton's Diary (so admirably edited by that intelligent, accomplished, and long-devoted friend to the popular cause, Mr. John Towill Rats), vol. iii., p. 120.

as in these few words. The first aim was to save the life of the republic, the next was to govern it.

"Mr. Speaker," he continued, "he that well weighs this little word property, or propriety, in our estates, will find it of a large extent. The leeches that have suck'd this blood have been excise, benevolence, loans, impositions, monopolies, military taxes, ship-money, cum multis aliis—all which spring from one root. And is it not high time to grub up that root that brings forth such fruit? Shall we first stand to lop the branches one by one, when we may down with all at once? *He that, to correct an evil tree which brings forth bad fruit, shall begin at the master-bough, and so lop downwards, is in danger to fall himself before the tree falls. The safer and speedier way is to begin at the root; and there, with submission, would I lay the axe.*

"The root of most of our present mischiefs, and the ruin of all posterity, I hold to be those extra-judicial judgments I cannot say, but rather) dooms, delivered by all the judges under their hands out of court, yet recorded in all courts, to the subversion of all our fundamental laws and liberties, and the annihilation, if not confiscation, of all our estates: '*that, in case of danger, the king may impose upon his subjects; and that he is the sole judge of the danger, necessity, and proportion.*' This, in brief, is to take what, when, and where he will; which, though delivered in the time of a gracious and merciful prince, who, we hope, will not wrest it beyond our abilities, yet, when left to the interpretation of a succeeding tyrant, if ever this nation be so unfortunate to fall into the hands of such, it is a record wherein every man might read himself a slave that reads it; having nothing he can call his own, but all prostitute to the will of another.

"What to do in such a case, we are not to seek for precedents. Our honourable ancestors taught us, in the just and exemplary punishments of Chief-justice Tresilian and his accomplices,\* for giving their judgments out of Parliament, against the established laws of Parliament, how tender they were of us. How careful, then, ought we to be to continue those laws, and to preserve the liberty of our posterity! I am far from maligning the person, nor in my heart wish I the execution, of any man; but certainly it shall be a justice well becoming this House to lay their heads at his majesty's mercy, who laid us under his feet—who had made us but tenants at will of our liberties and our estates. And though I cannot but approve of mercy as a great virtue in any prince, yet I heartily pray it prove a precedent as safe and useful to this oppressed state as that of justice!"

The force and condensation of these passages are wonderful indeed. But what follows is yet more striking, when taken as a great appeal to the future.

"Mr. Speaker, blasted may that tongue be that shall in the least degree derogate from the glory of those halcyon days our fathers enjoyed during the government of that ever-blessed, never-to-be-forgotten royal Elizabeth. But certainly I may safely say, without detraction, it

\* These are the precedents alluded to by Goodwin, as having been urged "by John Pym in the beginning of the long Parliament."

was much advantage to the peace and prosperity of her reign, that the great examples of Empson and Dudley were then fresh in memory. The civility of our law tells us that the king can do no wrong; but then only is the state secure when judges, their ministers, dare do none. Since our times have found the want of such examples, 'tis fit we leave some to posterity! God forbid all should be thought or found guilty; there are doubtless some ringleaders; let us sift them out. In public government, to pass by the innocent is equal injustice as to punish the innocent. *An omission of that duty now will be a guilt in us, render us shamed in history, and cursed by posterity.* Our gracious, and, in that act of voluntary justice, most glorious king, hath given up, to the satisfaction of his afflicted people, the authors of their ruins. THE POWER OF VIRTUE PRESERVATION IS NOW IN US. *Et qui non servat patriam cum potest, idem tradit destruenti patriam.* What though we cannot restore the damage of the Commonwealth, we may yet repair the breaches in the bounds of monarchy; though it be with our loss and charge, we shall so leave our children's children fenced as with a wall of safety, by the restoration of our laws to their ancient vigour and lustre!

"'Tis too true that it is to be feared the revenues of the crown, sold outright, would scarce remunerate the injuries or repay the losses of this suffering nation since the pronouncing of that fatal sentence. What proportionable satisfaction, then, can this Commonwealth receive in the punishment of a few inconsiderable delinquents! But 'tis a rule valid in law, and approved in equity, that *Qui non habent in crumena, luan in corpore*; and 'tis, without all question, so in policy, that *exemplary punishments conduce more to the safety of a state than pecuniary reparations.* Hope of impunity lulls every bad great officer into security for his time; and who would not venture to raise a *fontaine*, when the allurements of honour and wealth are so prevalent, if the worst that can fall be but restitution only! We see the bad effects of this bold erroneous opinion. What was, at first, but corrupt law, is since, by encouragement taken from their impunity, become *false doctrine*. The people are taught in pulpits 'that they have no property; kings instructed in that destructive principle 'that all is theirs; and it is thence deduced into necessary state policy, and whispered in council, 'that he is no monarch who is bounded by any law.'

"By these bad consequences the best of kings hath been, by the infusion of such poisonous positions, diverted from the sweet inclinations of his own natural equity and justice; the very essence of a king having been taken from him, which is the preservation of his people. And whereas *salus populi* is, or should be, *suprema lex*, the power of undoing us is masked under the style of royal prerogative. And is it not high time for us to make examples of the first authors of this subverted law—bad counsel—worse doctrine? Let no man think to divert us from the pursuit of justice by poisoning the clear streams of our affections with jealous fears of his majesty's interruptions if we look too high. SHALL WE THEREFORE DOUBT OF JUSTICE, BECAUSE WE HAVE NEED OF GREAT JUSTICE! We may be confi-

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the king well knows, that his justice is and of our allegiance—that it is the staff, proof of his sovereignty."

never was a finer answer given to an often-eated fallacy than is contained in that question of the orator; and the followingoration seems to me quite unequalled in any ancient or modern speaker for its beauty and condensation of thought. Its commencement is indeed an absolute and final vindication of such men as Pym, who, professing themselves the advocates of monarchy, were soon obliged to strip from the monarch all his abused sources of prerogative.

"Tis a happy assurance, sir, of his majesty's intention of grace to us, that our loyalty hath at last won him to tender the safety of his people. And certainly (all our pressures well weighed this twelve years last past) it will be found that THE PASSIVE LOYALTY OF A SUFFERING NATION HATH OUTDONE THE ACTIVE LOYALTY OF ALL TIMES AND STORIES. As the poet hath it,

"Portiter, ille facit, qui misor esse potest?"

and I may as properly say, *Fideliter fecimus*.

We have done loyalty to suffer so patiently. "Then, since our royal lord hath in mercy visited us, let us not doubt but in his justice he will redeem his people. *Qui timide rogat, docet negare!* When religion is innocated, our liberties violated, our fundamental laws abrogated, our modern laws already obsolete, the property of our estates alienated—NOTHING LEFT US WE CAN CALL OUR OWN BUT OUR MISERY AND OUR PATIENCE—*if ever any nation might justifiably, we certainly may now—now most properly, most seasonably cry out, and cry aloud, 'Vel sacra regnet justitia, vel ruat cælum!'*"

And in the full acceptance of the spirit of these words, Pym prosecuted the great work he had now in hand, scarcely so much, as he here explains, in the hope of achieving present happiness, as of securing the liberties and happiness of the future. He has been bitterly assailed by the enemies of freedom for urging forward the measures now in contemplation, on the ground that, their tendency professedly monarchical, he thus, as an equally professed friend to liberty and to monarchy, gave the lie to his professions. But was this so! Has he not placed an undeniable refutation of it on record! The question had been reduced, in truth, as between Pym and the popular party, and Charles had been brought into personal. The nation had been reduced, in such a position by the government of Charles, as to make many of the hitherto undenied prerogatives of majesty incompatible, in the person of Charles, with freedom. This is not to be denied; nor can the high and weighty considerations involved in it be dismissed by an affected discussion of them in the grand element or to the exclusion of the one grand element of the whole—the insincerity and perfidy of Charles himself.

In his opening speech of the session, the king had termed the Scots people "rebels." A vote was now passed by the Commons decreeing £300,000 "for the friendly relief and aid, and towards the losses and necessities, of their brethren the Scots."\* Pym's object,

through all his measures at this time, was apparently to strengthen the democratic power so far above that of the prerogative as to enable the Commons to resist a dissolution, in case a dissolution should be threatened. He was so far successful in achieving it, that an open effort to secure the continuance of Parliament was now thought advisable. And this in two short months! But the final stand had doubtless now been taken by Pym and the chief men of the party; and, with unswerving reliance on that political and religious faith of the people to which they had been educated by the struggles and miseries of so many years, they moved forward with a steadiness of aim and determination which bore down every opposing effort, and even every wish, against them. Clarendon, Falkland, and Digby were carried along with the stream. Up to this time, and far beyond it, we hear no whisper of resistance on the score of danger to the monarchy. "Truly, I am persuaded," observes Clarendon, however, in a sort of self-vindication, "whatever design, either of alteration or reformation, was yet formed—I mean in the beginning of the Parliament—was only communicated to the Earl of Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Fiennes, Mr. St. John, the Earl of Bedford, the Lords Say and Kimbolton, who, together with the Scots commissioners, managed and carried it on; and that neither the Earl of Essex, Warwick, nor Brooke himself—no, nor Mr. Hollis nor Strode, nor any of the rest, were otherwise trusted than upon occasion, and made use of according to their several gifts; but there was yet no manner of difficulty in swaying and guiding the affections of men, all having brought resolution and animosity enough against the excesses and exorbitancies that had been exercised in the former government, and dislike enough to the persons guilty of the same, and not yet discerning that there was any other intention than of a just and regular proceeding, and reformation upon both." So far, at least, this is valuable testimony. It is a warrant, from the authority of the strongest professed friends to the monarchy, for the justice of the impeachment; and attainer of Strafford, and for all the measures up to the period of his death.

We have seen Pym alluding, in one of his speeches, to two statutes of Edward II. the holding of annual Parliaments. Upon suggestion Mr. Prideaux now introduced for yearly Parliaments, which, however amendments received in committee, were for amendments received in committee, were used in a triennial measure. The most important care and precaution were used in this statute. The issuing of writs imperative on the keeper of the great case of his failure, upon the sheriffs; and of the latter, upon the sheriffs; and, in resort, representatives might be charged upon people themselves. Charles made an effort to elude assent to this famous assent was extorted from him,

the third Parliament of Charles. Among the first I find those of Pym and Hampden; he on the score of ship-money; but was subject that Pym had then also been subjected and loss.—Old Parl. Hist., vol. ix., p. 8.  
\* See Journals of the House, 30th Dec. Journals of 9th January.

\* Inquiries were also ordered into the losses suffered by members of the House by fine and imprisonment after

ple welcomed the event with bonfires and every mark of joy.\*

Meanwhile Pym had abated none of his exertions in preparing for the impending trial of Strafford. A masterly series of twenty-eight articles of impeachment had been drawn up by himself and St. John, in which fourteen years of Strafford's life were set forth with wonderful force and precision; blending offences of various degrees, but so planned as to exhibit through them all the one grand offence charged upon the earl—an attempt to subvert the fundamental laws of the country. Information was now conveyed that Sir George Radcliffe was mainly relied upon by Strafford for the proof of his answers,† and Pym, well knowing Radcliffe to have been the wretched instrument of the lord-deputy's guilt throughout, instantly charged high treason upon him also. Radcliffe shortly after escaped; but an extract from Pym's speech in presenting the articles against him will not be thought inappropriate here.

"The earl," my lords, "is charged as an author; Sir George Radcliffe as an instrument and subordinate actor. The influence of superior planets is often augmented and enforced, but seldom mitigated, by the concurrence of the inferior, where merit doth arise, not from well doing, but from ill. The officiousness of ministers will rather add to the malignity of their instructions than diminish it, that so they may more fully ingratiate themselves with those upon whom they depend. In the crimes committed by the earl, there appears more haughtiness and fierceness, being acted by his own principles. Those motions are ever strongest which are nearer the *primum mobile*. But in those of Sir George Radcliffe there seems to be more baseness and servility, having resigned and subjected himself to be acted upon by the corrupt will of another. The Earl of Strafford hath not been bred in the study and practice of the law, and having stronger lusts and passions to incite, and less knowledge to restrain him, might more easily be transported from the rule. Sir George Radcliffe, in his natural temper and disposition being more moderate, and, by his education and profession, better acquainted with the grounds and directions of the law, was carried into his offences by a more immediate concurrence of will, and a more corrupt suppression of his own reason and judgment. My lords, as both these have been partners in offending, so it is the desire of the Commons they may be put under such trial and examination, and other proceedings of justice, as may bring them both to partake of a deserved punishment, for the safety and good of both kingdoms."

As the trial of Strafford approached, the king made an effort to save him by a compromise with the leaders of the opposition. Whitelocke's account of this negotiation is unsatis-

factory and obscure; but it is possible that, from some extracts I shall now make from Clarendon, a just notion of the whole transaction may be arrived at. This is the more necessary, since it has been made matter of grave accusation against the virtue of Pym and Hampden by a writer\* who is not less distinguished by his genius than his zeal.

"From the time," says the noble historian, "that there was no more fear of the Archbishop of Canterbury, nor the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, nor of any particular men who were like to succeed them in favour, all who had been active in the court or in any service for the king being totally dispirited, and most of them to be disposed to any vile offices against him, the great patriots thought they might be able to do their country better service if they got the places and preferments in the court,‡ and so prevent the evil counsels which had used to spring from thence.

... The Earl of Bedford was to be treasurer; in order to which, the Bishop of London had already desired the king to receive the staff. And so the treasury was for the present put into commission. Mr. Pym was to be chancellor of the Exchequer. ... These two were engaged to procure the king's revenue to be liberally provided for,‡ and honourably increased

Mr. Hollis secretary of state, Mr. Hampden tutor to the prince; others to have other places. In order whereunto, the Bishop of London resigned up his treasurer's staff, the Lord Cottington his place of the master of the wards, and the rest were easily to be voided. But whether upon the king's alteration of his mind, or by whatever means it came to pass, is uncertain, these things were not effected, and the great men baffled thereby became the more incensed and violent against the earl, joining with the Scotch commissioners, who were implacable against him." The blank is supposed to have been left for Lord Bedford's name.

\* Mr. Southey, in the Quarterly Review.

† In the spurious editions of Lord Clarendon—that is, in every edition published before the Oxford one of 1836, this passage stands thus: "if they got the places and preferments of the court for themselves." See *Hist.*, vol. i., p. 369.

‡ I may here quote the charge which is subsequently brought by Clarendon (vol. iv., p. 438-439) against the memory of Pym, and which I have already (p. 149) adverted to. "The king at one time intended to make Mr. Pym chancellor of the Exchequer, for which he received his majesty's promise, and made a return of a suitable profession of his service and devotion; and thereupon, the other being no secret, somewhat declined from that sharpness in the House which was more popular than any man's, and made some overtures to provide for the glory and splendour of the crown; in which he had so ill success, that his interest and reputation then visibly abated, and he found that he was much better able to do hurt than good, which wrought very much upon him to melancholy, and complaint of the violence and discomposure of the people's affections and inclinations." If any period could have been carefully selected before another with a view to prove the utter falsehood of this charge, it had been this very time named by Lord Clarendon. Pym's interest and repute with the Commons was never so extraordinary and commanding as during and after the proceedings against Strafford, nor did it ever, as we shall see, in the slightest respect abate till after the disastrous reverses at the commencement of the civil war. Now observe upon what the spite of Lord Clarendon, for which truly there was natural and sufficient cause, seems, with even less reason than on the words quoted at p. 140, to have trumped up all this. In a pamphlet of the time, entitled "The Diurnal Occurrences of both Houses from the 3d of November, 1640, to the 3d of November, 1641," I find mention made of a debate respecting ship-money and tonnage and poundage, which took place on the 27th of November, 1640, and in which some words spoken by Selden gave rise to the following from Pym. The reader will recollect that the very step he here recommends was stated by him to be on the eve of being taken when the third Parliament was dissolved. "That morning, also, Master Pym, the great Parliament man, declared that they would make the king the richest king in all Christendom; and that they had no other intention, but that he should continue their king to govern them; and pressed he might have tonnage and poundage granted him by act of Parliament, which took well in the

\* See *Parl. Hist.*, and *Stat. 16, Car. 1., c. i.* Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. i., p. 367.

† See Clarendon's *Hist.*, vol. i., p. 377.

‡ These are his words: "But there was a proposal (the subject of much discourse) to prevent all this trouble, and to restore the Earl of Strafford to his former favour and honour, if the king would prefer some of the grantees to offices at court, whereby Strafford's enemies should become his friends, and the king's desires be promoted. It was, that — should be made lord-treasurer, the Lord Say master of the wards, Mr. Pym chancellor of the Exchequer,

and settled; and that this might be the better done, the Earl of Bedford prevailed with the king, upon the removals mentioned before, to make Oliver St. John his solicitor-general, which his majesty readily consented to, *hoping that he would have been very useful in the present exigence to support his service in the House of Commons*, where his authority was then great; at least, that he would be ashamed ever to appear in any thing that might prove prejudicial to the crown. And he became immediately possessed of that office of great trust, and was so well qualified for it at that time, by his fast and rooted malignity against the government, that he lost no credit with his party, out of any apprehension or jealousy that he would change his side; and he made good their confidence, not in the least degree abating his malignant spirit, or dissembling it, but with the same obstinacy opposed every thing which might advance the king's service, when he was his solicitor, as ever he had done before. The Lord Say was to be master of the wards, and Denzil Hollis secretary of state. *Thus far the intrigue for preferments was entirely complied with; and it is great pity that it was not fully executed, that the king might have had some able men to have advised or assisted him, which probably these very men would have done after they had been so thoroughly engaged.* . . . But the Earl of Bedford was resolved that he would not enter into the treasury till the revenue was in some degree settled; at least, the bill for tonnage and poundage passed, with all decent circumstances, and for life; which both he and Mr. Pym did very heartily labour to effect, and had in their thoughts many good expedients by which they intended to raise the revenue of the crown. *And none of them were very solicitous to take their promotions before some other accommodations were provided for some of the rest of their chief companions, who would be neither well pleased with their so hasty advancement before them, nor so submissive in the future to follow their dictates.* Hampden was a man they could not leave unprovided for, and therefore there were several designs, and very far driven, for the satisfaction and promotion of him, and Essex, and Kimbolton, and others, though not so fully concluded as those before mentioned. *For the king's great end was, by these compliances, to save the life of the Earl of Strafford, and to preserve the Church from ruin; for nobody thought the archbishop in danger of his life. And there were few of the persons mentioned before who thought their preferments would do them much good if the earl were suffered to live; but in that of the Church, the major part even of those persons would have been willing to have satisfied the king, the rather because they had no reason to think the two Houses, or, indeed, either of them, could have been induced to have pursued the contrary. And so the continued and renewed violence in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford made the king well contented* House; but stood upon it to have grievances first reformed, AND SO IT WAS LEFT AT LARGE." So that here, immediately after Strafford and Laud had been yielded to the Tower, and long before any compromise of office was thought of, we find Pym simply recommending what the third Parliament wished to have done, with a condition which it is even possible that Parliament would have dispensed with; and this is twisted into the charge first quoted, to gratify the spleen and spite of a personal and political opponent.

(as the other reasons prevailed with the other persons) *that the putting of those promotions in practice should be for a time suspended.*"\* And in a subsequent passage, Lord Clarendon, probably without intending it, supplies some very singular and serviceable comments on his present account of these transactions. "If that stratagem," he says, "of winning men by places had been practised as soon as the resolution was taken at York to call a Parliament (in which, it was apparent, dangerous attempts would be made, and that the court could not be able to resist those attempts), and if Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, and Mr. Hollis had been then preferred with Mr. Saint John before they were desperately embarked in their desperate designs, and had innocence enough about them to trust the king and be trusted by him (having yet contracted no personal animosities against him), it is very possible that they might either have been made instruments to have done good service, or at least been restrained from endeavouring to subvert the royal building, for supporting whereof they were placed as principal pillars. But the rule the king gave himself (very reasonable at another time), that they should first do service, and compass this or that thing for him, before they should receive favour, was then very unseasonable; since, besides that they could not in truth do him that service without the qualification, it could not be expected they would desert that side, by the power of which they were sure to make themselves considerable, without an unquestionable mark of interest in the other, by which they were to keep up their power and reputation. And so, whilst the king expected they should manifest their inclinations to his service by their temper and moderation in those proceedings that most offended him, and they endeavoured, by doing all the hurt they could, to make evident the power they had to do him good, he grew so far disobliged and provoked that he could not in honour gratify them, and they so obnoxious and guilty that they could not think themselves secure in his favour; and thence, according to the policy and method of injustice, combined to oppress that power they had injured, and to raise a security for themselves by disenabling the king to question their transgressions."†

Now surely there cannot remain a doubt, after a careful observation of these extracts, of the precise nature and conduct of the "compromise" which Whitelocke has so imperfectly and obscurely stated. It is quite clear that Pym and Lord Bedford never for an instant contemplated the restoration of Strafford as their condition of entering office. It is here acknowledged that the thought of office was only entertained by the patriots on the understanding that Strafford and Laud, with all their evil counsels, were silenced forever; and it is proved, in the case of St. John, that the great body of the opposition had sufficient faith in their leaders to see them assume office without the fear that they would "change sides." Doubtless, when the negotiation was first entered on, some pledge for what is called by Clarendon the "security of the Church" was given by Pym, since there was nothing in his

\* Hist. vol. i., p. 300-372.

† Hist. of Rebel., vol. ii., p. 60, 61.

opinions on that subject\* that should have raised up an insurmountable obstacle. The ecclesiastical constitution of England, as it existed in that day, apart from Laud's gross administration, and as it exists now, is as nearly as possible Erastian in theory, and almost wholly Erastian in practice. But, admitting that such a pledge was given, it is to be observed, also, that neither Pym nor Lord Bedford would consent to treat with the king on any narrow or personal consideration—the people were to have a secure guarantee for a thoroughly and completely popular ministry. "Neither of them were very solicitous to take their promotions before accommodations were provided for the rest of their chief companions." And why was the whole negotiation suddenly broken off? Because of a "continued and renewed violence in the prosecution of the Earl of Strafford," is the distinct reply of Clarendon; because none of the popular statesmen "thought their preferment would do them much good if the earl were suffered to live." It is true that the same writer, in another part of his voluminous work, has apparently a partial contradiction of this; but its precise terms are worth notice. "The Earl of Bedford *secretly* undertook to his majesty that the Earl of Strafford's life should be preserved, and to procure his revenue to be settled as amply as any of his progenitors."† Here Pym's name is omitted, and the "secrecy" of the undertaking alluded to would seem to imply treachery on the part of Lord Bedford to his political associates. Now Clarendon is not the best authority to receive such an accusation from. Laud, though he was then a prisoner, had ample opportunity of making himself master of the state of parties and affections, and his testimony may be taken with greater confidence. He accuses the Earl of Bedford with remaining "savagely" intractable respecting the death of Strafford. "The earl," he says, in his diary, "being thus laid low, and his great services done in Ireland made part of his accusation, I cannot but observe two things: the one, that upon Sunday morning before, Francis, earl of Bedford (having about a month before lost his second son, in whom he most joyed), died, the smallpox striking into his brain. This lord was one of the main plotters of Strafford's death; and I know where he, with other lords, before the Parliament sat down, resolved to have his blood. But God would not let him live to take joy therein, but cut him off in the morning, whereas the bill for the Earl of Strafford's death was not signed till night," &c.

This, then, is the conclusion to which all impartial men must come respecting this much-disputed passage of history—that whatever shape or ultimate purpose these proposed changes might have assumed in the mind of Charles, they have left unsullied the motives of Pym and Hampden. With the king the negotiation may

\* "In the House of Commons, though of the chief leaders, Nathaniel Fiennes and young Sir Harry Vane, and shortly after Mr. Hampden (who had not before owned it), were believed to be for root and branch; which grew shortly after a common expression, and discovery of the several tempers; yet Mr. Pym was not of that mind, nor Mr. Hollis, nor any of the Northern men, nor those lawyers who drove on most furiously with them; all of whom were pleased with the government itself of the Church."—Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. i., p. 410. See afterward vol. iv., p. 437.

† Hist., vol. i., p. 446.

have been merely a stratagem of despair, but with the patriots it was entertained with a sincere and *bona fide* hope of serving the cause, and possibly of saving the king. Happy would the issue, in all probability, have proved for England; but, whether or no, little did Pym and Hampden then deserve to have it said of them, in after times, that they only "wanted places and power; and being disappointed in their expectations, they determined upon shedding the blood of the man with whom, if they might have been taken into office, they were willing to have coalesced."\* Granting, for an instant, that it were possible to reconcile such a charge with our impressions of virtue of the accused, how could it consist with their undisputed genius? They had been shortsighted fools, and not wise statesmen, to have hazarded such an outrage on that people whose confidence had given them their power. Mr. Southey is an able and unflinching defender of his party; but when he sees the propriety of withdrawing this remark, he will be the last to refuse such a concession to truth.†

The impeachment of Strafford now moved gradually forward, and at last, on the 22d of March, the trial was opened in Westminster Hall. That mighty scene has been already described,‡ and it is only necessary here to present some memorable passages from the speeches of the second chief actor in it, the accuser Pym. The first day was occupied with a recapitulation of the charges and answers.

"My lords," said Pym, rising on the morning of the second day, "we stand here by the commandment of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled for the commons in Parliament. And we are ready to make good that impeachment whereby Thomas, earl of Strafford, stands charged in their name, and in the names of all the commons of England, with high treason.

"This, my lords, is a great cause, and we might sink under the weight of it, and be astonished with the lustre of this noble assembly, if there were not in the cause strength and vigour to support itself and to encourage us. It is the cause of the king; it concerns his majesty in the honour of his government, in the safety of his person, in the stability of his crown. It is the cause of the kingdom; it concerns not only the peace and prosperity, but even the being of the kingdom. We have that piercing eloquence, the cries and groans, and tears and prayers, of all the subjects assisting us. We have the three kingdoms, England, and Scotland, and Ireland, in travail and agitation with us, bowing themselves, like the hinds spoken of in Job, to cast out their sorrows.

"Truth and goodness, my lords—they are the beauty of the soul; they are the protection of all created nature; they are the image and character of God upon the creatures. This beauty evil spirits and evil men have lost; but yet there are none so wicked but they desire to march under the show and shadow of it, though they hate the reality.

\* Mr. Southey, in the Quarterly Review.

† I should not omit to say that Hume's view of this matter (History, vol. v., p. 264, quarto ed.) does not materially differ from that which I have taken.

‡ Life of Strafford, p. 122, 124.

"This unhappy earl, now the object of your lordships' justice, hath taken as much care, hath used as much cunning, to set a face and countenance of honesty and justice upon his actions, as he hath been negligent to observe the rules of honesty in the performance of all these actions. My lords, it is the greatest baseness of wickedness that it dares not look in its own colours, nor be seen in its natural countenance. But virtue, as it is amiable in all respects, so the least is not this, that it *puts a nobleness, it puts a bravery upon the mind, and lifts it above hopes and fears, above favour and displeasure. It makes it always uniform and constant to itself.* The service commanded me and my colleagues here is to take off those vizards of truth and uprightness which hath been sought to be put upon this cause, and to show you his actions and his intentions in their own natural blackness and deformity.

"My lords, he hath put on a vizard of truth in these words, wherein he says 'that he should be in his defence more careful to observe truth than to gain advantage to himself.' He says he would endure any thing rather than be saved by falsehood.

"*It was a noble and brave expression if it were really true.*

"My lords, he hath likewise put the vizard of goodness on his actions when he desires to recite his services in a great many particulars, as if they were beneficial to the Commonwealth and state, whereas we shall prove them mischievous and dangerous.

"It is left upon me, my lords, to take off these vizards, and appearances of truth and goodness, in that part of his answer which is the preamble; and that I shall do with as much faithfulness and brevity as I can.

"The first thing, my lords, that I shall observe in the preamble, is this: That having recited all those great and honourable offices which he hath done under his majesty, he is bold to affirm that he hath been careful and faithful in the execution of them all.

"My lords, if he might be his own witness and his own judge, I doubt not but he would be acquitted. It is said in the Proverbs of the adulterous woman, 'that she wipes her mouth,' and says 'she had done no evil.' Here is a wiping of the mouth, here is a verbal expression of honesty. But, my lords, the foulness and unjustness will never be wiped off, neither from his heart nor from his actions—I mean for the time past: God may change him for the time to come!"

With the same earnest gravity, and in the same confident and inflexible tone, Pym proceeded to observe upon the various parts of Strafford's "apologetical preamble." Among other allegations, for instance, that in all things he had "endeavoured the honour of the king." Here the accuser exclaimed, "The honour of the king! My lords, we say it is the honour of the king that he is the father of his people, that he is the fountain of justice; and it cannot stand with his honour and his justice to have his government stained and polluted with tyranny and oppression!" Another of Strafford's allegations was, that by his means many good and wholesome laws had been made since his government in Ireland. "Truly, my lords,"

said Pym, "if we should consider the particulars of these laws, some of them will not be found without great exception. But I shall make another answer. Good laws, nay, the best laws, are no advantage when *will is set above law*; when the laws have force to bind and restrain the subject, but no force to relieve and comfort him."

Pym then proceeded thus: "He says he was a means of calling a Parliament not long after he came to his government. *My lords, Parliaments without Parliamentary liberties are but a fair and plausible way into bondage.* That Parliament had not the liberties of a Parliament. Sir Pierce Crosby, for speaking against a bill in the Commons' House, was sequestered from the council-table, and committed to prison. Sir John Clotworthy, for the same cause, was threatened that he should lose a lease that he had. Mr. Barnewell, and two other gentlemen, were threatened they should have troops of horse put upon them for speaking in the House. Proxies by dozens were given by some of his favourites; and, my lords, Parliaments coming in with these circumstances, they be grievances, mischiefs, and miseries; no works of thanks or honour."

Strafford had urged his having been a means to put off monopolies and other burdensome projects from the subject, upon which his accuser observed thus bitterly: "If he had hated the injustice of a monopoly or the mischief of a monopoly, he would have hated it in himself—he himself would have been no monopolist. Certainly, my lords, it was not the love of justice, nor the common good, that moved him. And if he were moved by any thing else, he had his reward. *It may be it was because he would have no man gripe them in the kingdom but himself; his own harvest crop would have been less if he had had sharers. It may be it was because monopolies hinder trade; he had the customs, and the benefit of the customs would have been less.* When we know the particulars, we shall make a fit and proper answer to them. But in the mean time we are sure that, whatsoever was the reason, it was not justice, nor love of truth, that was the reason."

Alluding next to Strafford's plea that he had no other commission but what his predecessors had, and that he had executed that commission with all moderation, the orator proceeded thus powerfully: "For the commission, it was no virtue of his if it were a good commission. I shall say nothing of that. But for the second part—his moderation! When you find so many imprisoned of the nobility! so many men, some adjudged to death, some executed without law! when you find so many public rapines on the state, soldiers sent to make good his decrees—so many whippings in defence of monopolies—so many gentlemen that were jurors, because they would not apply themselves to give verdicts on his side, to be fined in the Star Chamber—men of quality to be disgraced, set on the pillory, and wearing papers, and such things (as it will appear through our evidence)—can you, my lords, think there was any moderation? And yet truly, my lords, I can believe that if you compare his courses with other parts of the world ungoverned, he will be found beyond all tyranny and harshness; but if you compare



them with his own mind and disposition, *perhaps there was moderation!* Habits, we say, are more perfect than acts, because they be nearest the principle of actions. *The habit of cruelty in himself (no doubt) is more perfect than any act of cruelty he hath committed;* but if this be his moderation, I think all men will pray to be delivered from it. I may truly say that that is verified in him, 'The mercies of the wicked are cruel!'"

Then, after exposing at length, and with singular precision, the fallacies respecting revenue in the answers of Strafford, Pym took up one of his statements, to the effect that many churches had been built since his government; and went on, "Truly, my lords, why he should have any credit or honour if other men builded churches, I know not; I am sure we hear of no churches he hath built himself. If, indeed, he had been careful to have set up good preachers, that would have stirred up devotion in men, and made them desirous of the knowledge of God, and by that means made more churches, it had been something. But I hear nothing of spiritual edification, nothing of the knowledge of God, that by his means hath been dispersed in that kingdom. And certainly they that strive not to build up men's souls in a spiritual way of edification, let them build all the material churches that can be, they will do no good: God is not worshipped with walls, but he is worshipped with hearts."

It is necessary to hasten, however, through many remarkable details in this speech to the memorable words which closed it: "The earl concludes, my lords, with a desire 'that he may not be charged with errors of his understanding or judgment, being not bred up in the law; or with weakness, to which human nature is subject.' Truly, my lords, it would be far from us to charge him with any such mistakes! No, my lords, *we shall charge him with nothing but what the law in every man's breast condemns—the light of nature, the light of common reason, the rules of common society.* And this will appear in all the articles which my colleagues will offer to you."

It has been observed in the course of this work\* that in the speeches of Pym alone will be found a real vindication of all the proceedings against Strafford up to the exaction of his life. From them alone is indeed reflected that "flowing and existing light of the public welfare," which discovered to virtuous statesmen then what was requisite to be done, and without which now our sight is dull and feeble. It appears to me that Pym, and of all the managers Pym alone, argued the accusation and conviction of the earl as of the substance of eternal right, in opposition to the technical forms which the defence assumed. That crisis of danger to the public liberties had in his view already arrived, wherein, by every precedent of great and virtuous statesmanship, the question of Justice reared itself above the narrow limits of the law.

Hence it was that, early on the morning of the thirteenth day of the trial—when the eloquence, the dignity of demeanour, and the obvious bodily sufferings of the noble accused had weighed as much in his favour with the lords

his judges as the commanding intellect and mournful severity of his features had preposessed the lady spectators on his side—Pym rose in his place in the House of Commons, and announcing a discovery of the last importance respecting Strafford, presented to the House certain weighty reasons for closing the proceedings against the earl by the legislative enactment of a bill of attainder. He then produced Vane's famous notes, in proof of advice from Strafford given to the king at the council-table, that he had an army in Ireland by which England might be reduced to obedience; and moved that the bill of attainder, which he now also produced, should be read a first time.

Pym's motives to this sudden course are obvious. They are distinctly explained by a motion which he submitted to the House six days after, when, on the bringing up the report of the bill previous to its third reading, he prevailed with the House to pass, unanimously, a previous resolution, "That it has been sufficiently proved that Thomas, earl of Strafford, hath endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of these realms of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law."† In the course of the proceedings of the impeachment, and on the discovery of Vane's notes, the policy, no less than the necessity, had made itself apparent to him, of fixing the case of Strafford on wider and more special grounds than were found to be involved in a very strict construction of the old statute of treasons. Admitting this, however, nothing is so vain as to argue this question with a view to our present settlement of the laws of evidence and treason. The rules of evidence, and legal constructions of statutes, which are now clearly and intelligibly defined, were then recognised doubtfully, and frequently exceeded; nor is it to be denied that the people at least—accustomed as they were to perpetual stretchings of the statute of Edward by constructive interpretation—were unable to attach any definite sense to the crime.‡ In Pym's refusal even to risk any arbitrary construction of a statute which might thereafter be turned against the people, we see only a fresh evidence of his never-ceasing care of the public freedom, which he would not consent to endanger, even in so extraordinary an emergency, by any possible invasion of the securities of regular jurisprudence. He resolved on a bill of attainder. Bills of attainder were not then unusual, were the same in principle as the ordinary bills of pains and penalties; and the argument against such a proceeding, as an act of retrospective punishment, was thoroughly answered in the case of Strafford by the course which Pym adopted. The histories do not mention the resolution I have just quoted, but it embodies his grand vindication. It plainly reduced the reasoning of Strafford to this, that though to transgress a particular law is a crime, he who takes advantage of circumstances to overturn the whole established laws had no legal warning of his guilt, and therefore was no criminal. Pym only waited till he had reason to believe that the proofs he advanced under the fifteenth article of the impeachment did not

\* See Journals of 16th April, 1641.

† See Hallam's Const. Hist., vol. ii., p. 146.

\* Life of Strafford, p. 126.



amount to a substantive treason under the statute, when it is very clear that he at once resolved upon this course, wisely judging it better to fix the guilt of Strafford on higher and grander considerations,\* and to bring the treason that had been committed against the laws and liberties of the Commonwealth to the immediate arbitration of what he justly termed "the element and source of all laws, out of which they are derived; the end of all laws, to which they are designed, and in which they are perfected." With this view, also, he inserted the famous proviso in the bill, that the present attainder should not be acted upon by the judges as a precedent in determining the crime of treason. Truly has Mr. Godwin said† that this illustrates emphatically the clearness of his conceptions and the equality of his temper through the whole of these memorable proceedings.

Nothing has been so little understood, not to say grossly misrepresented, as the exact course of Pym in this matter. He did *not* wait till "the impeachment had obviously failed;" he did *not* wait to see "the effect of Vane's notes upon the lords;" he did *not* at last hurry the bill of attainder through the lower House "with indecent haste." Clarendon's assertions, that the bill was not introduced till after Strafford's defence was made, and that then it was "received with wonderful alacrity, and immediately read the first and the second time, and so committed, which was not usual in Parliaments,"‡ are simply untruths. Pym introduced the bill on the 10th of April, when it was read the first time; Vane's notes were not read in Westminster Hall till the 13th of April, immediately before Strafford's defence; on the day following (the 14th) the bill of attainder was read a second time; and the third reading did not pass till the 21st of April.§ Meanwhile Pym and St. John had both stated to the House of Lords that the Commons did not seek "to decline their lordships' justice in a judicial way"|| by submitting the bill of attainder to them; and ultimately the House of Lords did in fact vote upon each article of the bill judicially, and not as if they were enacting a legislative measure; while the judges themselves, on a solemn reference by the Lords for their opinion whether some of the articles charged upon Strafford amounted to treason, answered unanimously that upon all which their lordships had voted to be proved, they considered the earl to be guilty of that crime. So that, in truth, there is no reason to suppose a failure of the impeachment, had it been allowed to proceed. It was Pym who first refused to sanction that proceeding with the weight of his authority in after-times; and to him, and the great men who acted with him, be awarded the praise of having thus stamped the guilt of Strafford as a treason against the people rather than the king, and, while they guarded with profound and sagacious care the liberty of the subject and the strict authority of the law, of having written for all future ages, in the death of

Strafford, the terrible lesson of a nation's retribution.

I now return to the last day of the trial in Westminster Hall, where the Lords still proceeded as if they were ignorant of the bill now pending in the lower House. On the 13th of April, after Lord Strafford had delivered the noble and affecting burst of eloquence with which his defence concluded, Pym rose, and, in the language of an honest writer\* who was present, "made, in half an hour, to the confession of all, one of the most eloquent, wise, free speeches that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear."† The speech was indeed extraordinary. It seems, by all the accounts, to have been delivered with the evident sense that the great occasion of the speaker's life had come, and that with him it now finally rested whether or not the privileges so long contested, and the rights so long misunderstood, of the great body of the people, should win at last their assured consummation and acknowledgment.

"My lords," he began, "many days have been spent in maintenance of the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford by the House of Commons, whereby he stands charged with high treason; and your lordships have heard his defence with patience, and with as much favour as justice will allow. We have passed through our evidence; and the result is, that it remains clearly proved that the Earl of Strafford *hath endeavoured, by his words, actions, and counsels, to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government.*

"This is the envenomed arrow‡ for which he inquired in the beginning of his replication this day, which hath infected all his blood; this is that intoxicating cup (to use his own metaphor) which hath tainted his judgment and poisoned his heart! From hence was infused that specific difference which turned his speeches, his actions, his counsels into treason; not cumulative, as he expressed it, as if many misdemeanors could make one treason, but formally and essentially. It is the end that doth inform actions, and doth specify the nature of them, making not only criminal, but even indifferent words and actions to be treason when done and spoken with a treasonable intention.

"That which is given to me in charge is to show the quality of the offence, how heinous it is in the nature, how mischievous in the effect of it; which will best appear if it be examined by that law to which he himself appealed, that universal, that supreme law, *SALUS POPULI*. This the element of all laws, out of which they are

\* Baillie, the principal of the Glasgow University.

† "The king," Baillie adds, "never heard a lecture of so free language against that his idolized prerogative. Some of the passages, and no more but some, and these defamed, I send you in print, as they have been taken in speaking by some hand."

‡ In the commencement of the defence which had just closed, Strafford, observing upon the statement of his accusers that separate articles in the impeachment might be no treason in themselves, and yet conduce to the proof of treason, had said, "And hence, my lords, I have all along watched to see if I could find that poisoned arrow that should envenom all the rest—that deadly cup of wine that should intoxicate a few alleged inconveniences and misdemeanors, to run them up to high treason." Pym's remarks on this and other important points of the defence prove that in general management, and much of the expression, this great speech of his was delivered extempore.

\* See these considerations urged at greater length in the *Life of Strafford*, p. 126-129.

† *Hist. of the Commonwealth*, vol. i., p. 92.

‡ *Hist.*, vol. i., p. 398.

§ See the *Journals of those days*; or the *Old Parl. Hist.*, vol. ix., p. 258. || *Nelson's Collections*, vol. ii., p. 163.

derived; the end of all laws, to which they are designed, and in which they are perfected. How far it stands in opposition to this law I shall endeavour to show, in some considerations which I shall present to your lordships, arising out of the evidence which hath been opened.

"The first is this: it is an offence comprehending all other offences. Here you shall find several treasons, murders, rapines, oppressions, perjuries. The earth hath a seminary virtue, whereby it doth produce all herbs and plants, and other vegetables: there is in this crime a seminary of all evils hurtful to a state; and if you consider the reasons of it, it must needs be so.

"The law is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into a confusion. Every man will become a law to himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law; covetousness and ambition will become laws; and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce, may easily be discerned in the late government of Ireland!

"The law hath a power to prevent, to restrain, to repair evils. Without this, all kinds of mischief and distempers will break in upon a state. It is the law that doth entitle the king to the allegiance and service of his people; it entitles the people to the protection and justice of the king. It is God alone who subsists by himself; all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise man that said that the king subsisted by the field that is tilled: it is the labour of the people that supports the crown. If you take away the protection of the king, the vigour and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remain.

"The law is the boundary, the measure, betwixt the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whilst these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another—the prerogative a cover and defence to the liberty of the people, and the people, by their liberty, enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative; but if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue: if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy."

The whole compass of our language does not contain a nobler description of law than this. It has indeed been justly pronounced, by no partial witness\* to Pym's memory, to combine the splendour of one of the commonplaces of Cicero with the logical force of Lord Bacon's profound meditations. It has even greater force, philosophy, and beauty, when viewed in relation to the wider appeal which the speaker had already judged it necessary to make, not less to prevent the possibly undue stretching of a statute, than to wither and destroy the monstrous assumption of the accused—that he, forsooth, was a pleader for the law, while the very principle assumed in his argument is that of having laboured to overturn all law.

\* Mr. D'Israeli in his Commentaries, vol. iv., p. 467.

It will be observed, however, that nothing more strikingly impresses itself upon us, in reading Rushworth's report\* of this extraordinary speech, than the instant and impressive practical application to the defence which Strafford had just delivered, with which all the great principles and abstract truths on which Pym must have thought for years, now, with a state-like vehemence, rushed forth from him. This it is, as with the greatest orators, to comprehend the whole of a subject, no matter how overwhelming in its interests and proportions, at a single glance; and then, out of an armory of words and thoughts, collected through the untiring exertions of a life of observation and study, to know how to send every word and every thought to its errand, like an arrow to its mark, with unerring aim. The first of the noble passages which follow has reference to what Strafford had said in his defence respecting Ireland—that it was a conquered country, and that his illegal exertions there were to maintain the king's absolute sovereignty. This was as good an argument as many that have been since advanced, with less excuse, for subsequent oppressions in the same quarter; but mark with what final and unanswerable eloquence Pym crushes every such sophism or pretension!

"The law is the safeguard, the custody of all private interests. Your honours, your lives, your liberties, and estates are all in the keeping of the law. Without this, every man hath a like right to any thing; and such is the condition into which the Irish were brought by the Earl of Strafford. But the reason which he gave for it hath even more mischief in it than the thing itself! *They were a conquered nation!* There cannot be a word more pregnant and fruitful in treason than that word is. There are few nations in the world that have not been conquered, and no doubt but the conqueror may give what law he pleases to those that are conquered; but if the succeeding pacts and agreements do not limit and restrain that right, *what people can be secure?* England hath been conquered, and Wales hath been conquered, and by this reason will be in little better case than Ireland. *If the king, by the right of a conqueror, gives laws to his people, shall not the people, by the same reason, be restored to the right of the conquered to recover their liberty if they can?* What can be more hurtful, more pernicious to both, than such propositions as these? And in these particulars is determined the first consideration.

"The second consideration is this: arbitrary power is dangerous to the king's person, and dangerous to his crown. It is apt to cherish ambition, usurpation, and oppression in great men, and to beget sedition and discontent in the people; and both these have been, and in reason must ever be, causes of great trouble and alteration to princes and states. If the histories of those Eastern countries be pursued, where princes order their affairs according to the mischievous principles of the Earl of Strafford, loose and absolved from all rules of government, they will be found to be frequent in combustions, full of massacres, and of the tragical ends of princes. If any man shall look into

\* My quotations are taken from it.

their own stories in the times when the laws were most neglected, he shall find them full of commotions—of civil distempers, whereby the kings that then reigned were always kept in want and distress, the people consumed with civil wars; and by such wicked counsels as these some of our princes have been brought to such a miserable end as no honest heart can remember without horror, and an earnest prayer that it may never be so again.\*

"The third consideration is this—the subversion of the laws; and this arbitrary power, as it is dangerous to the king's person and to his crown, so is it in other respects very prejudicial to his majesty, in his honour, profit, and greatness. And yet these are the gildings and paintings that are put upon such counsels: 'these are for your honour—for your service;' whereas, in truth, they are contrary to both. But if I take off this varnish, I hope they shall then appear in their own native deformity, and therefore I desire to consider them by these rules.

"It cannot be for the honour of the king that his sacred authority should be used in the practice of injustice and oppression—that his name should be applied to patronise such horrid crimes as have been represented in evidence against the Earl of Strafford; and yet how frequently, how presumptuously his commands, his letters, have been vouched throughout the course of this defence! Your lordships have heard that when the judges do justice it is the king's justice; and this is for his honour, because he is the fountain of justice; but when they do injustice the offence is their own; how these officers and ministers of the king, who are most officious in the exercise of arbitrary power, do it commonly for their own advantage; and, when they are questioned for it, then they fly to the king's 'interest'—to his 'direction!' Truly, my lords, this is a very unequal distribution for the king, that the dishonour of evil courses should be cast upon him, and they to have the advantage!

"The prejudice which it brings to him in regard of his profit is no less apparent, since it deprives him of the most beneficial and most certain revenue of his crown; that is, the voluntary aids and supplies of his people. His other revenues, consisting of goodly demesnes and great manors, have by grants been variously alienated from the crown, and are now exceedingly diminished and impaired. But this revenue, it cannot be sold; it cannot be burdened with any pensions or annuities; it comes entirely to the crown. It is now almost fifteen years since his majesty had any assistance from his people, and these illegal ways of supplying the king were never pressed with more violence and art than they have been in this time; and yet I may, upon very good grounds, affirm, that in the last fifteen years of Queen Elizabeth she received more by the bounty and affection of her subjects than hath come to his majesty's coffers by all the inordinate and rigorous courses which have been taken; and as

\* The king was present, the reader will recollect, though not recognised as being so. A screen of trellis-work was before him. It may be supposed that now, while these memorable words sounded through the hall, was the moment of "breaking down the screen with his own hand," as Baillie records him to have done.

those supplies were more beneficial in the receipt of them, so were they like in the use and employment of them.

"Another way of prejudice to his majesty's profit is this: such arbitrary courses exhaust the people, and disable them, when there shall be occasion, to give such plentiful supplies as otherwise they would do. I shall need no other proof of this than the Irish government under my Lord Strafford, where the wealth of the kingdom has been so consumed by those horrible exactions and burdens, that it is thought the subsidies lately granted will amount to little more than half the proportion of the last subsidies. The two former ways are hurtful to the king's profit in that respect which they call *lucrum cessans*, by diminishing his receipts; but there is a third yet more full of mischief, and it is in that respect which they call *damnum emergens*, by increasing his disbursements; for such irregular and exorbitant attempts upon the liberties of the people are apt to produce such miserable distractions and distempers, as will put the king and kingdoms to so vast expenses and losses in a short time that they will not be recovered in many years. We need not go far to seek a proof of this—these two last years will be a sufficient evidence; within which time I assure myself it may be proved, that more treasure hath been wasted, and more loss sustained by his majesty and his subjects, than was spent by Queen Elizabeth in all the war of Tyrone, and in those many brave attempts against the King of Spain, and the royal assistance which she gave to France and the Low Countries, during all her reign.

"Now, as for greatness, this arbitrary power is apt to hinder and impair it, not only at home, but abroad. A kingdom is a society of men conjoined under one government for the common good. The world is a society of the kingdoms and states. The king's greatness consists not only in his dominion over his subjects at home, but in the influence which he hath upon states abroad; that he should be great, even among kings, and by his wisdom and authority be able so to incline and dispose the affairs of other states and nations, and those great events which fall out in the world, that they shall be for the good of mankind, and for the peculiar advantage of his own people. This is the most glorious and magnificent greatness—to be able to relieve distressed princes, to support his own friends and allies, to prevent the ambitious designs of other kings; and how much this kingdom hath been impaired in this kind by the late mischievous counsels, your lordships best know, who, at a near distance, and with a more clear sight, do apprehend these public and great affairs than I can do. Yet thus much I dare boldly say, that if his majesty had not with great wisdom and goodness forsaken that way wherein the Earl of Strafford had put him, we should, within a short time, have been brought into that miserable condition as to have been useless to our friends, contemptible to our enemies, and incapable of undertaking any great design either at home or abroad.

"A fourth consideration is, that this arbitrary and tyrannical power which the Earl of Strafford did exercise with his own person, and

to which he did advise his majesty, is inconsistent with the peace, the wealth, the prosperity of a nation : it is destructive to justice, the mother of peace ; to industry, the spring of wealth ; to valour, which is the active virtue whereby only the prosperity of a nation can be procured, confirmed, and enlarged. It is not only apt to take away peace, and so entangle the nation with wars, but doth *corrupt peace*, and put such a malignity into it as produceth the effects of war. We need seek no other proofs of this but the Earl of Strafford's government, where the Irish, both nobility and others, had as little security of their persons or estates in this peaceable time as if the kingdom had been under the rage and fury of war.

"And as for industry and valour, who will take pains for that which, when he hath gotten, is not his own ! or who fight for that wherein he hath no other interest but such as is subject to the will of another ! The ancient encouragement to men that were to defend their countries was this, that they were to hazard their person, *pro aris et focis*, for their religion and for their homes ; but by this arbitrary way which was practised in Ireland, and counselled *here*, no man had any certainty either of religion, or of his home, or of any thing else to be his own ; and besides this, such arbitrary courses have an ill operation upon the courage of a nation, by embasing the hearts of the people. A servile condition does for the most part beget in men a slavish temper and disposition. Those that live so much under the whip, and the pillory, and such servile engines as were frequently used by the Earl of Strafford, they may have the dregs of valour—sullenness and stubbornness, which may make them prone to mutinies and discontents, but those noble and gallant affections which put men to brave designs and attempts for the preservation or enlargement of a kingdom they are hardly capable of. SHALL IT BE TREASON TO EMBASE THE KING'S COIN, THOUGH BUT A PIECE OF TWELVE-PENCE OR SIXPENCE ! AND MUST IT NOT NEEDS BE THE EFFECT OF A GREATER TREASON TO EMBASE THE SPIRIT OF HIS SUBJECTS, AND TO SET UP A STAMP AND CHARACTER OF SERVITUDE UPON THEM, WHEREBY THEY SHALL BE DISABLED TO DO ANYTHING FOR THE SERVICE OF THE KING AND COMMONWEALTH !

"The fifth consideration is this, that the exercise of this arbitrary government in times of sudden danger, by the invasion of an enemy, will disable his majesty to preserve himself and his subjects from that danger. This is the only pretence by which the Earl of Strafford, and such other mischievous counsellors, would induce his majesty to make use of it ; and if it be unfit for such an occasion, I know nothing that can be alleged in maintenance of it. When war threatens a kingdom by the coming of a foreign enemy, it is no time then to discontent the people, to make them weary of the present government, and more inclinable to a change. The supplies which are to come in this way will be unready—uncertain ; there can be no assurance of them—no dependance upon them, either for time or proportion ; and if some money be gotten in such a way, the distractions, divisions, distempers which this course is apt to produce, will be more prejudicial to

the public safety than the supply can be advantageous to it. *Of this we have had sufficient experience the last summer.*

"The sixth is, that this crime of subverting the laws, and introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government, is contrary to the pact and covenant betwixt the king and his people. That which was spoken of before was the legal union of allegiance and protection ; this is a personal union, by mutual agreement and stipulation, confirmed by oath on both sides. The king and his people are obliged to one another in the nearest relations. When Justice Thorp, in Edward III.'s time, was by the Parliament condemned to death for bribery, the reason of that judgment is given, because he had broke the king's oath ; not that he had broke his own oath, but he had broken the king's oath, that solemn and great obligation which is the security of the whole kingdom. Now if for a judge to take a small sum in a private cause was adjudged capital, how much greater was this offence, whereby the Earl of Strafford hath broken the king's oath in the whole course of his government in Ireland, to the prejudice of so many of his majesty's subjects in their lives, liberties, and estates, and to the danger of all the rest !\* The doctrine of the Papists, *fides non est servanda cum hæreticis*, is an abominable doctrine ; yet that other tenet, more peculiar to the Jesuits, is more pernicious, whereby subjects are discharged from their oath of allegiance to their prince whensoever the pope pleaseth. Now, my lords, this may be added, to make the third no less mischievous and destructive to human society than either of the rest, that the king is not bound by that oath which he hath taken to observe the laws of the kingdom, but may, when he sees cause, lay taxes and burthens upon them without their consent, contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. This hath been *preached and published* by divers ; and this is that which hath been *practised* in Ireland by the Earl of Strafford in his government there, and *endeavoured to be brought into England by his counsel here.*

"The seventh is this : it is an offence that is contrary to the end of government. The end of government is to prevent oppressions, to limit and restrain the excessive power and violence of great men, to open the passages of justice with indifferency towards all. This arbitrary power is apt to induce and encourage all kinds of insolences. Another end of the government is to preserve men in their estates, to secure them in their lives and liberties ; but if this design had taken effect, and could have been settled in England as it is practised in Ireland, no man would have had more certainty in his own than power would have allowed him. But these two have been spoken of before ; there are two behind more important, which have not yet been touched.

\* This precedent, by-the-by, is likely to have been that which was in Sir R. Goodwin's mind when he referred to Pym in Cromwell's Parliament of 1658 ; but I have allowed the speech to stand, which has been attributed to Pym on the ground of its containing a similar precedent, both because of its extraordinarily marked style, which, in the absence of any known author, and in spite of strong opposing evidence, still seems to point to Pym as having had a share in its authorship, and also because, being a most striking illustration of the times, it is yet excluded from the common Parliamentary histories.

—It is the end of government that virtue should be increased, vice suppressed, but where to virtue and to virtue power is set up, a way is open not only for the security, but for the advancement and encouragement of evil. Some men are apt for the execution and maintenance of this power are only capable of pre-ferment, and others who will not be instruments of any unjust commands, who make a conscience to do nothing against the laws of the kingdom and liberties of the subjects, are not only not passable for employment, but subject to much jealousy and danger. It is the end of government that all accidents and events, all counsels and designs, should be improved to the public good; but this arbitrary power is apt to dispose all to the maintenance of itself. The wisdom of the council-table, the authority of the courts of justice, the industry of all the officers of the crown, have been most carefully exercised in this: the learning of our divines, the jurisdiction of our bishops, have been moulded and disposed to the same effect; which, though it were begun before the Earl of Strafford's employment, yet hath been exceedingly furthered and advanced by him. Under this colour and pretence of maintaining the king's power and prerogative, many dangerous practices against the peace and safety of the kingdom have been undertaken and promoted. The increase of popery, and the favours and encouragement of Papists, have been, and still are, a great grievance and danger to the kingdom. The invocation, in matters of religion, upon usurpations of the clergy, the manifold burthens and taxations upon the people, have been a great cause of our present distempers and disorders; and yet those who have been chief furtherers and actors of such mischiefs have had their credit and authority from this, that they were forward to maintain this power. The Earl of Strafford had the first rise of his greatness from this; and in his apology and defence, as your lordships have heard, this hath had a main part.

"The royal power and majesty of kings is only glorious in the prosperity and happiness of the people. The perfection of all things consists in the end for which they were ordained. God only is his own end. All other things have a further end beyond themselves, in attaining whereof their own happiness consists. If the means and the end be set in opposition to one another, it must needs cause an impotency and defect of both."

These extracts carry with them their own praise. They belong, indeed, to the very highest order of eloquence; they embody the truths of a sound philosophy with the great substantial truths of common sense, and mingle, with a power and purpose that are truly masterly, the great maxims of the old English Constitution with the real interests and general feelings of mankind in every country and under every circumstance.

Pym now turned to certain special excuses and justifications which Strafford had urged in his defence. "The eighth consideration is the vanity and absurdity of those excuses and justifications which he made for himself, whereof divers particulars have been mentioned in the course of this defence.

—1. That he is a counsellor and might not be questioned for any thing which he advised according to his conscience. The ground is true. There is a liberty belongs to counsellors, and nothing corrupts counsels more than fear. He that will have the privilege of a counsellor, however, must keep within the just bounds of a counsellor: those matters are the only proper subjects of counsel which in their times and occasions may be good or beneficial to the king or Commonwealth; but such treasons as these—the subversion of the laws, violation of liberties—they can never be good or justifiable by any circumstance or occasion. Therefore his being a counsellor makes his fault much more heinous, as being committed against a greater trust, and in a way of much mischief and danger, lest his majesty's conscience and judgment (upon which the whole course and frame of his government do much depend) should be poisoned and infected with such wicked principles and designs. This Lord Strafford hath endeavoured to do, which by all laws and in all times hath in this kingdom been reckoned a crime of a high nature.

"2. He labours to interest your lordships in his cause by alleging it may be dangerous to yourselves and your posterity, who by your birth are fittest to be near his majesty, in places of trust and of authority, if you should be subject to be questioned for matters delivered in council. To this it is to be answered, that it is hoped their lordships will rather labour to secure themselves and their posterity in the exercise of their virtues than of their vices, that so they may, together with their own honour and greatness, preserve the honour and greatness both of the king and kingdom.

"3. Another excuse is this, that whatsoever he hath spoken was out of good intention. Sometimes, my lords, good and evil, truth and falsehood, lie so near together that they are hardly to be distinguished. Matters hurtful and dangerous may be accompanied with such circumstances as may make them appear useful and convenient; and, in all such cases, good intention will justify evil counsel. But where the matters propounded are evil in their own nature, such as the matters are wherewith the Earl of Strafford is charged—as to break a public faith, and to subvert laws and government—they can never be justified by any intentions, how good soever they be pretended.

"4. He allegeth it was a time of great necessity and danger, when such counsels were necessary for the preservation of the state. Necessity hath been spoken of before, as it relates to the cause; now it is considered as it relates to the person. If there were any necessity, it was of his own making: he, by his evil counsel, had brought the king into a necessity; and by no rules of justice can be allowed to gain this advantage by his own fault, as to make that a ground of his justification which is a great part of his offence.

"5. He hath often insinuated this, that it was for his majesty's service, in maintenance of that sovereign power with which he is intrusted by God for the good of his people. The answer is this: no doubt but that sovereign power wherewith his majesty is intrusted for the public good hath many glorious effects, the

better to enable him thereunto; but without doubt *this is none of them*, that, by his own will, he may lay any tax or imposition upon his people without their consent in Parliament. This hath now been five times adjudged by both Houses—in the case of the loans, in condemning commissions of the excise, in the resolution upon the saving clause offered to be added to the petition of right, in the sentence against Mainwaring, and now against Lutell, in condemning the ship-money. And, therefore, if the sovereign power of the king can produce no such effect as this, the allegation of it is an aggravation, and no diminution, of his offence, because thereby he doth labour to interest the king against the just grievance and complaint of the people.

"6. That this counsel was propounded with divers limitations and provisions for securing and repairing the liberty of the people. This implies a contradiction: to maintain an arbitrary and absolute power, and yet to restrain it with limitations and provisions; for even those limitations and provisions will be subject to the same absolute power, and to be dispensed in such manner and at such time as itself shall determine. Let the grievances and oppressions be never so heavy, the subject is left without all remedy but at his majesty's own pleasure.

"7. He allegeth they were but words, and no effect followed: this needs no answer, but that the miserable distempers into which he hath brought all the three kingdoms will be evidence sufficient that his wicked counsels have had such mischievous effects, within these two or three last years, that many years' peace will hardly repair those losses and other great mischiefs which the Commonwealth hath sustained."

Pym now offered his concluding considerations, which, it will be seen, bear emphatic reference to the new course which he had already initiated in the House of Commons, of declaring Strafford's treason by the justice of a special enactment.

"The ninth consideration, my lords, is this: that if this be treason in the nature of it, it doth exceed all other treasons in this, that in the design and endeavour of the author *it was to be a constant and permanent treason*. Other treasons are transient, as being confined within those particular actions and proportions wherein they did consist; and those being past, the treason ceaseth. The powder treason was full of horror and malignity, yet it is past many years since. The murder of that magnanimous and glorious king, Henry IV. of France, was a great and horrid treason, and so were those manifold attempts against Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory; but they are long since past: the detestation of them only remains in histories and in the minds of men, and will ever remain. But this treason, if it had taken effect, *WAS TO BE A STANDING, PERPETUAL TREASON, WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN IN CONTINUAL ACT; NOT DETERMINED WITHIN ONE TIME OR AGE, BUT TRANSMITTED TO POSTERITY, EVEN FROM ONE GENERATION TO ANOTHER.*

"The last consideration is this: that as it is a crime odious in the nature of it, so it is odious in the judgment and estimation of the law.

B 2

To alter the settled frame and constitution of government is treason in any state. *THE LAWS WHEREBY ALL OTHER PARTS OF A KINGDOM ARE PRESERVED WOULD BE VERY VAIN AND DEFECTIVE IF THEY HAD NOT A POWER TO SECURE AND PRESERVE THEMSELVES.*"

The orator concluded with these condensed and terrible words: "The forfeitures inflicted for treason by our law are of life, honour, and estate, even all that can be forfeited; and *this prisoner* having committed so many treasons, although he should pay all these forfeitures, will be still a debtor to the Commonwealth. Nothing can be more equal than that he should perish by the justice of that law which he would have subverted. *Neither will this be a new way of blood.* There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these 240 years, *it was not for want of law, but that all that time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these!*"

An interesting incident now occurred, which has already been described in this work,\* but which cannot be omitted here. Through the whole of the speech Strafford is described to have been closely and earnestly watching Pym; when the latter suddenly turning, as the above words were spoken, met the fixed and faded eyes and haggard features of his early associate, and a rush of feelings from other days—so fearfully contrasting the youth and friendship of the past with the love-poisoned hate of the present and the mortal agony impending in the future—for a moment deprived the patriot of self-possession. "His papers he looked on," says Baillic, "but they could not help him; so he behoved to pass them." For a moment only! Suddenly recovering his dignity and self-command, he told the court that the solicitor-general, St. John, would, on a future day, and "with learning and abilities much better for that service," argue certain points of law before them, and solicited their lordships, for the present, to consider the proceedings closed.

The few eventful weeks of life which still remained to Strafford have already been detailed; but some incidents connected with the plots devised for his rescue, not given before, may now be used in illustration of Pym's character. While the bill of attainder was on its way to the Lords,† Mr. Hyde (Lord Clarendon) was sent up to that house with a message stating that the Commons apprehended a design for the escape of Strafford, and requesting that the Irish army should be disbanded. Five days after this, and two days after the ill-advised interference of the king,‡ a furious mob of upward of 6000 people, variously armed, thronged round Westminster Hall, clamoured for Strafford's blood, and placarded the names of those members of the Commons who, out of a

\* Life of Strafford, p. 137.

† The expression conveyed in Strafford's look may be felt on reading a few of the touching words which graced his eloquent defence: "That I am charged with treason by the honourable Commons is my greatest grief: it pierces my heart, though not with guilt, yet with sorrow, *that in my gray hairs I should be so misunderstood by the companions of my youth, with whom I have formerly spent so much time.*"

‡ On the 28th of April.

§ See Life of Strafford, p. 137.

## BRITISH STATESMEN.

... had voted against the attainder, ... and betrayers of their country. The Lords instantly demanded a confession on the subject, and were refused. The ... were at that moment listening, in the greatest agitation, to Pym, whose sleepless vigilance had discovered a formidable and dangerous conspiracy, and was then denouncing it, in all its details, and with the names of all its actors. He discovered to the House various desperate intrigues and dangerous designs, both at home and abroad (referring to France), against the Parliament and the people; and especially a plot "to disaffect the army to the Parliament," and bring it up from the North, with the king's assent, to overawe their proceedings; also of a design upon the Tower for Lord Strafford's escape, and of an intended descent of the French upon Portsmouth in furtherance of these machinations. He stated farther, that "persons of eminence about the queen" appeared to be deeply implicated; and moved that his majesty be requested to shut the ports, and to give orders that no person attending on himself, the queen, or the prince, should quit the kingdom without license of his majesty, by the advice of Parliament.†

The immediate effects of Pym's speech were very memorable. The Commons, who remained sitting on the occasion with locked doors from seven in the morning till eight at night, drew up a "protestation," at last, on Pym's motion,‡ "to defend the Protestant Church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of Parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people;" which was instantly signed by every member present ("Edward Hyde" is the second name attached to it), subsequently by the members of the House of Lords (the Catholic peers excepted, and who were in consequence absent during Strafford's attainder), and then circulated, in various copies, for universal signature throughout the kingdom. The sensation thus created was felt everywhere,

\* "The question being then put for passing the bill against the earl, it was carried in the affirmative by 204 against 59. Mr. Pym was ordered to carry this bill to the Lords, and to express to them 'that it was a bill that highly concerned the Commonwealth in the expediting of it.'" This was on the 21st of April.—*Old Parl. Hist.*, vol. ix., p. 262, 263.

† Subsequent discoveries have placed us in possession of the exact course and substance of Pym's present disclosures. They are thus shortly summed up in the History from Mackintosh: "Goring, then a colonel in the army, and Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, took the lead in a consultation of officers, held under an oath of secrecy. It originated with Sir John Suckling, who was soon thrown aside from distrust of his personal courage. The Parliament was to be overawed or dissolved; and, in short, the king rendered absolute, by the sudden march of the army to London. They addressed to the king a petition, which he received and approved, and marked with the initials C. R.: it seriously compromised him. This movement was combined with the escape of Strafford. Balfour, lieutenant of the Tower, was offered by the earl £22,000, the marriage of Balfour's son to his eldest daughter, and the king's warrant for his indemnity. He received the king's command, at the same time, to receive Captain Billingsley, one of the conspirators, with 100 picked men, into the Tower. Dreading the vengeance of the House of Commons, he rejected the bribe, and refused obedience to the military order. The king and queen charged Jermyn, already the queen's favourite, to reconcile the rival pretensions of Goring and Percy, but failed to do so; and Goring disclosed the plot to Lord Newark, from whom, through Bedford, Say, and Kimbolton, it reached Pym."

‡ See the speech of Pym, as reported in Clarendon, vol. i., p. 438-441.

and the popular leaders took advantage of it to achieve a still more memorable measure. Pym pointed out the nature of the dangers that had threatened them before this discovery, and asked whether they were safer now. The king had listened to and approved a proposal of appealing from the House of Commons to a military force. Were they now secure from instant dissolution? and, supposing a dissolution at the present crisis, with a term of three years for prerogative measures against the people, were not the public liberties in danger of being lost forever? A bill to secure the existence of the present Parliament, on which depended every thing, was then named, and fervently welcomed by the House. "A rapid impulse," observes Mr. Hallam,\* "rather than any concerted resolution, appears to have dictated a hasty encroachment on the prerogative. The bill against the dissolution of the present Parliament without its own consent was resolved in a committee on the 5th of May,† brought in the next day, and sent to the Lords on the 7th." On the 8th the bill passed. On the same day Strafford's attainder passed also, and both measures were presented to the king.

He at once signed the bill for the continuance of Parliament; and Mr. Hallam suggests that "his ready acquiescence in this bill, far more dangerous than any of those at which he had hitherto demurred, can only be ascribed to his own shame and the queen's consternation at the discovery of the late plot. He implored for some delay, however, before signing Strafford's attainder. Nothing could be more vain. The same discovery had also enmeshed him here; for it was already obvious, into such a state had the public mind been thrown, that had the Commons even consented to a temporary respite, it must have been in defiance of imminent danger to the kingdom. The bill was signed on the 9th of May; and on the 12th, Strafford, "the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms,"‡ suffered on the scaffold.

Such were the instant consequences of Pym's discovery of the army plot; and others, almost equally remarkable, will be noticed hereafter. Lord Clarendon has not failed, therefore, to assail the character of the vigilant patriot on this point; and, treating the real plot as a very trifling affair, charges Pym in his history with having used it only to agitate the public mind, and raise terrifying tumults. Admitting, however, subsequently, that what was really discovered "gave great credit and reputation to Mr. Pym's vigilance and activity," he takes occasion to add, that at this period "Mr. Pym had all tavern and ordinary discourses carried to him;" which only leaves us to regret that the treachery of such men as "Mr. Hyde" should have rendered such vigilance necessary. Notwithstanding all this, nothing is more certain, at least, than that this same "Mr. Hyde" partook of the terrors which Pym excited, since he carried up the first message to the Lords, was foremost in the affair of the "protestation," which so effectually roused the country,

\* *Const. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 155.

† That is, two days after Pym's discovery of the army plot.

‡ Clarendon.

and, with his friend Lord Falkland, managed a sudden conference with the Lords respecting the bill for the continuance of Parliament.\* It was only the "Earl of Clarendon" who, many years after, found it convenient to represent the conspiracy as having been exaggerated for factious purposes; and, notwithstanding the thorough exposure of his falsehoods, carelessness, and disingenuousness by Mr. Brodie and Mr. Hallam,† he has found a very resolute and ingenious follower in the present day, who yet persists in saying that the only solid mischief of the army plot was worked "by the adroit management of Pym, whose vigorous conceptions could create mighty consequences from slight events, and on whose bold designs now revolved the fate of an empire."‡

It is now necessary to go back a little. Some few weeks before the death of Strafford, Pym had been specially chosen by the Commons to justify the impeachment and detention of Laud, on the occasion of their delivering to the Lords the articles that had been prepared against him. The time was well selected, in reference to measures respecting prelacy and the Star Chamber, then instantly depending; and the speech is not only so remarkable in itself, but so little known, that it claims a place in his memoir.§ The articles having been read, Pym opened his task with a very striking effect.

"My lords," he said, "there is an expression in the Scripture which I will not presume either to understand or to interpret; yet, to a vulgar eye, it seems to have an aspect something suitable to the person and cause before you. It is a description of the evil spirits, wherein they are said to be 'spirituall wickednesses in high places.' Crimes acted by the spirituall faculties of the soule, the will, and the understanding, exercised about spirituall matters, concerning God's worship and the salvation of man, seconded with power, authority, learning, and many other advantages, doe make the partie who commits them very suitable to that description—SPIRITUALL WICKEDNESSES IN HIGH PLACES.

"These crimes, my lords, are various in their nature, haynous in their qualitie, and universall in their extent. If you examine them *theologically*, as they stand in opposition to the trueth of God, they will be found to be against the rule of faith, against the power of godliness, against the meanes of salvation. If you examine them *morally*, as they stand in opposition to the light of nature, to right reason, and the principles of humane societie, you will then perceive pride without any moderation; even such a pride as that which 'exalts' itselfe 'above all that is called God.' Malice without any provocation, malice against virtue, against innocency, against pietie! Injustice without any meanes of restitution; even such injustice as doeth robbe the present times of their possessions, the future of their possibilities! If they be examined, my lords, by legall rules, in a *civill* way, as they stand in opposition to the

publike goode, and to the lawes of the land, the accused will be found to be a traytour against his majestie's crowne, an incendiary against the peace of the state, the highest, the boldest, the most impudent oppressour that ever was an oppressour both of king and people.

"This charge, my lords, is distributed and conveyed into fourteene severall articles, as you have hearde; and those articles are onely generall; it being the intention of the House of Commons (which they have commanded me to declare) to make them more certaine and particular by preparatory examinations, to be taken with the helpe of your Lordships' House, as in the case of my Lord of Strafford. For the present I shall runne through them with a light touch, onely marking, in each of them, some speciall points of venome, virulency, and malignitie.

"The first article, my lords, doth containe his indeavour to introduce into this kingdome an arbitrary power of government, without any limitations or rules of law. This, my lords, is against the safetie of the king's person, the honour of his crowne, and most destructive to his people. Those causes which are most perfect have not onely a power to produce effects, but to conserve and cherish them. The seminary vertue, and the nutritive vertue in vegetables, doe produce from the same principles. It was the defect of justice, the restraining of oppression and violence, that first brought government into the world, and set up kings, the most excellent way of government; and by the maintenance of justice, all kindes of government receive a sure foundation and establishment. It is this that hath in it an abilitie to preserve and secure the royall power of kings—yea, to adorn and increase it.

"In the second article your lordships may observe absolute and unlimited power defended by preaching—by sermons and other discourses, printed and published upon that subject; and truly, my lords, it seemes to be a prodigious crime that the trueth of God and his holy law should be perverted to defend the lawlessness of man; that the holy and sacred function of the ministry, which was ordained for instruction of men's soules in the wayes of God, should be so abused that the ministers are become trumpets of sedition, the promoters and defenders of violence and oppression!

"In the third article, my lords, you have the judges, who, under his majestie, are the dispensers and distributors of justice, frequently corrupted by feare and solicitation; you have the course of justice in the execution of it shamefully obstructed; and, if a willful act of injustice in a judge be so high a crime in the estimate of the law as to deserve death, under what burthen of guilt doth this man lye, who hath beene the cause of great numbers of such voluntary and willful acts of injustice?

"In the fourth article hee will be found, in his owne person, to have sold justice in causes depending before him, and by his wicked counsell indeavouring to make his majestie a merchant of the same commoditie; onely with this difference, that the king, by taking money for places of judicature, should sell it in grosse, whereas the archbishop sold it by retails.

"In the fifth article there appeares a power

\* See the Journals. Colepepper, with Falkland, Hyde, and Whitelocke, all "moderate men," were equally warm supporters of this very "unconstitutional" measure.

† Hist. of Brit. Empire, vol. iii., p. 109-114, note. Const. Hist., vol. ii., p. 154, note.

‡ D'Israeli's Commentaries, vol. iv., p. 172.

§ I give the extracts from a small quarto in my possession, printed for Ralph Mabb, 1641.



usurped of making canons, and of laying obligations on the subjects in the nature of lawes; while this power is abused to the making of such canons, as are in the matter of them very pernicious, being directly contrarie to the prerogative of the king and the libertie of the people. In the manner of pressing of them may bee found fraud and shuffling; in the conclusion, violence and constraint, men being forced by terror and threatening to subscribe to all: which power, thus wickedly gotten, has beene laboured to bee established by perjurie, and the injoyning such an oathe for the maintenance of it as can neither bee taken nor kept with a good conscience.

"In the sixth article you have the king robbed of his supremacy; you have a papall power exercised over his majestie's subjects, in their consciences and in their persons; you have ecclesiasticall jurisdiction claimed by an incident right, which the law declares to proceed from the crowne. *And herein your lordships may observe, that those who labour in civill matters to set up the king above the lawes of the kingdome, doe yet, in ecclesiasticall matters, endeavour to set up themselves above the king.* This was first procured by the archbishop to bee extra-judicially declared by the judges, and then to bee published in a proclamation. In doing whereof hee hath made the king's throne but a footstool for his owne and their pride.

"You have, my lords, in the seventh article, religion undermined and subverted; you have poperie cherished and defended; you have all this seconded with power and violence: by severe punishment upon those which have opposed this mischievous intention, and by subtile and eager persecution, hath the power of ecclesiasticall commissioners, of the Star Chamber and councill-table, beene made subservient to the wicked designe.

"My lords, you may observe, in the eighth article, great care taken to get into his owne hande the power of nominating to ecclesiasticall livings and promotions. You have as much mischievous, as much wicked care taken in disposing of these preferments, to the hinderance and corruption of religion; and by this meanes, my lords, it is that the king's sacred majestie, instead of sermons fit for spirituall instructours, hath often given forth invectives against his people, encouragements to injustice, or to the overthrow of the lawes! Such chaplaines have beene brought, indeed, into his owne service, as have as much as may bee laboured to corrupt his owne household, and beene eminent examples of corruption to others; which hath, moreover, so farre prevailed, as that it hath exceedingly tainted the universities, and beene generally disperst through all the chiefe cities, the greatest townes and auditories of the kingdome; the grievous effects whereof are most manifest to the Commons' House, there being divers hundred complaints there depending against scandalous ministers, and yet I believe the hundredth part of them not yet brought in.

"The ninth article sets out the like care to have chaplaines of his owne, that might bee promoters of this wicked and traitorous designe; men of corrupt judgements, of corrupt practice, extremely addicted to superstition;

and to such men's cares hath beene committed the lycensing of bookes to the presse, by meanes whereof many have beene published that are full of falshood—of scandales; such as have beene more worthy to bee burnt by the hande of the hangman in Smithfield (as I thinke one of them was\*) than to bee admitted to come into the handes of the king's people.

"In the tenth article it will appeare how hee, having made these approaches to poperie, comes now to close and joyne more nearly with it. Hee confederates with priests and Jesuits; hee, by his instruments, *negotiates with the pope at Rome*,† and hath correspondence with them that hee authorized from Rome here. *Hee hath permitted a Romane hierarchie to bee set up in this kingdome.* And though hee hath beene so carefull that a poore man could not goe to the neighbour parish to heare a sermon when hee had none at home, could not have a sermon repeated nor prayer used in his owne family but hee was a fit subject for the High Commission court; yet the other hath beene done in all partes of the realme, and no notice taken of it by any ecclesiasticall judges or courts.

"My lords, you may perceive preaching suppressed in the eleventh article; divers godly and orthodox ministers oppressed in their persons and estates. You have the king's loyall subjects banished out of the kingdome, not as *Elimeleck*, to seeke for bread in forraigne countries by reason of the great scarcitie which was in Israel, but travelling abroad for the bread of life because they could not have it at home, by reason of the spirituall famine of God's word caused by this man and his partakers; and, by this meanes, you have had the trade, the manufactory, the industry of many thousands of his majestie's subjects carried out of the land. It is a miserable abuse of the spirituall keyes to shut up the doors of heaven and to open the gates of hell; to let in prophaneness, ignorance, superstition, and error. I shall need say no more. These things are evident, and abundantly knowne to all.

"In the twelfth article, my lords, you have a division indeavoured betweene this and the forraigne reformed churches. Now the Church of Christ is one body, and the members of Christ have a mutuall relation as members of the same body. *Unity with God's true Church everywhere is not only the beautie, but the strength of religion*; of which beautie and strength hee hath sought to deprive this church, by his manifold attempts to break this union. To which purpose hee hath suppressed the priviledges granted to the Dutch and French churches; hee hath denied them to bee of the same faith and religion with us; and many other wayes hath hee declared his malice to those churches.

"In the thirteenth article, as hee hath sought to make an ecclesiasticall division, or religious difference betweene us and forraigne nations, so hee hath sought to make a civill difference

\* An allusion to one of Mainwaring's books.

† The celebrated offer from the court in Italy to make Laud a cardinal, and his doubts, hesitation, and final refusal—"because somewhat dwelt within him which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it was"—were all recorded in Laud's diary by his own hand, and are well known. Rome still cherished, in those days, the project of restoring its communion in England.

betweene us and his majestie's subjects of the kingdome of Scotland. And this hee hath promoted by many innovations, there prest by himselfe and his owne authoritie. When they were incapable of such alterations, hee advised his majestie to use violence. Hee hath made private and publike collections towards the maintenance of that warre, which hee might justly call his owne warre; and with an impudent boldnesse, hee hath struck tallies in the exchequer for divers summes of money procured by himselfe, *pro defensione regni*; when, by his counsellors, the king was drawne to undertake, not a defensive, but an offensive warre.

"Hee hath lastly, my lords, thought to secure himselfe and his partie by seeking to undermine Parliaments, and thereby hath laboured to bereave this kingdome of the legislative power, which can onely bee used in Parliaments. We should then have beene left a kingdome without that which, indeed, makes and constitutes a kingdome, and is the onely meane to preserve and restore it from distempers and decays. Hee hath hereby endeavoured to bereave us of the highest judicatory; such a judicatory as is necessarie and essentiall to our government. Some cases cannot bee tried in any inferiour court, as divers cases of treason, and others concerning the prerogative of the crowne and libertie of the people. It is the supream judicatory to which all difficult cases resort from other courts. Thus hee hath sought to deprive the king of the love and counsell of his people, of that assistance which hee might have from them, and likewise to deprive the people of that reliefe of grievances which they most humbly expect from his majestie.

"My lords, the Parliament is the cabinet wherein the chiefest jewels both of the crowne and kingdome are deposited. The great prerogative of the king and the libertie of the people are most effectually exercised and maintained by Parliaments. Here, my lords, you cannot passe by this occasion of great thanks to God and his majestie for passing the bill whereby the frequent course of Parliaments is established; which, I assure myselfe, hee will by experience finde to bee a strong foundation both of his honour and his crowne.

"This is all, my lords, I have to say to the particulars of the charge. The Commons desire your lordships that they may have the same way of examination that they had in the case of the Earle of Strafford; that is, to examine members of all kindes of your Lordships' House and their owne, and others, as they shall see cause; and those examinations to bee kept secret and private, that they may with more advantage bee made use of when the matter comes to tryall."

Nothing is more striking in this speech than the utter absence of any thing like sectarian intolerance; and nothing, it will be admitted, after reading this and other evidences of opinion to be adduced hereafter, has been so much misunderstood as the nature and influence of religion on the mind of this great speaker and statesman. It will have been observed throughout the speech just given, that he restricts himself with singular closeness to the political influence of Laud's administration; that he chooses the plainest and most obvious illustrations of

its despotic tendency; and that he employs no language, strong as the temptation would have been to a man of bigoted persuasions, beyond what is simply necessary to carry his positions distinctly home. The leading sentiment through the whole is that of a vigorous and practical statesman. In the exposing Laud's design to set up a "Roman hierarchie"—in the showing the false claim to "ecclesiasticall jurisdiction," grounded on "an incident right" which "*the law declares* to proceed from the crowne"—in the stripping bare the pretensions of "those who labour in civill matters to set up the king above the lawes of the kingdome, and yet in ecclesiasticall matters doe indeavour to set up themselves above the king"—we see nothing that is not worthy of the highest order of political capacity, and, indeed, nothing that has not directly proceeded from it. It is to be supposed, in charity, that all the elaborate accounts in the family histories of the bigotry and intolerance of Pym, and that all the accusations against him of "mysterious jargon" in the religious matters of government, are not the offspring of deliberate falsehood. I have found it difficult even to find many of Pym's speeches, and others may have found it equally difficult, or, at least, inconvenient, to read them.

Now, however, once for all, before I proceed to resume the active course of Pym's life, after the death of Strafford, let me interpose some few remarks concerning this "mysterious jargon" which we have heard so much of, from so many various quarters, in reference to the speeches of Pym and the popular leaders of the day. Its utter inapplicability, practically speaking, has been proved already by these pages; but there is a certain question involved in the very circumstance of the charge having been made at all, which bears a relation to the subject of this memoir too important to be passed over in silence.

"Mysterious jargon," being translated, means nothing more than a frequent recurrence of the phraseology of Scripture; and to this, in a certain kind and degree, Pym may very proudly plead guilty. Something beyond this, however, is to be said; not in vindication of the practice, for it needs none, but in explanation of the influences it sprang from, and of the cause of its so potent and universal action at this period in the atmosphere of life and thought. This is never sufficiently kept in view. Every one can think himself privileged to laugh at the too exclusive search after parallelism in the deeds of the Hebrew worthies indulged by the people generally in Pym's days; but very few have thought it worth while to go sufficiently back to understand the original idea, or movement of the mind, of which these are the vestiges only. The mighty sound is gone: by the mere echo, thunder itself seems no perilous matter.

Revert, however, to the very beginning. It is not my province or intention here to explain or reason on, but simply to state the fact, that the fountain of influence—of the great influence in this world—has been the Bible; that book whose first words\* announce what philosophers have at length agreed to be the one

\* IN THE BEGINNING, GOD CREATED THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH.

## BRITISH STATESMEN.

... seems a fit object of pursuit, and to employ life in the service of the human mind is the history of a type of a man, the type of a man who, in the institutions it reared, has found its province to disengage itself from that whenever the general mind has grown too large for the narrowness of its tyrannies of habit and custom, and has gone instinctively back to those conditions which give it strength, and to take a new direction, as the enfeebled mind of the present civilization might compare its present time with Plato's original type of man, to ascertain his precise situation. Afterward Christ came to "fulfil the law;" in other words, to give this type anew in all its freshness. Then the Crusades followed; the Reformation; the emancipation of mind, and modern freedom of thought—all of which are to be held, in an inquiry of this kind, as recurrences to the one grand type. The graceful arts, meanwhile, constituted as they are to benefit man, must of course rise or fall with his dignity, and hence a simultaneous influence on these arts has been the effect of these recurrences. This is not the place to pursue the inquiry in detail; but let the scholar, at his leisure, glance at the progress from Dante through all the changes till Milton—from Giotto and Ghiberti to Michael Angelo, and down again to Poussin—or advance from the most timid Christianity of Palestrina and Pergolesi to the pure and magnificent Hebraism of Handel.

Keeping all this in view, the nature of the epoch we are considering, and the position of the men, will explain the rest. An attempt appeared to be in progress to check the impulses of the Reformation, when terrible energies sprang from the rebound, and embodied themselves in the Eliots, the Pym, the Hampdens, and the Vanes; and new passions and emotions were scattered abroad among the people, under the forms of the great original type of power and expression, to check the threatened retreat into bigoted faith and slavish obedience. It is not difficult to follow up the result. Imagine the great public mind overlaid and opposed by a dissolute and artificial court, consecrated and made plausible in its pretences by a literature growing out of, and adapted to, the most servile court in the world (that of Augustus): see all thoughts expressing themselves in that literature—testing themselves, their worth, their approvedness by it only, and running only in such a channel—and then imagine that mind recurring, in unison with the laws I have mentioned, to the old type—bursting forth into the primeval liberty—plunging itself suddenly back among the rich treasures of thought and feeling disclosed in the translation of the Bible—the ancient manners revealed! the lessons of the inspired teachers taught again! the days when all were equal contrasted, to the people, with their own! or when, in the midst of the petty kings of Moab and Edom, the free people of Israel, without a king, lived majestically! Imagine all this, and nothing will be wanting to explain the source of the wildest fancies of the time, or the origin of the form which many of the thoughts of the greatest writers and or-

ators assumed. There will be an opportunity of pursuing this into all its relations when treating of the life and works of Vane. Meanwhile Pym restrained the tendency, while he guided it no less, up to the hour of his death. In himself, in Eliot, and in Hampden, we see the grand development of one of those recurrences to the first idea or type—the beginning of that movement of mind, of that stride in the progress of man, which had its subsequent consummation in the intellect of Vane. Pym was Vane's first friend—he was his teacher, so to speak: he introduced him into public life.\*

Every accession, if the term may be used, of originality of thought, brings with it necessarily an accession of a certain originality of style. The one is progressive as the other, with obvious limits and restrictions. The thoughts of Pym's days, assimilating themselves in the grandness of a common object to the first and intensest ideas of the world, clung also round the simple and sublime language of the earliest ages, and indeed sought and struggled not to be disconnected from the very words last used when God was before his people in the cloud and the flame. But, apart from this natural consequence, where can be found such an oratorical text-book as the Bible? Not, assuredly, in Greece or Rome! Pym availed himself of it with a most admirable taste, no less than the profoundest political purpose. Nothing, indeed, throughout this great man's life, is more observable than that in which it has been most grossly misunderstood—his invariable treatment of religion as an element of political government. Let it always be recollected that, to him, a true political government was religion. His was that great capacity in which bad government and good faith, or good government and bigoted faith, could not coexist. To be free in thought and in act—to secure responsibility in government, and security in the public liberties, was, with him, to set up the true religion in its purity. It was with Pym the practice first began, in these days, of prosecuting the public measures on the Sabbath itself in certain crises;† and no doubt with a view to its profound result on the minds of the people, that, in thus using the very day they were most urgent to free from the desecration of the court, they made, as it were, their business Heaven's own, and, "standing in the great hand of God," had become once again his ministers.

All this it was which produced Milton also; whose life and works are a deliberate looking forth into the world and into paradise, and a final choice of the latter. His thoughts ever aspired upward and upward to the Hebrew theocracy, beyond "insolent Greece and haughty Rome," and "all that they have left us." In his *Paradise Regained*, indeed, he has chosen to condense the whole argument in one glorious and triumphant passage. After bringing forward—irresistibly, to all antagonists but one, and that one himself—the position that

"All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law,  
The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote:  
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach  
To admiration, led by Nature's light,  
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse"—

\* *Stafford Papers*, vol. ii.

† He did this on the occasion of the discovery of Waller's plot, as will be seen shortly.

after going to the very heart of the argument, and fortifying it by a eulogium on Athens which makes even the greatest work of Sophocles, written professedly to flatter Colonos, his native *dnapoc*, wholly tame in the comparison, he calmly and forever sets the question at rest in that magnificent reply of the Saviour, the conclusion of which is indeed the true "device" of the Pym and Vane.

"Their orators then extoll't, as those  
The top of eloquence; statists indeed,  
And lovers of their country, as may seem;  
But heroin to our PARLIAMENTS far beneath,  
As men divinely taught, and better teaching  
The solid rules of civil government,  
In their majestic, unaffected style,  
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.  
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,  
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so!"

After the death of Strafford, public affairs advanced to a crisis rapidly. The gradual disclosures made under Pym's committee, appointed to investigate the recent and still continuing conspiracies against the Parliament and people, served to keep the public mind excited and vigilant; special measures were taken for the security of Portsmouth; the queen's confessor and other Roman Catholic attendants were dismissed; and her mother, Mary de Medici, who had sought shelter in England from the power of Richelieu, was requested ("the rather, for the quieting of the jealousies in the hearts of his majesty's well-affected subjects, occasioned by some ill instruments about the queen's person") to leave the kingdom. Upon this, Henrietta herself expressed a wish and an intention to leave England, her health requiring her, she said, to take the waters of Spa. That this was not her real purpose, however, was more than suspected by the popular leaders; and Pym conducted certain negotiations on the subject which ended in her majesty's declining the journey. It was supposed, and subsequently rendered almost certain, that Henrietta's motive was to have sought foreign aid against the Parliament.\*

Bills had passed, meanwhile, for the abolition of the Court of Star Chamber, the High Commission, the Court of York, the Court of the Welsh Marches, and other horrible engines of the administration of Strafford and Laud; and a subsidy bill was sent with them to the king to receive the royal assent. The subsidy bill received it at once, while no notice was taken of the others. Charles still madly clung to his

\* See Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 349, 350; and Parliamentary History. The message of the Commons after her majesty's compliance with their request, and her answer, are characteristic: "That because we understand, by Sir Theodore Mayerne, that the chief cause of her majesty's sickness and distempers proceed from some discontent of her mind, the House of Commons have thought good to declare, 'that if any thing within the power of Parliament may give her majesty contentment, they are so tender of her health, both in due respect to his most excellent majesty and herself, that they will be ready to further her satisfaction in all things, so far as may stand with that public duty to which they are obliged.'" Answer: "I give many thanks to both houses of Parliament for their great care of my health, and their affection to me, hoping I shall see the effect of it. Truly nothing but my health could have made me so resolve of this journey; and if I thought I could serve the king and this kingdom with the hazard of my life, I would do it. And I hope you will believe that I have so much interest in the good of this kingdom, that I shall never wish any thing to the prejudice of it. You will pardon the imperfectness of my English. I had rather spoken in any other language, but I thought this would be most acceptable."

old ecclesiastical government, and could not, without heavy pangs, surrender the terrors of the Star Chamber. But it fared with this as with every thing else. While murmurs were not distantly heard throughout the city, and while the Commons were in hard and secret debate with closed doors, the monarch, suddenly alarmed, hurried down to the House of Lords, and summoning the Commons, and rebuking them for their distrust, gave his assent to both the bills. It was the sad misfortune of this prince to banish every semblance of grace from his concessions. In each and all he never failed to leave a drop of bitterness that was enough to poison the whole. His conduct on the present occasion, betraying what his hope and his will still was, had the effect of driving in the current against Church government and the prelacy more strongly and violently than ever. The "root and branch" petition was revived in the House of Commons.

The rise and present influence of the Republican party in that house will be described in the life of Vane. It is only necessary to treat of these religious questions, in which they now especially busied themselves, in so far as they strikingly illustrate the political course of Pym, which was, in reality, as decided here as it was in every other dispute where good government lay on one side and tyranny on the other. It might serve Clarendon's purpose to secure the authority of Pym in favour of his darling Episcopacy; but why have modern writers, without his cause to sustain, adopted his errors and misrepresentations!

A vote passed to the effect that the bishops should not sit in Parliament, and the grounds of the vote were communicated in a conference to the Lords. Their lordships at once resolved the contrary of this vote; not in much love for the bishops, but with no little alarm for themselves. The Commons, on this, lost no time in changing their resolution to a bill, which disabled the bishops and clergy from temporal functions. On the third reading in the upper House,† the bishops' votes were restored, and the Commons, after two conferences, refused to receive the "amended" bill. A memorable result followed. A bolder measure was projected; and a bill for the utter abolishing and taking away of archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and their officers, out of the Church of England, was drawn up by Saint John, and at once introduced. It was read twice on the day of its introduction,‡ and went into committee on the 11th of June, fifteen days after.

Now mark what Clarendon says on this subject. After observing that on its first intro-

\* Lord Nugent says, in his Memorials of Hampden, that "Pym was but a faint supporter of the bill to restrain the bishops from voting; and that, on the further measures for abolishing Episcopacy, he was openly opposed to Hampden, Vane, Fiennes," &c. This, as will be shown presently, is an utterly groundless assertion, in so far as the existence of Episcopacy was ever brought in question. My former reference to this subject (p. 165) was in relation to the opinions held by Pym on the ecclesiastical constitution of England as a human institution.

† On this, as on every other matter connected with this bill, Clarendon is guilty of the most wilful, or the most grossly inaccurate error. He says on this that "the Lords could not be prevailed with so much as to commit the bill, but at the second reading utterly cast it out."

‡ See Journals of May, 1641, and an admirable remark in Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. i., p. 61.

duction "the rejecting it was earnestly urged by very many," and repeating some of the remarks to this effect, the "historian" thus proceeds: "The bill was at last read, and no question being to be put upon the first reading, it was laid by, and not called upon in a long time after.\* When everybody expected that nothing should be mentioned in the House but the dispatch of the treaty of the pacification, they called in a morning 'for the bill' (that had so long before been brought in by Sir Edward Dering†) 'for the extirpation of Episcopacy,' and gave it a second reading; and resolved 'that it should be committed to a committee of the House, and that it should be proceeded upon the next morning.' It was a very long debate the next morning, after the speaker had left the chair, who should be in the chair for the committee; they who wished well to the bill having resolved 'to put Mr. Hyde into the chair, that he might not give them trouble by frequent speaking, and so too much obstruct the expediting the bill.' In conclusion, Mr. Hyde was commanded to the chair; they who were enemies to the bill being divided in opinion, many believing that he would obstruct the bill more in that place than if he remained at liberty, and they found it to be true. . . . The chairman perplexed them very much;‡ for besides that at the end of his report every day to the House, before the House put the question for the concurrence in the votes, he always enlarged himself against every one of them, and so spent them much time; when they were in the heat and passion of the debate, he often enquired them in a question;§ so that when he reported to the House the work of the day, he did frequently report two or three votes directly contrary to each other. . . . After near twenty days spent in that manner, they found themselves very little advanced towards a conclusion, and that they must review all that they had done; and the king being resolved to begin his journey for Scotland, they were forced to discontinue their beloved bill, and let it rest."||

Such and so despicable is the self-sketched character of the loyal and religious Clarendon! Setting aside his plain falsehoods in these memorable extracts, what mean and pitiful pettifogger of the law would not feel shame to be set down as a party to the tricks which are here unblushingly, and, indeed, with a self-satisfied chuckle, described! And what is the worth of the testimony of such a writer on any disputed matter! not to speak of the present, wherein he lent himself to such despicable meanness.

Another extract, from Clarendon's own life,

\* Vol. i., p. 418.

† The only just remark I can find in Clarendon about the whole of this matter relates to this weak and silly gentleman, to whose hands the bill was injudiciously committed, and who will be heard of soon in a very different character. Clarendon observes that the popular party "prevailed with Sir Edward Dering, a man very opposite to all their designs (but a man of levity and vanity, easily flattered by being commended), to present it to the House; which he did from the gallery, with the two verses in Ovid, the application whereof was his greatest motive:

"Cuncta prius tentanda, sed immedicabile vulnus  
Ense recidendum est, ne pars vincera trahatur."

—Vol. i., p. 418.

‡ These words are introduced for the first time in the recent Oxford edition.

§ These also are restored for the first time.

|| Vol. i., p. 484.

completes the picture he has left of himself at this period. "When Mr. Hyde sat in the chair, in the grand committee of the House for the extirpation of Episcopacy, all that party made great court to him, and the House keeping those disorderly hours, and seldom rising till after four of the clock in the afternoon, they frequently importuned him to dine with them at Mr. Pym's lodgings, which was at Sir Richard Manly's house, in a little court behind Westminster Hall, where he and Mr. Hampden, Sir A. Hazlerig, and two or three more, upon a stock kept a table, where they transacted much business, and invited thither those of whose conversion they had any hope." Except in the lively illustration it affords of the party system of the time, this statement is quite as little worth credit as the others, and, indeed, carries internal evidence of misrepresentation. The same writer, in his history, could say that Pym took no interest in the progress of the anti-Episcopacy measure! The truth was, that if he was interested in any thing more than that at this particular time, it was in the evident trimming and shuffling of "Mr. Hyde" himself.

Meanwhile, before turning to consider the latter, let me exhibit the feelings of Pym respecting these questions in an unequivocal shape. When, for various reasons, this Church bill was temporarily suspended, Pym was the author of a very resolute and decisive measure. Some months before, in the midst of all the threatening aspects of the time, the bishops had exhibited their gross love of tyranny, and their still grosser folly, in enacting a series of canons in convocation, which imposed oaths, introduced innovations, and set aside the laws of the land. Pym now pointed out the propriety of impeaching the thirteen prelates who had been most active in framing the canons. I will extract the result of this motion from its place in the journals.

"Mr. Pym declared from the House of Commons that there is nothing of greater importance to the safety and good of the kingdom, than that this high court of Parliament, which is the fountain of justice and government, should be kept pure and uncorrupted, free from partiality and bye respects. This will not only add lustre and reputation, but strength and authority, to all our actions. Herein, he said, your lordships are specially interested, as yet are a third estate by inheritance and birth-right; so the Commons are publicly interested by representation of the whole body of the commons of this kingdom, whose lives, fortunes, and liberties are deposited under the custody and trust of the Parliament.

"He said, the Commons have commanded him and his colleague, Mr. Solicitor General, to present to your lordships two propositions, which they thought very necessary to be observed and put in execution at this time. First, that the thirteen bishops, which stand accused before your lordships for making the late pretended canons and constitutions, may be excluded from their votes in Parliament. Secondly, that all the bishops may be suspended from their votes upon that bill, entitled, An Act to disable all Persons in Holy Orders to exercise any Jurisdiction or Authority Temporal.

"The first of these was committed to his charge, and he said he would support it with three reasons: First. That the thirteen bishops have broken that trust to which every member of Parliament is obliged; which trust is to maintain, 1. The prerogative of the king. 2. The privilege of Parliaments. 3. The property of the subject. 4. The peace of the kingdom. These were the jewels, he said, that are deposited under the trust of Parliament; and this trust these prelates had broken, not by one transient act, but by setting up canons in nature of laws to bind the kingdom forever.

"That the canons are of this nature, appeared by the votes of both Houses; and that they were all parties to the making thereof, appeared by the acts of that synod. The book itself the Commons cannot tender to your lordships, because they sent for it, but he that hath the book in custody was out of town; but a member of their own House, upon view of it, is ready to depose that their names were entered among those that did subscribe to it.

"Wherefore the House of Commons desire your lordships, in the first place, to consider whether they that take to themselves a legislative power, destructive to Parliaments, be fit to exercise that power of making laws which only belongs to the Parliament.

"Secondly. Whether it be safe for the Commonwealth that they should be trusted with making laws, who, as much as in them lay, have endeavoured to deprive the subject of those good laws which are already made.

"A third reason is this, That they stand accused of crimes very heinous; that is, of sedition, and of subversion of the laws of the kingdom. This will easily appear in the nature of the canons themselves, as also by the votes to which your lordships and the Commons have already agreed. Standing so accused, is it fit that they should have the exercise of so great a thing as the continuing of their votes and places in Parliament?"

And, though it occurred some few months after this time, I will here present also Pym's speech at a conference with the Lords, on delivering a charge against Lord Digby (recently raised to their Lordships' House), since it has immediate relation to the same question, is sufficiently explanatory of itself, and is a still more distinct and forcible expression than any which has yet been given of the grounds of Pym's opposition to the temporal power and authority of bishops:

"My lords, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons, now assembled in Parliament, have commanded me to present to your lordships this information, which they have received against the Right Honourable George, lord Digby, of such dangerous consequence, that, if not prevented, evil and troublesome events may ensue, to the great hazarding the peace of this kingdom, and the great hinderance of the happy proceedings of this Parliament.

"My lords, I humbly crave your patience to declare to your lordships what I am commanded concerning the said information, which is, that he, the said Lord Digby, should give forth report, upon reading the late petition and protestation of the twelve bishops, 'that the pres-

ent Parliament was a forced one; and that the acts, votes, and laws that should be enacted therein, without the votes and assents of the bishops, are void and of none effect, and not binding to the subject.'

"My lords, this report is of great danger to the state, if proved against the said lord, in these three respects, as I, under your lordships' favour, conceive. First, it is a great breach of the rights and privileges of Parliament; secondly, it intrencheth much on the prerogative of the king, and abridges his royal power; thirdly, it is the first step to bring into this state an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government.

"My lords, it is a breach of the privileges of Parliament for these reasons: It is against the votes of Parliamentary proceedings, which ought to be reserved and unquestionable during the free sitting thereof. It is against the late act of Parliament, in that case made and provided, for not adjourning or abrupt breaking up of the same. *This act, my lords, was freely voted by both Houses; freely and willingly passed by his majesty, without any force or compulsory means used by any, or private working of any of the members of either House to induce his majesty to do the same;* nay, the act was voted as well by the said lord as the rest of this honourable House. This report, therefore, of his must needs be against his knowledge and former free consent in passing that act. Besides, my lords, one privilege of Parliament, and that one of the greatest, is to accuse and freely proceed to the punishment of delinquents that have caused the troubles in this state, both in Church and Commonwealth. Lord Digby's report is against this privilege, since it opposeth altogether our proceedings against the bishops, accused as the greatest delinquents both in Church and State. For, my lords, if the Parliament is forced in the absence of the bishops, how may then the Parliament proceed lawfully against them? If the bishops sit and have their votes, although delinquents, in Parliament, how can we proceed, I beseech you, against their votes? Then, my lords, to redress the grievances of the Commonwealth is a privilege of Parliament. This report is against this privilege. Now, I pray you, my lords, can our grievances be redressed, when the oppressions, injustice, and vexatious troubling of his majesty's loyal subjects by the bishops may not be called in question, nor the misdoers therein prosecuted and punished for the same? Lastly, my lords, under this head, the report is against divers acts of Parliament of this kingdom that have been made without the voice of bishops in Parliament, as is on record in the Parliamentary rolls. And thus, under favour, I have shown you how this report is against the privileges of Parliament.

"Next, my lords, this report intrencheth on the royal power and prerogative of the king, and that in two respects: It intrencheth on his royal prerogative in making and enacting laws by Parliament, it resting only in his power to pass or refuse the votes of Parliament. My lords, the king of this realm has the greatest prerogative (to require the counsel and assistance of the whole State, upon any occasion whatsoever, when it pleaseth him) of any prince

in the world, except the King of France ; and, under favour, my lords, I conceive a Parliament cannot be termed forced when it is freely called and willingly continued by the king. I conceive, my lords, a forced Parliament is when, against the free consent of a king and his lords, and without lawful calling by writ, men assemble themselves, and by force of arms sit in council and enact laws not tending to the welfare of the kingdom. The Parliament holden in the fourteenth year of the reign of Edward II. was a forced Parliament ; the barons coming thither with horse and arms, and compelling the king to pass what they thought proper to have enacted. Moreover, my lords, this report intrencheth on the royal power of the king in making of laws ; for, as before I have touched, Parliaments have, without bishops, made and enacted laws. By this supposition, my lords, that laws made without bishops are void, bishops, be they never so vile and disaffected to the tranquillity and security of the state, yet must have votes in rectifying and setting in order such things as are amiss in the same—amiss as well by their own procuring as others—a ‘rectifying’ not then likely to take any good effect. Nay, my lords, it is too apparent *they have been the greatest opposers of our proceedings in this Parliament, and the chiefest cause why no more is done.*

“Thirdly and lastly, my lords, this report is the first step to bring in an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government ; and that, under favour, for these reasons : Free Parliaments are the securest and safest government that ever could be found for this nation, and that in respect of the power and wisdom thereof. It is upholden, defended, and preserved by the whole body of the kingdom ; therefore powerful : the members thereof are men elected, one out of ten thousand, by the whole state ; therefore esteemed wise. Then to oppose the proceedings thereof, to deny the government thereof, is to change the same ; and, if changed to another form (none being so secure, so powerful, and so wise), it must needs be arbitrary, and so tyrannical. Also, my lords, if no laws can be binding to the subject but such as are voted and assented to by the bishops, *then none can be expected but such as are destructive to the state, their affections being altogether averted from free Parliamentary proceedings, and their designs only agitated for the opposing the government thereof ;* and we cannot but daily fear the utter confusion of the same thereby.

“Now, my lords, having, to my weak ability, fulfilled the command of the House of Commons in speaking something on this information, I am to desire your lordships, in their name, that the said George, lord Digby, may answer the said information, or otherwise he proceeded against as the Parliament shall think fit.”

I have remarked that Pym had already seen reason to suspect the secession of “Mr. Hyde” from the popular cause. That celebrated person could never have seemed very secure to the sagacious mind of the leader of the party, and he had given forth no unequivocal signs of his feeling and desires on the already noticed disagreement between the two Houses on the bill to restrain bishops’ votes. Beside him, also, were a party of weak, though probably

well-intentioned men, whom his influence controlled. The danger to the cause would obviously be great, if at this moment, and before the bulwarks so recently obtained for the preservation of the public liberties had been firmly placed, such a desertion as Hyde could effect from the ranks of the popular members should be suddenly exhibited to the people. Nothing had been more apparent throughout all the concessions wrested from Charles than that they had only been yielded, subject to a good occasion for reclaiming them. Strafford could not be raised from the dead, and therefore, only, the concession in his case had been harder than in the rest. With a certain semblance of a popular ministry, backed by all the arts of Hyde, and the pretences of half-popular measures, the king had yet the power to strike a heavy blow for the old prerogative. Moreover, the House of Lords were not to be relied on ; and there was too much reason to fear, in various quarters of the country, some still undiscovered sections of the army plot. Charles himself was evidently recovering confidence, while, to save the bishops, the universities were moving heaven and earth.\* The course which was, under such circumstances, proposed by Pym, with a view to avert these dangers, has no parallel for vigour and capacity, no less than a most decisive boldness, even in the records of his life.

Charles had warning of it before he departed for Scotland. Doctor Hacket tells us, in his life of Archbishop Williams, that “the bishop, coming to the king, besought his majesty, that for his sake he would put off his Scotch journey to another season. ‘Sir,’ says he, ‘I would it were not true that I shall tell you : some of the Commons are preparing a declaration to make the actions of your government odious. If you gallop to Scotland, they will post as fast, to draw up this biting remonstrance. Stir not till you have mitigated the grand contrivers with some preferments.’ ‘But is this credible ?’ says the king. ‘Judge you of that, sir,’ says the bishop, ‘when a servant of Pym’s (*in whose master’s house all this is moulded*) came to me, to know of me in what terms I was contented to leave mine own case in the Star Chamber exhibited among other irregularities ! and I had much ado to keep my name, and what concerns me, out of these quotations ; but I contrived that of the fellow, and a promise to do me more service, to know all they have in contrivance, with a few sweetbreads that I gave him out of my purse.’ Yet nothing was heeded.”†

Charles’s purpose in this journey was narrowly and jealously watched by the patriots. Many and various reasons had been publicly assigned for it, but the real intention—the double attempts at negotiation with the disbanded officers on the borders, with the Covenanters, and with those who had supplied to Lord Strafford the forged letter by which Savile strove to implicate Pym and Hampden in treasonous purposes—all this was kept carefully in the back ground. One course remained under these circumstances, and was at once adopted. Commissioners were deputed nomi-

\* May’s History of the Parliament.

† Hacket’s Scrinia Roseana, part ii., p. 162.

nally to treat with the Scots concerning the satisfaction of the treaty, but really to thwart and check the king's negotiation with the Covenanters, and to report upon them to the Parliament. Charles went to Scotland, and, at the same time, a committee, openly appointed by the votes of both Houses—and consisting of Lords Bedford and Howard of Escricke, of Hampden, Fiennes, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Armyne—openly followed him. Soon after his departure, the two Houses, having respectively appointed committees to sit and act during the recess, and intrusted them with extraordinary powers,\* adjourned over from the 9th of September to the 20th of October. Pym was appointed chairman of the committee of the House of Commons.

His fame and influence at this period were unbounded. "I think Mr. Pym was at this time," says Lord Clarendon, "the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time." His name was in the mouths of all, whether the residents of palaces or of the "huts where poor men lie." Every nook and corner of the kingdom was pervaded with his influence and renown, and the fiercest hate or the most unbounded love were equally his great reward.

It is difficult to ascertain, except on the doubtful authority of his enemies, what his private habits were at this time. It is certain, however, that they were not of the rigid or puritanic sort, any more than his opinions were those of the Puritans. The quaint Dr. Hacket describes him, in his peculiar style, as "*homo ex argilla, et luto factus epicuræo*," as Tully said of Piso—that is, in Christian English, a painted sepulchre, a belly-god;† and the Royalist songs, while they charge him in still plainer terms with having been warmly devoted to Bacchus and Ceres, have left us to conclude that in other matters his habits were by no means constrained.‡ It is not my duty here to enlarge on a point of this kind, which I have already, perhaps, sufficiently adverted to,§ nor would a mention of such statements, drawn as they are from the political lampoons of the time, have been worth giving at all, were it not that graver authorities have seemed to bear them out. With such authority, even fugitive ballads, poignant with the bitterness of the hour so long passed away, are not among the despicable materials of history; and to me, as illustrations of the fugitive aspects of character, catching, as they recede forever, the glancing points of personal manners, they have seemed most valuable. What remains to be said rests on the authority of Sir Philip Warwick, a "grave writer," though a Royalist, as even Mr. Godwin admits, and certainly a very honourable man.

The famous Lucy Percy, the countess of Carlisle, now a beautiful dowager of about forty, had been for some years "entirely devoted" to Strafford, when, upon the death of her favourite, she suddenly transferred her affections to Pym; and from this time, it is certain—the countess still preserving appearances at court

—the interior of Whitehall was always better known to the patriot than that of the House of Commons to the king.

The character of such a woman needs some explanation. Warburton calls her the "Erynnis" of her time, but without just authority. Her passions were certainly not extreme. The reader who is startled at the apparent contradictions of her life has not read rightly Sir Toby Mathew's description of her character.\* "She is of too high a mind and dignity not only to seek, but almost to wish, the friendship of any creature; they whom she is pleased to choose are such as are of the most eminent condition both for power and employments, not with any design towards her own particular either of advantage or curiosity, but her nature values fortunate persons. . . . She prefers the conversation of men to that of women; not but she can talk on the fashions with her female friends, but she is too soon sensible that she can set them as she wills—that pre-eminence shortens all equality. She converses with those who are most distinguished for their conversational powers. . . . Of love freely will she discourse; listen to all its faults, and mark all its power. . . . She cannot herself love in earnest, but she will play with love . . . and will take a deep interest for persons of condition and celebrity."

What wonder, then, if, on the fall of Strafford, and the sudden and most brilliant rise of Pym's fame, we find the grave Sir Philip Warwick playing the part of the scandalous chronicler, and announcing that "Master Pym" had succeeded to the situation of the Earl of Strafford in the affections of my Lady Carlisle!† How much of politics there may have been in Pym's love, or how much love in his politics, the reader must determine. As the fact has been stated, it is presented to him with a commentary from Sir Toby Mathew, which seems to render it by no means improbable, on the part of the lady, at least. The wonder remains of how "Master Pym" could find leisure, in the midst of his wonderful and unwearied public labours, for such affairs of practical gallantry as this, and others charged upon him. For the imputation of Hacket, it may remain as he has made it. "Voluptuous and wise withal" the great patriot may have been; and, undoubtedly, the portly and well-dressed person represented in the various engravings circulated at this period‡ as the "true effigies of the Burgess for Tavistocke;" the open and intelligent face, so resolute and yet so quiet; the long hair flung negligently back from the lofty and deep-thoughted forehead; the full mustaches upon the upper lip, and the neat arrangement of the peaked beard and dress below, present altogether such a picture as may be willingly received of Pym—neither inconsistent with the extraordinary intellect which every one conceded to him, nor bidding absolute defiance to the Royalist slanders.

Of Pym's movements during this short recess of Parliament, and generally before the king's return from Scotland, I have been fortunate in

\* See the instructions, Old Parl. Hist., vol. ix., p. 537.

† *Scrinia Reservata*, part ii., p. 150, 151.

‡ See some extracts from a curious satire of the time, in Appendix B.

§ *Life of Strafford*, p. 89.

\* See Mathew's Letters, or the notes to Fenton's edition of Waller.

† See Sir P. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 204.

‡ Several may be seen in the collection at the British Museum: that by Edward Bower is the best, and I allude to it in the text.



obtaining somewhat curious intelligence (not noticed sufficiently by the histories) in the correspondence of Evelyn. Sir Edward Nicholas, who succeeded Windebanke in the office of secretary of state, had it left to him in charge by the king, before his departure, to furnish diligent information of what was going on in London; and the letters in which this was done, noted and answered in the margin by Charles and posted back to the writer, ultimately fell into Evelyn's hands. These shall now be used in illustration of some striking and disputed historical passages, and of some certain personal details.

The day after the adjournment, Nicholas wrote to Charles a long account of a consoling hope he had, that there were decided differences to be now expected between the two Houses, upon which the king remarks that he is "not much sorry for it." In another letter, under date of the 27th of September, mention is made to Charles of a certain paper, the contents of which are not named, but which he says the Lady Carlile had given to the queen, saying "*she had it from the Lord Mandeville*." Taken in connexion with this, the following is very curious: "I heare," continues Nicholas, "*there are diverse meetings in Chelsea att y<sup>e</sup> Lo. Mandeville-house and elsewhere, by Pym and others, to consult what is best to be done at their next meeting in Parliament.*" Whereupon is this remark by the king: "It were not amiss that some of my servants met lykewise to countermynd *their plots*, to w<sup>ch</sup> end *speake w<sup>th</sup> my wyfe, and receive her directions.*"†

This Lord Mandeville is better known by the title of his barony, Kimbolton, in right of which he was at about this period called up to the House of Lords. He now lived at Chelsea, and Pym had taken lodgings near him. The meetings alluded to in the above extracts, the presence of Lady Carlile, the temper of the king, and his anxiety for a "plot" of his own, and the graphic touch with which his majesty's note concludes, are worth rescuing from the secret records of the time. In none of the correspondences do Henrietta's intrigues and the king's subjection appear more manifest than in this of Sir Edward Nicholas. My next extracts will prove her distinct participation, and also that of the king, in Goring's army plot.

In this plot Sir John Berkeley, afterward governor of Exeter, and Captain O'Neale, were deeply implicated.‡ Under date of the 29th of September, Nicholas writes to the king: "Yesterday, at Oatlands, I understood that Sir Jo. Berkeley and Capt. O'Neale were come over, and that they had beene the day before privately at Weybridge: I was bould then to deliver my opinion to the queene, that I did believe, if they con-

tinued in England, they would bee arrested [by Pym]. Her majestie seemed (when I tould it her) to apprehend noe lesse, and will, I believe, take order that notice may bee given to them of y<sup>e</sup> danger." In a letter of the 5th of October he adds: "The Commons' committee met, and had before them Sir Jo. Berkeley and Capt. O'Neale, who were (as I heare) yesterday apprehended by the servant of the serjeant att arms."§ Here the king remarks, "*I hope some day they may repent their severitie;*" and at the close of the letter, Nicholas having told him of the jocund cheerfulness of Pym and his friends, Charles subjoins, "*I believe, before all be done, that they will not have such great cause of joy.*" Again: Nicholas having written in his next letter, "Mr. Pym reports that the Earle of Arguile is chancellor of that kingdome (Scotland);" Charles affixes to the passage these significant words: "You may see by this that all his designes hit not; and I hope, before all be done, that he shall miss of more." And in the despatch following this, the secretary having implored the immediate return of the king, saying that, "if your majestie doe not hasten to bee here some dayes before y<sup>e</sup> next meeting in Parliament, I doubt there will bee few that will dare to appeare here to oppose y<sup>e</sup> partie that now swayeth;" Charles answered: "Though I cannot return so soon as I could wishe, yet I am confident that you will finde there was necessitie for it, and I hope that manie will misse of their ends."

No one in the slightest degree acquainted with the character of Charles, and with the peculiar intrigues he was at this very period carrying on in Scotland, will hesitate to attach sufficient meaning to these covert threats against Pym and the popular leaders. There had never been a time in which greater danger threatened the people's cause than now; never was there a time—looking at the daily defections within the House of Commons, at the falling off of the Lords without, at the rotten condition of the army, and the notorious and well-proved perfidy of the king—wherein a greater necessity existed for some grand appeal to the people, not simply to save the freedom of Parliament, but even the lives of its most illustrious members; not simply to secure the permanence of those provisions which had been achieved for the public liberty, but even to ward off the substitution of a naked despotism. Pym and Hampden acted with a perfect knowledge of these things, then, far beyond our imperfect surmise now.

Parliament reassembled, after the recess, on the day to which it stood adjourned, the 20th of October. In an able and lucid statement,†

\* Pym's own report of this affair, delivered on the reassembling of Parliament, differs from this. He said, "Next there came to me, to my lodgings at Chelsea, Sir John Berkeley and Serjeant-major O'Neal, who said they heard they were accused, and had rashly withdrawn themselves; but upon better consideration, they were returned to submit to the pleasure of the House. I thought it my duty to make some privy counsellor acquainted therewith, whereupon I went to my Lord Willmot with them, who undertook they should attend the committee the next sitting, which they did accordingly; and, in pursuance of the order and warrant of the House for the apprehending of them, they were both attached by the serjeant's deputy: so the House may be pleased to send for them, and to do therein as they see cause."—Parl. Hist., vol. x., p. 5.

† See Parl. Hist., vol. x., p. 1-6.

\* Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. ii., part ii., p. 18, quarto ed., 1819. In the two following letters there are some curious particulars respecting the crown jewels, with injunctions to peculiar secrecy, which are not a little significant of the king's purposes at this time.—P. 21-22.

† In a subsequent letter Nicholas tells the king that he had communicated respecting all this with her majesty, but that she "saith that cannot bee done in your majestie's absence." Charles answers: "I confess, not so well, but yet so much as may do much good; therefore be diligent in it."—P. 24.

‡ See a curious marginal note by Charles at p. 142.

§ See May's History.

Pym reported the proceedings of the committee during the recess. While yet engaged upon this duty, news arrived in London of that celebrated occurrence at Edinburgh which is well known in history by the name of the "Incident." Through all the mystery which yet envelops this affair, one thing is not denied; that Charles received from Montrose his project of assassination, and, having received it, continued Montrose in his service and confidence. Montrose had indeed established a lasting hold upon Charles's favour by the proposition he coupled with his scheme of assassination—to cut off the English leaders by the milder, but not less certain course of law, on evidence of a "treasonable correspondence" with the Scottish army. The king's every thought now bore upon the latter scheme: he had entered Scotland with a view to conciliate the Covenanters, in the vain hope of effecting it in that way; failing of this, he concerted with Montrose to trample upon the Covenant, only with a view to the same end. Pym, Hampden, and the rest struck down, the world of despotism would be once again before him where to choose!

But with the news of the "incident," letters from Hampden, still in Edinburgh with the committee, were placed in Pym's hands. Their contents may be surmised from the fact that Pym instantly proposed and conducted a conference with the lords "concerning the security of the kingdom and Parliament;"\* denounced again a branch conspiracy in London; and demanded that all the military posts of the city should be occupied with a strong force. This was at once acceded to, and, besides this, the Westminster trainbands were brought up to guard the Houses of Parliament by night as well as day.†

Secretary Nicholas, deeply alarmed, wrote to the king, "It is thought that this businesse will bee declared to bee a greater plot against the kingdome and Parliament in Eng: and Scotland hath bene discovered at all. *There have bene some well-affecting Parliament-men here with us this morning, to know whether I had any reason of that businesse; but finding I had none, they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it.*" To this the king answers with cautious reserve. In a subsequent letter Nicholas mentions the sudden introduction of another bill for abolishing the temporal functions of the bishops, accompanying it with a remark, that "it is said to bee against ye ancient order of Parliament to bring in a bill againe in same sessions that it was rejected;" whereupon the king eagerly seizes this objection, and orders Nicholas to "bid his servants make as much use of it as may bee."‡

They did so, and were foiled by Pym. His great object at this time was to weaken the powers of mischief in the upper House; and finding that his impeachment against the thirteen bishops on the ground of their share in the recent canons must be quashed on some points of informality (the lords had already admitted their demurrer), he counselled the reintroduction of the first bill against the bishops

as a temporary compromise for a great ultimate gain. I will describe the result in Clarendon's words, as recently restored:—"Mr. Pym and his party found that they were so far from having gotten credit by their angry bill against the Church for the extirpation of bishops, that they had lost ground in the attempt, and therefore they seemed to decline any farther thought of such a violent proceeding, and to have more moderate inclinations; and so, one morning, they brought in and desired to have a bill read for the taking away the votes of the bishops out of the House of Peers, no otherwise differing from the former than it was shorter. It was opposed by many that it should be received or read; for it was a known rule of the House that a bill rejected could not be brought again into the House during the same session, which was an order that had never been known to be violated, which Mr. Pym confessed, but said, '*that our orders were not like the laws of the Medes and Persians, not to be altered, but that they were in our own power*'; and that the receiving this bill, since it was in our power, was very necessary, and would quiet the minds of many, who, it may be, would be contented with the passing this bill, who would otherwise be importunate for more violent remedies; and that there was reason to believe that the Lords, who had rejected the former bill, were very sorry for it, and would give this a better reception; and if they did not, it would meet with the same fate the other had done, and we should have the satisfaction of having discharged our own consciences.' The content many men had to see the former violence declined and more moderate counsels pursued, prevailed so far, that the bill was received and read; and the same reasons, with some subsequent actions and accidents, prevailed afterward for the passing it in the House of Commons, though it received a greater opposition than it had done formerly. And the Lord Falkland then concurring with his friend Mr. Hyde in the opposing it, Mr. Hampden said that he was sorry to find a noble lord had changed his opinion since the time the last bill to this purpose had passed the House; for he then thought it a good bill, but now he thought this an ill one. To which the Lord Falkland presently replied, that he had been persuaded at that time by that worthy gentleman to believe many things which he had since found to be untrue, and therefore *he had changed his opinion in many particulars, as well as to things as persons.*"

Very true and candid was this, but not very startling, since Pym and Hampden knew it well already; and "Mr. Hyde" had taken good care that, by this time, the king should know it too. "I may not forbear to let your majesty knowe," wrote Sir Edward Nicholas, under date of the 29th of October, "that the Lo. Falkland, Sr. Jo. Strangwishe [Strangeways], Mr. Waller, Mr. Ed. Hyde, and Mr. Holborne have lately stood as champions in maintenance of your prerogative, whereof yr majesty shall doe well to take some notice (as yor majesty shall thinke best) for their encouragement." The king answered, eagerly and earnestly, "I command you to doe it in

\* See Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 390.

† Rushworth, vol. iv., p. 392.

‡ Evelyn, vol. ii., part ii., p. 45.

\* Oxford ed. of 1826, vol. ii., p. 75, 76, note.

† Hampden had returned from Scotland some few days before.

my name, telling them that I will do it myself at my returne." From the date of this correspondence, at least, these men were retained on behalf of Charles. But Pym watched them more and more narrowly as the great struggle drew nigh.

News of the Irish rebellion and massacre now burst upon London. Following so closely upon the Scottish "incident," and coupled with the evidence of still more striking circumstances against the king, this shocking event increased to a fearful degree the prevailing excitement. The cold and laconic remark of Charles to Sir Edward Nicholas respecting it has not been noticed. "I hope," he merely wrote, "I hope this ill newes of Ireland may kinder some of theas follies in England."\*

The "follies" and their authors only moved more resolutely forward. A petition had been in agitation for some time in the lower House, "to be presented" (I quote Sir Edward Nicholas's description) "to yor matie, to receive the Parliament's approbation of such officers, councillors, &c., as yor majtie shall choose, for better prevenc'on of the great and many mischiefs that may befall ye Commonwealth, by y<sup>e</sup> choice of ill councillors, officers, amb'dors, and ministers of state." Nothing could exceed the king's alarm at this proposed measure, or the earnestness of his commands that it should by some means or other be "stopp'd." Hyde and Falkland, as may naturally be supposed, with their present prospects, opposed it bitterly, step by step; but Pym and Hampden actively urged it on. At last, on the 10th of November, according to the Lords' journals, Pym appeared at the head of the Commons, in conference with the upper House, and proceeded to explain to their lordships the several steps, as they are there called, by which evil counsels had wrought such danger to the kingdom, and demanded remedy so loudly.

"First. That the dangers which come to the state by ill counsels are the most pernicious of all others. Since it is usual to compare polittick bodies with natural, the natural body is in danger divers ways: either by outward violence, that may be foreseen or prevented, or else by less appearing maladies, such as grow upon the body by distempers of the air, immoderate exercise, or diet; and when the causes of the disease are thus clear, the remedy is easily applied; but diseases which proceed from the inward parts or the more noble parts—it is a hard thing to apply a cure to such diseases. Ill counsels are of that nature; for the mischiefs that come by evil counsel corrupt the vital parts, and overthrow the public government.

"Secondly. That there have been lately, and still are, ill counsels in this kingdom and about the king. That there have been lately, you will not doubt, when the main course of the government hath been so employed as popery thereby hath been maintained, the laws subverted, and no distinction kept between justice and injustice; and that there are ill counsels still is apparent by the courses taken to advance mischievous designs: his majesty's wisdom and goodness kept them from his heart, tho' they were not kept out of his courts. So must

principal and mischievous designs have been practised by such as had near access unto his majesty, tho' not to his heart, and the apologists and promoters of ill counsels are still preferred."

The singular and grave caution of these distinctions is not the least remarkable characteristic of Pym. No man could so thoroughly keep within the nice bounds of Parliamentary phrase while urging the bitterest things.

"Thirdly. The ill counsels of this time are in their own nature more mischievous and more dangerous than the ill counsels of former times: former counsels have been to please kings in their vices, from which our king is free; and sometimes for racking of the prerogative. If it had gone no farther, it had brought many miseries, but not ruin and destruction. But the ill counsels of this time are destructive to religion and laws, by altering them both, and therefore more mischievous in their own nature than those of former times.

"Fourthly. That these ill counsels have proceeded from a spirit and inclination to popery, and have had a dependance on popery, and all of them tend to it. The religion of the Papists is a religion incompatible with any other religion; destructive to all others; and not enduring any thing that opposeth it. Whosoever doth withstand their religion, if they have power, they bring them to ruin. There are other religions that are not right, but not so destructive as popery, for the principles of popery are destructive of all states and persons that oppose it. With the progress of this mischievous system of evil counsel they provide counsellors, fit instruments and organs, that may execute their own designs, and so turn all counsels to their own ends. You find now, in Ireland, that those designs that have been upon all the three kingdoms do end in a war for the maintenance of popery in Ireland. They would do the like here if they were able, so intent are they to turn all to their own advantage.

"Fifthly. That unless these ill counsels be changed, it is impossible that any assistance, aid, or advice that the Parliament can take to reform will be effectual, for the public orders and laws are but dead if not put in execution. Those that are the ministers of state put things into action; but if acted by evil men, and while these counsels are on foot, we can expect no good. *It is like a disease that turns nutrition into poison.*

"Sixthly. That this is the most proper time to desire of his majesty the alteration and change of the evil counsellors, because the Commonwealth is brought into distemper by them, and so exhausted that we can endure no longer. Another reason why we cannot admit of them is to show our love and fidelity to the king in great and extraordinary contributions and aids. When God doth employ his servants, he doth give some promise to rouse up their spirits; and we have reason now to expect the king's grace in great abundance. This is the time wherein the subjects are to save the kingdom of Ireland with the hazard of their lives and fortunes, and therefore expect it from his majesty in a more large and bountiful manner than at other times. This is a time of great agitation and action, when other states being

\* Evelyn, part ii., vol. ii., p. 45.

ready, by preparation, to annoy us, ill and false counsels at home may quickly bring us to ruin. As we have weakness at home, so we ought to discern the actions abroad, where great provisions are made; and a carelessness and improvidence herein, when our neighbours are so provided, and have great fleets at sea, will open a way to sudden ruin and destruction, before we can be prepared; and therefore it is now the fittest time to move the king.

"Seventhly and lastly. That this alteration of counsels will bring great advantages to the king in his own designs. In all our actions, our prayers to God should be that his name may be glorified; so our petitions to his majesty should bring honour, profit, and advantage to him, by a discouragement to the rebels, a great part of their confidence resting in the evil counsels at home, as by the examinations appeareth. It will be a great encouragement to the king's good subjects at home, who hazard their lives, and give aid and contribution, to have things governed for the public good. *It will make men afraid to prefer servants to the king that are ill counsellors*, when they shall come to the examination of the Parliament; for many times servants are preferred to princes for the advantage of foreign states. This will put an answer into the king's mouth against all importunities, that he is to prefer none but such as will be approved of by Parliament. Those that are honourable and most ingenious are aptest to be troubled in this kind, and not to deny; therefore the king may answer, 'He hath promised his Parliament not to admit of any but by advice of Parliament.' This will silence them all. These are domestick advantages; but it will also make us fitter to enter into union and treaty with foreign nations and states, and to be made partakers of the strength and assistance of others: it will fortify us against the designs of foreign princes. There hath been one common counsel at Rome and in Spain, to reduce us to popery: if good counsel at home, we shall be the better prepared to preserve peace and union, and better respect from Ireland. It will also make us fit for any noble design abroad."

Secretary Nicholas, after describing to the king the effect of this grave and condensed statement, adds: "Yo' ma<sup>ty</sup> may perceave of what extream necessitie and importance yo' ma<sup>ty</sup>'s speedy returne is, w<sup>ch</sup> I beseech y<sup>r</sup> ma<sup>ty</sup> by all meanes to hasten." Its effect in other quarters was like to have proved of immediate personal danger to Pym. Some few days after he entered the House with an open letter in his hand, and told the speaker that he had just received a letter from a porter at the door of the House, and that, upon the opening of it, a covering which had come from a plague wound\* dropped out of it, and that the letter itself contained many menaces, and much railing against him. The porter, being examined, said "a gentleman on horseback, in a gray coat, gave him twelve pence for the speedy delivery of it." "Whatever the matter was," observes Nelson, "it made a mighty noise both in the House and out of the House, in the city and country; for Mr. Pym was then one of the

greatest idols of the faction. All the art imaginable was used to find out the author of this dangerous attempt to infect Mr. Pym with the plague, but to no purpose." In a curious pamphlet published four days after Pym's death, and called "A short View of his Life and Actions,"† I find a literal copy of this letter, superscribed "To my honoured friend John Pym, Esquire," and in-written thus: "Master Pym, do not think that a guard of men can protect you, if you persist in your courses and wicked designs. I have sent a paper messenger to you, and if this do not touch your heart, a dagger shall, so soon as I am recovered of my plague. In the mean time, you may be forborn, because no better man may be indangered for you. Repent, traitour." In the same pamphlet it is said, that soon after this occurrence a gentleman, "mistaken for Mr. Pym," was stabbed in Westminster Hall by a ruffian who escaped, so that it is probable the amiable letter-writer kept his word!

Nor was this all. Sir Edward Nicholas, in the same letter which details the above attempts to the king, adds, that "on Monday last, in y<sup>e</sup> evening, another as desperate and dangerous a conspiracy against Mr. Pym was discovered by a poor zealous taylor." And by other conspiracies besides these against his life were the public virtues and services of this great person acknowledged and sought to be repaid. A series of harassing suits were commenced against him, with a view to deprive him, if possible, of his Parliamentary privilege, till at last, so eagerly were they followed, the House itself thought fit to interfere, and protect him by a special order.‡

It was a vain persuasion that by such means as these the spirit of Pym could be broken or subdued. It rose to its duties with greater resolvedness; and in a subsequent conference with the Lords, who still held back from any thing like willing co-operation, he suddenly threw out a very plain and very memorable warning, which produced a deep impression at the time, and had, no doubt, the practical effect its author intended; since, while it brought the divisions that now, under the management of Hyde and his friends, distracted the Commons themselves, to what might be called the extreme point of difference, it settled also the terms of the struggle, and the conditions of the victory, in the great party contest now instantly impending. When a great fight is to be fought for great results, it is better to take up position upon an extreme ground of certain and defined principle, than on the half covered way of policy. Pym recommended the upper House to consider that "the Commons were the representative body of the whole kingdom, while

\* See No. 135 of King's Pamphlets, Brit. Mus.

† Clarendon alludes to them with his usual want of ingenuousness. "Men being thus disquieted, and knowing little, and so doubting much, every day seemed to them to produce a new discovery of some new treason and plot against the kingdom. One day, 'a letter from beyond seas, of great forces prepared to invade England;' another, 'of some attempt upon the life of Mr. Pym.'"—Vol. ii., p. 24.

‡ "It was this day ordered that Mr. Pym, being sued for tythe wood, shall have the privilege of Parliament, and that Lewis Lushford and others, the solicitor and attorney on the other side, be heroby enjoyned to forbear to prosecute, or further to proceed in that suit, or any other that concerns the said Mr. Pym."—(Nelson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 393.)

\* The plague still lingered in various places in and about London.

their lordships were but as particular persons, and present in Parliament in a particular capacity."\* The trimmers shrank from his side at this; but the trimmers were held of little value by Pym and Hampden.

On the 22d of November their great measure was presented to the House by Pym—their final appeal to the nation on behalf of liberty against despotism—the Grand Remonstrance on the state of the kingdom. It was a "severely elaborate" review of Charles's misgovernment in Church and State from the commencement of his reign; it summed up all the grievances under which the people had suffered in language of great energy and power, and it pointed out the redress already achieved, and what still remained to be done. Great securities for the people were yet to be struggled for; and the patriots, in directing their present appeal emphatically to the people, exercised a wise and just policy of enlightening them, and guiding them to the future by severe reference and warning to the past. By other means their object must have failed of accomplishment. They did not scruple to declare frankly "that, without a seasonable care to disappoint some councils still entertained, all the good acts which they had obtained were in danger of being lost." And stronger and plainer than this was their allusion to the Lords, that they had no hope of settling the kingdom's distractions, for want of a concurrence on the part of the upper House.

"What can we the Commons do," said the words of the remonstrance itself, "without the conjunction of the House of Lords? And what conjunction can we expect there, where the bishops and recusant lords are so numerous and prevalent that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for reformation? They have already hindered the proceedings of divers good bills, passed in the Commons' House, concerning the reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in Church and State." One passage, memorable for its effect upon the people, will illustrate the tone and purpose of the statement of grievances. Referring to the dissolution of the third Parliament, the remonstrants proceed: "The privileges of Parliament broken, by imprisoning divers members of the House, detaining them close prisoners for many months together, without the liberty of using books, pen, ink, or paper; denying them all the comforts of life, all means of preservation of health, not permitting their wives to come unto them, even in time of their sickness; and, for the completing of that cruelty, after years spent in such miserable durance, depriving them of the necessary means of spiritual consolation, not suffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's ordinances in God's house, or God's ministers to come to them, to administer comfort unto them in their private chambers; and to keep them still in this oppressed condition, not admitting them to be bailed according to law, yet vexing them

with informations in inferior courts; sentencing and fining some of them for matters done in Parliament, and extorting the payments of those fines from them; enforcing others to put in security for good behaviour before they could be released. The imprisonment of the rest, who refused to be bound, still continued (which might have been been perpetual, if necessity had not, the last year, brought another Parliament to relieve them), of whom one (*Sir John Eliot*) died by the cruelty and harshness of his imprisonment, which would admit of no relaxation, notwithstanding the imminent danger of his life did sufficiently appear by the declaration of his physician, and his release, or at least his refreshment, was sought by many humble petitions. AND HIS BLOOD STILL CRIES FOR VENGEANCE! OR repentance of those ministers of state who at once obstructed the course both of his majesty's justice and mercy!" The document closed with a general petition that the bishops should be deprived of their votes, and that none should be intrusted with the public affairs whom the Parliament might not approve of.

A violent and long debate arose on its introduction. The House had commenced its sitting at eight o'clock in the morning; at twelve at noon the debate commenced; at twelve at midnight the remonstrance was carried by a majority of eleven. Hampden then openly disclosed the purpose of the remonstrants by moving that the remonstrance should be printed. Hyde opposed this with a counter motion; denied the right of the House of Commons to print any thing without the concurrence of the Peers,\* (!) and asserted for himself the right of protesting against the vote of the majority. In this he was joined by several members, and a desperate effort was made to enter a formal protest of the minority against the decision of the House. The conflict of voices and of passions became tremendous, and bloodshed, Sir Philip Warwick says, was like to have ensued. "We had caught at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate until the next morning." Meanwhile, at about two o'clock, Hampden's motion for the printing had been carried, and now, at three in the morning, the House adjourned.

Clarendon shall tell what occurred on the meeting of the following day. It may serve to explain one of the reasons of his personal, no less than public hatred of the memory of Pym. "About three of the clock, when the House met, Mr. Pym lamented the disorder of the night before, which, he said, might probably have engaged the House in blood, and had proceeded principally from the offering a protestation, which had been never before offered in that House, and was a transgression that ought to be severely examined, that mischief might not result hereafter from that precedent; and therefore proposed that the House would the next morning enter upon that examination, and in the mean time men might recollect themselves, and they who used to take notes might peruse their memorials, that the persons who were the

\* Nalson's Collections, vol. ii., p. 712.

† Clarendon's History, vol. ii., p. 606, restored text. His words, though they convey a misrepresentation, are striking. "On Monday, the 22d of November (the king being within two miles of London), Mr. Pym brought in the remonstrance, which was read; having no direction to the king, or mention of the House of Peers, but being a plain declaration from the House of Commons to the people."

\* Hist., vol. ii., p. 42. The word "never" is replaced in this edition for the substituted "seldom."

chief causes of the disorder might be named, and defend themselves the best they could; and with this resolution the House rose, the vexation of the night before being very visible in the looks and countenance of many.\*

During this stormy and eventful scene the king was on his way from Scotland. He arrived on the 25th of November, "brooding in secret over his purposed vengeance on the popular leaders."† His first act was to reward the deserters from the people. He made Falkland secretary, and Colepepper chancellor of the Exchequer, while Hyde proposed to waive office for himself at present, on the ground that "his services would be more useful without it," or, in other words, that he had not yet lost the hope of secretly betraying the cause. Charles's next step was to remove the guards, which, since the Scotch incident and the Irish rebellion, had protected both Houses. The Commons strongly objected, and the king answered that his presence was a sufficient protection!

On the 1st of December the grand remonstrance was presented to him at Hampton Court. He evaded an immediate answer, and promised to send one. The Commons at once published the remonstrance, "contrary," says Whitelocke,‡ "to the king's desire, and before his answer made to it." In a few days, however, an answer, secretly drawn up by Hyde,§ was made public in the name of Charles. Every thing was rushing to a crisis.

A bill now depended in the lower House for raising soldiers by impressment. Charles suddenly intimated that he should pass it only with an express saving of his prerogative, and added that he was "little beholding to him, whoever at this time began this dispute." Pym at once proceeded to the House of Lords, at the head of a conference, and proposed the following resolutions: "It is our opinion, that the privileges of Parliament are broken, 1. By his majesty's taking notice of the bill for pressing, it being in agitation in both Houses, and not agreed on. 2. In that his majesty should propound a limitation and provisional clause to be added to the bill before it was presented to him by the consent of both Houses. 3. In that his majesty did express his displeasure against some persons for matters moved or debated in Parliament during the debate and preparation of that bill. 4. That a declaratory protestation be entered into by both Houses for the claim of these privileges and liberties; and that a petitionary remonstrance be drawn up and presented to his majesty about them." An "humble petition" was immediately presented, embodying the stern request that "he (the king) should take notice that the privilege of Parliament was broken, and to desire him that it may not be done so any more hereafter." Charles made an "ample apology."

The remonstrance, meanwhile, was doing its work among the people, and the popular discontents against the bishops were loudly heard.¶

\* History, vol. ii., p. 45, 46.

† History from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 283.

‡ Memorials, p. 46.

§ Consult the restored text of the History.

¶ Clarendon says that the temporal peers had become equally objects of popular odium. And he proceeds to say, but without any authority of the reports or journals to bear

Upon this Williams, who had recently made his peace with Charles, and succeeded to the archbishopric of York, committed that act which, considered as a rashness, was such a strange departure from his character, but, viewed as a first step to the king's cherished purpose of revoking all that had been done in the past year, on the ground that the Parliament had not been free, was in perfect keeping with the huge intrigue of his life. He drew up a declaration, and prevailed with eleven other prelates to join him in it, to the effect that the bishops could no longer, without danger to their lives, attend their duty in Parliament, and that they therefore protested against the validity of any votes or resolutions of the House of Lords during their absence. This was delivered by the lord-keeper, and heard with extreme resentment. The Lords treated it as a breach of privilege, and communicated with the Commons; when the latter, after a debate with closed doors, impeached the twelve bishops of high treason. On the 30th of December they appeared as culprits on their knees at the bar of the upper House. Ten were committed to the Tower, and two, on the score of age and infirmity, to the usher of the black rod.

Thus closed 1641, the most eventful year of the English history, and upon the first day of 1642 blood was shed. A dissolute Royalist officer drew his sword at Westminster, and, inventing a term which afterward became very famous, threatened death to "the Roundheads who bawled against the bishops." Colonel Lunsford, too, who had been appointed to the Tower by Charles, in defiance of the wishes of the Commons, drew his sword upon the populace; several of his friends followed his example; and some of the citizens were wounded, while one, Sir Richard Wiseman, was killed.

The next scene took place in the House of Commons. The question of a guard was again debated, with halberds in the House for their defence. Pym had presented to the Lords the following condensed and most significant statement of reasons for the protection claimed. "The great number of disorderly, suspicious, and desperate persons, especially of the Irish nation, lurking in obscure alleys and victualling-houses in the suburbs, and other places near London and Westminster. The jealousy conceived upon discovery of the design in Scotland for the surprising of the persons of divers nobility and members of the Parliament there, which had been spoken of here some few days before it broke out, *not without some whispering intimation that the like was intended against divers persons of both Houses*, which found the more credit by reason of the former attempts of bringing up the army to disturb and enforce this Parliament. The conspiracy in Ireland,

him out, "Hereupon the Lords sent to the House of Commons, and many members of that house complained 'that they could not come with safety to the House; and that some of them had been assaulted, and very ill entreated, by those that crowded about that door.' But this conference could not be procured, the debate being still put off to some other time, after several speeches had been made in justification of them, and commendation of their affections, some saying 'they must not discourage their friends, this being a time they must make use of all friends;' Mr. Pym himself saying, 'God forbid the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just desires in such a way.'"—History of the Rebellion, vol. ii., p. 67.

managed with so much secrecy that, but for the happy discovery at Dublin, it had been executed in all parts of the kingdom upon one and the same day, or soon after, and that some of the chief conspirators did profess that *the like course was intended in England and Scotland*, which being found in some degree true in Scotland, seemed the more probable to be likewise designed for England. Divers advertisements beyond the sea, which came over about the same time, 'That there should be a great alteration of religion in England in a few days, and that the necks of both the Parliaments should be broken.' Divers examinations of dangerous speeches of some of the popish and disaffected party in this kingdom. The secret meetings and consultations of the Papists in several parts: their frequent devotions for the prosperity of some great design in hand. These several considerations do move the Parliament to desire a guard, which for the most part should be under the command of the Earl of Essex; and they do conceive that there is just cause to apprehend that there is some wicked and mischievous practice to interrupt the peaceable proceedings of the Parliament still in hand; for preventing whereof, it is fit the guard should be continued under the same command, or such other as they should choose; but to have it under the command of any other not chosen by themselves, they can by no means consent to, and will rather run any hazard than admit of a precedent so dangerous both to this and future Parliaments. And they humbly leave it to his majesty to consider whether it will not be fit to suffer his high court of Parliament to enjoy that privilege of providing for their own safety which was never denied other inferior courts, and that he will be pleased graciously to believe that they cannot think themselves safe under any guard of which they shall not be assured that it will be as faithful in defending his majesty's safety as their own, whereof they shall always be more careful than of their own." And now Pym rose to add additional reasons, drawn from the recent practices and menaces of the English "malignant party."

The House of Commons was still in debate—the 3d of January, 1642—when Herbert, the attorney-general, appeared at the clerks' table of the House of Lords, and said that "the king had commanded him to tell their lordships that great and treasonable designs and practices against him and the state had come to his majesty's knowledge, for which the king had given him command to accuse, and he did accuse, the Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerigge, and Mr. Strode, of high treason." He then read the articles, which sufficiently indicate how the blow would have been followed up in case it had succeeded thus far.

They were couched in these words: "First. That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of this kingdom, and deprive the king of his regal power, and place in the subjects an arbitrary and tyrannical power. Second. That they have traitorously endeavoured, by many foul aspersions upon his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majesty odious to them. Third.

That they have endeavoured to draw his majesty's late army to disobedience to his majesty's commands, and to side with them in their traitorous designs. Fourth. That they have traitorously invited and encouraged a foreign power to invade his majesty's kingdom of England. Fifth. That they have traitorously endeavoured to subvert the rights and very being of Parliaments. Sixth. That for the completing of their dangerous projects they have endeavoured, as far as in them lay, by force and terror, to compel the Parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs; and to that end, have actually raised and countenanced tumults against the king and Parliament. Seventh. That they have traitorously conspired to levy, and actually have levied, war against the king." Herbert added a desire on the part of his majesty, "First. That a select committee, under a command of secrecy, may be appointed to take the examination of such witnesses as the king will produce in this business, as formerly hath been done in cases of like nature, according to the justice of this House. Second. Liberty to add and alter if there should be cause. Third. That their lordships would take care for the securing of the persons, as in justice there should be cause."

Had this monstrous attempt of tyranny ended here, it would have stood a lasting evidence of the perfidy and folly of the king. The oldest rights of the subject were insolently violated by it. The attorney-general had not a shadow of right to impeach Pym or Hampden, any more than the House of Lords had the right to try them. The only mode of legal trial, upon such a suit preferred by the king, was by a petty jury on a bill found by a grand jury. But thus far we have only seen the beginning of the end!

The lower House were told of the attempt against them by a message from the Lords, and in the same moment heard that persons were sealing up the trunks, papers, and lodgings of the accused members. They sent the speaker's warrant on the instant to break the seals and apprehend the persons by whom they were put on; ordered, at the same time, that any members upon whom similar seizures were attempted should stand upon their defence; and finally desired an immediate conference with the Lords, as parties interested no less than themselves.

Mr. Francis, sergeant-at-arms, having been meanwhile admitted without his mace, delivered the following message to the House: "I am commanded by the king's majesty, my master, upon my allegiance, that I should come and repair to the House of Commons, where Mr. Speaker is, and there to require of Mr. Speaker five gentlemen, members of the House of Commons, and that these gentlemen being delivered, I am commanded to arrest them, in his majesty's name, of high treason. Their names are, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. Hollis, Sir A. Hazlerigge, and Mr. William Strode." The House sent a deputation to the king in reply, saying that the matter was too serious to be decided without consideration, but that the accused would be ready to answer any legal charge. Pym and Hampden were present at the moment, and the speaker, in the name

of the House, formally requested them to attend, with the other three members, on the morning of the following day.\*

The scene must now change, early on the morning of the 4th of January, to the king's apartments at Whitehall, for a page of the secret history of this memorable event has recently been opened to us.

The project of seizing the accused members in person from within the walls of the House was probably Charles's own, but had certainly been canvassed earnestly with the queen till late on the preceding night. From a curious manuscript account, left by Sir W. Coke of Norfolk to Mr. Anchetil Grey, it would then appear that the king, apprehensive of the hazard of the attempt that had been agreed on at night, went the next morning to the queen's apartment, and finding Carlile with her majesty, he retired with the latter into her closet, and there discoursed with her about the consequence of the design, urged many reasons against it, and expressed a resolution not to put it into execution; upon which the queen could no longer contain, but broke into these angry and passionate words: "*Allez! poltron! go, pull these rogues out by the ears, ou ne me reverez jamais!*"† The king left the room. Madame de Motteville supplies the sequel in describing the queen, while waiting with violent impatience, rejoined by Lady Carlile. "She was impatiently," says that celebrated gossip and waiting-woman, "awaiting news from the House; at length, thinking that the hour was past, and the stroke made or missed, she said to Lady Carlile, 'Rejoice! for I hope that the king is now master in his states, and such and such are in custody.' Lady Carlile immediately sent intelligence to Mr. Pym, where it arrived in time. The queen owned her indiscretion, with great penitence, to her husband, who forgave her."‡

Pym, Hampden, and the other members were in their places in the House of Commons very early on the 4th of January, and as soon as prayers were said, Pym had risen, and addressed the speaker on the articles of impeachment presented against him the day before by the king's attorney. The clearness, force, and beauty of his speech will be felt by all. "What," we may say with *Æschines*, "what if we had heard him!"

"Mr. Speaker, these articles of high treason, exhibited by his majesty against me, and the other gentlemen in the accusation charged with the same crime, are of great consequence and much damage to the state. The articles in themselves, if proved, are, according to the laws of the land, high treason.

"First. To endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the land is, by this present Parliament, in the *Earl of Strafford's* case, adjudged high treason. Secondly, to endeavour to introduce into this kingdom an arbitrary and tyrannical

form of government, is likewise voted high treason. Thirdly, to raise an army to compel the Parliament to make and enact laws, without their free votes and willing proceedings in the same, is high treason. Fourthly, to invite a foreign force to invade this land, to favour our designs agitated against the king and state, is high treason. Fifthly, to animate and encourage riotous assemblies and tumults about the Parliament, to compel the king to assent to votes of the House, is treason. Sixthly, to cast aspersions upon his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people, and to make his majesty odious unto them, is treason. Seventhly, to endeavour to draw his majesty's army into disobedience, and to side with us in our designs, if against the king, is treason.

"I desire, Mr. Speaker, the favour of this House to clear myself concerning this charge. I shall only parallel and similize my actions since the sitting of this Parliament with these articles.

"First, Mr. Speaker, if to vote with the Parliament as a member of the House, wherein all our votes ought to be free (it being one of the greatest privileges thereof to have our debates, disputes, and arguments in the same unquestionable), be to endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws, then I am guilty of the first article.

"Secondly. If to agree and consent with the whole state of the kingdom, by vote, to ordain and make laws for the good government of his majesty's subjects, in peace and dutiful obedience to their lawful sovereign, be to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical form of government in the state, then am I guilty of this article.

"Thirdly. If to consent, by vote with the Parliament, to raise a guard or train'd band to secure and defend the persons and the members thereof, being environed and beset with many dangers in the absence of the king; and, by vote with the House, in willing obedience to the royal command of his majesty, at his return, be actually to levy arms against the king, then am I guilty of this article.

"Fourthly. If to join with the Parliament of England, by free vote, to crave brotherly assistance from Scotland (kingdoms both under obedience to one sovereign, both his loyal subjects) to suppress the rebellion in Ireland, which lies gasping every day in danger to be lost from his majesty's subjection, be to invite and encourage a foreign power to invade this kingdom, then am I guilty of high treason.

"Fifthly. If to agree with the greatest and wisest council of state to suppress unlawful tumults and riotous assemblies; to agree with the House, by vote, to all orders, edicts, and declarations for their repelling, be to raise and countenance them in their unlawful actions, then am I guilty of this article.

"Sixthly. If, by free vote, to join with the Parliament in publishing of a remonstrance; in setting forth declarations against delinquents in the state; against incendiaries between his majesty and his kingdom; against ill counsellors which labour to avert his majesty's affection from Parliament; against those ill-affected bishops that have innovated our religion—oppressed painful, learned, and godly ministers

\* Journals of the Commons. In the afternoon of the 4th, there is a memorandum entered, "that all the five members aforementioned did appear in the House, according to yesterday's injunction."

† Sir Arthur Hazlerig himself, in an account he gave of this affair, in *Cromwell's* Parliament of 1656, uses these words in part. His account is loose, but fair corroborating evidence on the whole. See some extracts from his speech in Appendix D.

‡ *Margate*, p. 489.



with vexatious suits and molestations in their unjust courts—by cruel sentences of pillory and cutting off their ears—by great fines, banishments, and perpetual imprisonments: if this, Mr. Speaker, be cast aspersions upon his majesty and his government, and to alienate the hearts of his loyal subjects, good Protestants and well affected in religion, from their due obedience to his royal majesty, then am I guilty also of this article.

"Seventhly. If to consent, by vote with the Parliament, to put forth proclamations, or to send declarations to his majesty's army to animate and encourage the same to his loyal obedience; to give so many subsidies, and raise so many great sums of money willingly for their keeping on foot to serve his majesty upon his royal command on any occasion; to apprehend and attack as delinquents such persons in the same as are disaffected both to his sacred person, his crown and dignity, to his wise and great counsel of Parliament, to the true and orthodox doctrine of the Church of England, and the true religion, grounded on the doctrine of Christ himself, and established and confirmed by many acts of Parliament in the reigns of King Henry VIII., King Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and King James of blessed memory: if this, Mr. Speaker, be to draw his majesty's army into disobedience, and aiding with us in our designs, then am I guilty of this article.

"Now, Mr. Speaker, having given you a touch concerning these articles, comparing them with my actions ever since I had the honour to sit in this House as a member thereof, I humbly crave your consideration and favourable judgment of them, not doubting—they being weighed in the even scales of your wisdom—I shall be found innocent and clear from these crimes laid to my charge."

Nor, in the triumph of this masterly self-vindication, did Pym forget the higher duty which then waited upon his position as leader of the House—upon his virtue, and on his never-quailing courage. As the members expected him to resume his seat, he gravely and earnestly, amid loud cheering from various quarters, added these words:

"Mr. Speaker, I humbly crave your further patience to speak somewhat concerning the exhibiting of this charge, which is to offer to your consideration these questions, viz.: First, *whether to exhibit articles of high treason by his majesty's own hands in this House agrees with the rights and privileges thereof?* Secondly, whether for a guard armed to come into the Parliament to accuse any of the members thereof be not a breach of the privilege of Parliament? Thirdly, whether any of the members of Parliament, being so accused, may be committed upon such accusation without the whole consent? Fourthly, whether a Parliament hath not privilege to bail any member so accused? Fifthly and lastly, whether, if any of the members of Parliament so charged, and by the House discharged, without release from his majesty may still sit in the House as members of the same?

"And thus, Mr. Speaker, I humbly crave pardon for my presumption in so far troubling this honourable House, desiring their favourable consideration of all my actions, and that I may have such trial as to this wise council shall

seem meet, cheerfully submitting myself and actions to the righteous judgment of the same."

The rest of the accused members afterward rose successively, and refuted the alleged charges against themselves. The dinner hour's adjournment then took place; and the House had scarcely resumed when, between three and four o'clock, Pym received Lady Carlile's intelligence, and at once stated it to the House. The five members were requested to withdraw, to avoid the bloodshed which it was felt would be the necessary consequence of their remaining, and after some difficulty they did so. Then the House, having ordered Mr. Speaker to keep his seat, with the mace lying before him, awaited in awful silence the approach of their strange and unwelcome visitor.\*

A loud knock threw open the door; a rush as of many armed men was heard; and above it the voice of Charles, commanding "upon their lives not to come in."† He entered the moment after, accompanied only by his nephew, the prince palatine; and as he advanced up to the chair—uncovering himself, and the members standing up uncovered—he darted a look "on the right hand, near the bar of the House, where Mr. Pym used to sit, but not seeing him there (*knowing him well*), went up to the chair."‡ This the speaker yielded to him, but he continued standing on the step. Again his eye glanced around, searching once more for the portly person of the popular leader. The multitude of faces that met his own, and the sullen and awful silence that prevailed, confused him. He spoke at last, but in a subdued tone, and with an abruptness which made more evident than usual the painful defect in his enunciation. He assured them hastily "that no king that ever was in England should be more careful of their privileges; but in case of treason, he held that no person hath a privilege." He took "this occasion again to confirm, that whatever he had done in favour and for the good of his subjects, he would maintain." Then again "he called Mr. Pym by name."§ None answered. He asked the speaker if he was in the House. Lenthall, inspired by the greatness of the occasion, kneeled, and desired him to excuse his answer, for "in this place I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am." "The birds, then, are flown!" said Charles, passionately; and, abruptly insisting that the accused members must be sent to him, or "he must take his own course," left the place where he stood, "pulling off his hat till he came to the door."|| A low and ominous murmur of "Privilege! privilege!" sounded in his ears as he retired. His hired and tumultuous bands of braves, who, while he was in the House, had been waiting in the lobby for "the word," cocking their pistols, and crying "Fall on,"¶

\* The subsequent entry on the Journals is simply this: "Jan. 4, P.M. The king came into the House of Commons and took Mr. Speaker's chair."

† Gentlemen, I am sorry to have this occasion to come unto you . . .

‡ Resolved, upon the question, that the House shall adjourn itself till to-morrow one of the clock."

† Verney's Pencil Notes. ‡ Rushworth.

§ Verney's Pencil Notes. Hallam, vol. ii., p. 172.

|| Ibid.

¶ The following passage is taken from the subsequent "declaration" of the Commons. "It did fully appear that

now followed him shouting to Whitehall, from whence he issued a proclamation in the course of that night, directing that the ports should be stopped, and that no person should, at his peril, venture to harbour the accused members.

During the whole of this extraordinary and unparalleled scene, one person only sat quiet and unmoved. This was Rushworth, the celebrated historical collector, then assistant clerk to the Commons. I will here subjoin the account which he has left, since it is remarkable for many reasons, and not least for containing the very words that were spoken by Charles and Lenthall, and which the indefatigable clerk coolly wrote down as they broke upon the terrible silence. The closing paragraph carries us, too, a step beyond the sketch given above, which is taken, it should be added, in the points of difference or addition to Rushworth, from the pencil notes of Sir Ralph Verney, who was also in the House at the time.

"When the five accused members came this day, after dinner, into the House, they were no sooner sat in their places but the House was informed by one Captain Langrish, lately an officer in arms in France, that he came from among the officers and soldiers at Whitehall, and understanding by them that his majesty was coming with a guard of military men, commanders and soldiers, to the House of Commons, he passed by them with some difficulty to get to the House before them, and sent in word how near the said officers and soldiers were come; whereupon a certain member of the House\* having also private intimation from the Countess of Carlile, sister to the Earl of Northumberland, that endeavours would be used this day to apprehend the five members, the House required the five members to depart the House forthwith, to the end to avoid combustion in the House if the said soldiers should use violence to pull any of them out, to which command of the House four of the said mem-

bers yielded ready obedience; but Mr. Strode was obstinate, till Sir Walter Earle (his antient acquaintance) pulled him out by force, the king being at that time entering into the new palace-yard in Westminster. And as his majesty came through Westminster Hall, the commanders, reformadoes, &c., that attended him, made a lane on both sides the hall through which his majesty passed, and came up the stairs to the House of Commons, and stood before the guard of pensioners and halberteers, who also attended the king's person; and the door of the House of Commons being thrown open, his majesty entered the House, and as he passed up towards the chair, he cast his eye on the right hand, near the bar of the House, where Mr. Pym used to sit; but his majesty, not seeing him there (knowing him well), went up to the chair, and said, 'By your leave, Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little;' whereupon the speaker came out of the chair, and his majesty stepped up into it. After he had staid in the chair a while, he cast his eye upon the members as they stood up uncovered, but could not discern any of the five members to be there; nor, indeed, were they easy to be discerned, had they been there, among so many bare faces all standing up together.

"Then his majesty made this speech. 'Gentlemen, I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a sergeant-at-arms, upon a very important occasion, to apprehend some that, by my command, were accused of high treason, whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message; and I must declare unto you here, that albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, to maintain them to the uttermost of his power, than I shall be, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege, and therefore I am come to know if any of these persons that were accused are here; for I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused, for no slight crime, but for treason, are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I do heartily wish it; therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them wheresoever I find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them.'

"When the king was looking about the House, the speaker standing below by the chair, his majesty asked him whether any of these persons were in the House—whether he saw any of them—and where they were. To which the speaker, falling on his knee, thus answered: 'May it please your majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me,

\* There seems a sort of delicacy here implied, as if the assistant clerk did not care to announce publicly Pym's connexion with Lady Carlile.

"I am here; and humbly beg your pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me."

The king, having concluded his speech, went out of the House again, which was in great disorder, and many members cried out aloud, as he might hear them, *Privilege! privilege!* and forthwith adjourned till the next day at one o'clock.

The same evening his majesty sent James Maxwell, usher of the House of Peers, to the House of Commons, to require Mr. Rushworth, the clerk assistant, whom his majesty had observed to take his speech in characters at the table in the House, to come to his majesty; and when Maxwell brought him to the king, his majesty commanded him to give him a copy of his speech in the House. Mr. Rushworth humbly besought his majesty (hoping for an excuse) to call to mind how Mr. Francis Nevil, a Yorkshire member of the House of Commons, was committed to the Tower for telling his majesty what words were spoken in the House by Mr. Henry Bellasis, son to the Lord Fauconberg; to whom his majesty smartly replied, 'I do not ask you to tell me what was said by any member of the House, but what I said myself;' whereupon he readily gave obedience to his majesty's command, and in his majesty's presence, in the room called the jewel-house, he transcribed his majesty's speech out of his characters, his majesty staying in the room all the while, and then and there presented the same to the king, which his majesty was pleased to command to be sent speedily to the press, and the next morning it came forth in print.\*

Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Hazlerig, and Strode had taken refuge in Coleman-street, in the city. The city, it has been well observed, was at this time the fastness of public liberty, and "a place of at least as much importance as Paris during the French Revolution."† Instead of being, as now, a huge collection of immense warehouses and counting-houses, frequented by clerks and traders during the day, and left almost deserted during night, it was then "closely inhabited by 300,000 persons, to whom it was a place of constant residence," and who had as complete a civil and military organization as if it had been an independent republic. The troops they afterward furnished turned the tide of many an action at the opening of the civil war. The municipal offices were filled by the most opulent and respectable merchants of the kingdom, and "the pomp of the magistracy of the capital was second only to that which surrounded the person of the sovereign." Finally, the numbers, the intelligence, the wealth of the citizens, the democratic form of their local government, that had educated them to notions of liberty, and their vicinity to the court and to the Parliament, made them "one of the most formidable bodies in the kingdom."

Into the city Charles proceeded on the following morning in search of the five members. He was received with marked signs of discontent. The multitude cried aloud, "Privileges of Parliament! privileges of Parliament!" and

one of them, more zealous than the rest, flung into the window of his carriage a paper, on which was written the famous words of the ten tribes when they forsook the foolish and wantonly tyrannical Rehoboam: "To your tents, O Israel!" Meanwhile, the houses, the purses, the pikes of the citizens were freely placed at the command of the Commons. They kept themselves all night in arms, and on the following day all signs of business were suspended, the shops closed, and the streets thronged. A committee had been appointed to sit in the city for investigating the outrage; a deputation of the common council welcomed its members; several of the halls of the companies (then formidable clans) were offered for its sittings; guards were furnished in abundance; and the sheriffs watched over the safety of Pym and his friends, and conducted them to and from the committee with every mark of honour.

Nor was this all. While four thousand Buckinghamshire men rode up from their county to watch over the safety of Hampden, an immense body of the common people assembled to "defend Mr. Pym." From a curious pamphlet, to which reference has already been made,\* I find that a petition and defence of Pym was on this occasion drawn up by these faithful and strong friends, and meant for presentation to the king. Whether it was ever so presented I cannot ascertain; but some extracts, which have not yet found a place in any record of the time, are appropriate and interesting.

Waiving any allusion to the other members accused, the petitioners confine themselves to the alleged guilt of Pym. "We doe unanimously suppose," they say, "that your majestie hath beene either misinformed, or else suggested by some malicious persons who are ill affected to the said Mr. Pym; the man we have experimentally found to bee a chiefe pillar of religion; who, when the pure sanctitie thereof had sunke too low into the vault of heresie in the late turbulent times, and when it almost languished in so disastrous a manner, was the chieftest supporter thereof, and did alwayes study with carefull vigilancie to erect and elevate the same." Again, adverting to the first article, "that Mr. Pym hath traytorously indeavoured to subvert the fundamentall lawes and government of England," the following remark is made: "This seemes contrary, in regard that hee solely did alwayes oppose any man whom hee either found or could suspect guiltie of the same crime, and hath laboured rather to ratifie and confirme the fundamentall lawes, than either subvert or confound the same; for in his diurnall speeches in the Parliament was alwayes specified his reall intent in the institution, and not diminution or subversion of any law which was not detrimental to the safetie and prosperitie of this kingdome." The allegations in the fourth and fifth articles are answered thus: "It is declared that hee hath traytorously invited and encouraged a forraigne power to invade his majestie's kingdome of England. To this your petitioners dare boldly say, that this nefarious invitation and encouragement of a forraigne power was never undertooke by him; for hee hath beene

\* Rushworth's Collections, vol. iv., p. 477, 478.

† See a brilliant article on Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden, in the Edinburgh Review.

\* See p. 176 of the present volume, note: "The Commons' petition to the king."

very vigilant to preserve and defend this kingdom, in as great fortification as possibly might be, to the flourishing prosperitie of this whole realme; and therefore hee hath oftentimes expressed his affection towards the safetie of this nation, and of stronger forces that should be raised, to keepe out any forraigne enemy or power, least, peradventure, they steale upon us unawares. In the fifth article hee is impeached thus: That hee hath traytorously indeavoured to subvert the rights and very being of Parliaments. To this we may answer with great facilitie, *Hee was the chiefe cause that this Parliament was assembled*, and it seemes very incongruous that hee should subvert the same. Moreover, hee is the sole man that stands for the antient rights and liberties of the Parliaments, and it seemes a stupendious thing that hee should confound the same. In this respect your petitioners dare speake with confidence, that there was not one man in the Parliament House who did stand more strongly for the rights of Parliament than Mr. Pym did."

What need to pursue this subject farther! The House of Commons, having declared the king's "warlike entrance" a gross breach of privilege, and his proclamation of the five members as traitors a "false, scandalous, and illegal paper," completed their open defiance of Charles by adjourning till the 11th of January, and ordering the accused members on that day to attend in their places at Westminster, and resume their public duties. Charles sought to effect a compromise; offered a "free pardon;" and said he found now "good cause wholly to desert any prosecution;" but it was too late. The resolute determination of the Commons, the proceedings which were afterward taken to dare the utmost investigation, and, finally, the punishment of the king's attorney, belong to history.

The 11th of January was a brilliant day, and the Thames appeared covered with boats, and its bridges and banks crowded with spectators. Armed vessels, and barges manned by sailors, and carrying ordnance with matches lighted, attended the embarkation of the sheriffs, with a portion of the city guard. Two brilliant lines of flags and colours ranged themselves from London Bridge to Westminster Hall, and through these Pym and Hampden, and their friends, in a vessel manned by sailors who had volunteered their services, returned to the scene of their dangers and glories. A farther division of the trainbands of the city had meanwhile marched up the Strand, attended by vast crowds of shouting people, for the purpose of guarding the avenues to the House of Commons; and as the patriots landed, the enthusiastic applauses of the multitude, outringing the clattering discharges of ordnance, followed them in their passage to the lobby. Pym rose immediately after taking his old seat, and fervently thanked the citizens of London. Hampden, Hollis, Hazlerig, and Strode stood uncovered while Pym spoke. In conclusion, the sheriffs were thanked by a unanimous vote of the House, and orders given that a guard, selected from the trainbands of the city, "should attend daily to watch over the safety of the Parliament."

Late on the night before this public triumph, the king, his queen, and their children left Lon-

don and proceeded to Hampton Court. When Charles returned again, he returned a prisoner.

The crisis had now arrived, and the last appeal alone was waited for. Clarendon says that Pym and Hampden returned to their places in Parliament altered and fiercer men. Fiercer they probably were, but they were not altered. The times had changed, not they. Their hopes of any intermediate reconciliation were now forever blasted; and it was clear that no mutual terms could be held again until one of the parties had thoroughly subdued the other.

The Commons pursued their measures with singular energy. Major-general Skippon was placed, with a sufficient guard, over the Tower; and a memorable order was at once issued, that Lord Newport, master-general of the ordnance, and Sir John Byron, lieutenant of the Tower, should suffer no removal of ordnance or ammunition "without the king's authority, signified by both Houses of Parliament." Goring was sent to hold Portsmouth under the same authority, and Sir John Hotham to Hull. The king remained irresolute and inactive meanwhile.

The Commons wanted money beyond all things, and now negotiated a loan with the city. The authorities, by petition, declined lending, except upon certain conditions, which they delivered in the form of twelve specific grievances to be at once redressed. These conditions are supposed to have been the suggestion of Pym. The Commons instantly desired a conference with the Lords respecting this London petition, and divers others of a similar character from the counties of Middlesex, Essex, and Hertford. Pym managed the conference, and the speech he delivered there is a masterpiece of eloquence; solid, concise, and vigorous, nervous and simple. It may remain, with the language itself, an everlasting evidence of the wisdom and courage of the orator.

"My lords, I am commanded by the knights, citizens, and burgesses, assembled for the Commons in Parliament, to present to your lordships divers petitions which they have received from several parts concerning the state of the kingdom, whereunto they are chiefly moved by that constant affection which they have always expressed, of maintaining a firm union and good correspondence with your lordships, wherein they have ever found much advantage and contentment, but never held it more important and necessary than at this time, when the wisdom and resolution of Parliament have as many great dangers and difficulties to pass through as ever heretofore.

"We are united in the public trust, which is derived from the Commonwealth, in the common duty and obligation whereby God doth bind us to the discharge of that trust; and the Commons desire to impart to your lordships whatsoever information or intelligence, whatsoever encouragement or assistance, they have received from those several counties which they represent, that so likewise we may be united in the same intentions and endeavours of improving all to the service of his majesty, and the common good of the kingdom.

"The petitions which I am directed to communicate to your lordships are four: from Lon-

don, Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire. We have received many more, but it would take up too much time and be too great a trouble to peruse all; and in these four you may perceive the effect and sense of all. First, I am to desire your lordships to hear them read; and then I shall pursue my instructions in propounding some observations out of them."

"These petitions," the report continues, "being read by four several members of the House, Mr. Pym resumed his discourse.

"My lords, in these four petitions you may hear the voice, or rather the cry, of all England; and you cannot wonder if the urgency, the extremity of the condition wherein we are, do produce some earnestness and vehemence of expression more than ordinary. The agony, terror, and perplexity in which the kingdom labours are universal; all parts are affected with them; and therefore in these you may observe the groans and miserable complaints of all.

"Divers reasons may be given why those diseases which are epidemical are more dangerous than others. First, The cause of such diseases is universal and supernal, and not from an evil constitution, or evil diet, or any other accident; such causes, therefore, work with more vigour and efficacy than those which are particular and inferior. Secondly, In such diseases there is a communicative quality, whereby the malignity of them is multiplied and enforced. Thirdly, They have a converting, transforming power, that turns other diseases and ill affections of men's bodies into their own nature.

"First, The common and epidemical disease wherein this Commonwealth now lies gasping hath a superior and universal cause from the evil counsels and designs of those who, under his majesty, bear the greatest sway in government. Secondly, It hath a contagious and infectious quality, whereby it is diffused and dispersed thro' all parts of the kingdom. Thirdly, It is apt to take in the discontents, evil affections, and designs of particular persons, to increase and fortify itself.

"I shall take occasion, from several branches of those petitions which your lordships have heard, to observe, First, The variety of dangers to which this kingdom is now subject. Secondly, the manifold distempers which are the cause of those dangers. Thirdly, The multiplicity of those evil influences which are the causes of those distempers.

"The first danger is from enemies abroad. This may seem a causeless and impertinent observation at this time, seeing we are in peace with all nations about us. *But, my lords, you may be pleased to consider that the safety of the kingdom ought not to depend upon the will and disposition of our neighbours, but upon our own strength and provision.* Betwixt states there are often sudden changes from peace to war, according to occasion and advantage. All the states of Christendom are now armed, and we have no reason to believe but that those of greatest power have an evil eye upon us in respect of our religion; and if their private differences should be composed, how dangerously, how speedily might those great armies, and other preparations now ready, be applied to

some enterprise and attempt against us! If there were no other cause, this were sufficient to make us stand upon our guard. But there are divers more especial symptoms of dangers of this kind.

"We may perceive by several advertisements from abroad that they did foresee our dangers many months before they broke out. They could foretell the time and manner of them, which is a clear evidence they held intelligence with those who were the contrivers and workers of the present troubles.

"We have, in truth, many dangerous traitors and fugitives now in other parts, who can discover the weakness and distemper of the kingdom, who hold intelligence with the ill-affected party here, and, by all cunning and subtle practices, endeavour to incite and provoke other princes against us.

"Some of the ministers of our neighbour princes, my lords, may be justly suspected to have had a yet more immediate hand and operation in the insurrection and rebellion in Ireland; many of the commanders, and most of the soldiers levied for the service of Spain, are now joined with the rebels there; and those Irish friars which were employed by the Spanish ambassador for the making of those levies are known to have been the chief incendiaries of this rebellion, and are still very active in the prosecution and encouragement of it. The rebels have, moreover, a ready and speedy supply from some of our neighbours. Two convoys of munition and arms we are certainly informed of—one from Dunkirk, the other from Nantes in Brittany; and certainly those that are so forward to enable others to hurt us, will not forbear to hurt us themselves, as soon as they shall have means and opportunity to do it.

"Another danger is from the Papists and ill-affected party at home. The Papists here are actuated by the same principles with those in Ireland. Many of the most active of them have lately, indeed, been there, which argues an intercourse and communication of councils. They have still store of arms and munition at their disposing, notwithstanding all our endeavours to disarm them; they have a free resort to the city and to the court; they want no opportunity to consult together; they have the same or greater encouragements, *from above and from about them*, than ever, in respect of the example and success of the rebels in Ireland, and the great confusions and divisions which, by their cunning and subtle practices, are raised and fomented amongst ourselves at home.

"A third danger is of tumults and insurrections of the meaner sort of people, by reason of their ill vent of cloth and other manufactures, whereby great multitudes are set on work, who live for the most part on their daily gettings, and will, in a very short time, be brought to great extremity if not employed. Nothing is more sharp and pressing than necessity and want; what they cannot buy they will take; from them the like necessity will quickly be derived to the farmers and husbandmen, and so grow higher, and involve all in an equality of misery and distress, if it be not instantly prevented! And, at this time, such tumults will be more dangerous, because the kingdom is full of disbanded soldiers and officers,

who will be ready to head and to animate the multitude to commit violence with more strength and advantage; and if they once grow into a body, it will be much more difficult to reduce them into order again, because necessity and want, which are the causes of this disturbance, will still increase as the effects increase.

"A fourth danger is from the rebels in Ireland, not only in respect of that kingdom, but in respect of this. They have seized upon the body of that kingdom already; they abound in men of very able persons; they increase in arms and munition; they have great hopes of supplies from abroad and of encouragement here, and are sure of good entertainment from the popish party, so that they begin to speak already there of transporting themselves hither, and making this kingdom the seat of the war.

"The distemper, my lords, which hath produced these dangers is various and exceeding violent. Whosoever Nature is hindered in her proper operations and faculties, distempers will necessarily follow. The obstructions, my lords, which have brought us into this distemper are very many, so that we cannot wonder at the strength and malignity of it. Some of the chiefest of these obstructions I shall endeavour to remember.

"First. The obstruction of reformation in matters of religion. *No grievances are sharper than those that press upon the tender consciences of men!* and there was never church or state afflicted with more grievances of this kind than we have been; and though they are, by the wisdom of this Parliament, partly eased and diminished, yet many still remain; and as long as the bishops and the corrupt part of the clergy continue in their power, there will be little hope of freedom, either from the sense of those which continue, or the fear of those which are removed. And of this obstruction, my lords, I must clear the Commons. We are in no part guilty of it. Some good bills have passed us, and others are in preparation, which might have been passed before this if we had not found such ill success in your Lordships' House. *Whatsoever mischief this obstruction shall produce, we are free from it: we may have our part of the misery, we can have no part in the guilt or dishonour.*

"Secondly. An obstruction in trade. It is trade that brings food and nourishment to the kingdom; it is that which preserves and increases the stock of the whole, and distributes a convenient portion of maintenance to every part of it, therefore such an obstruction as this must needs be dangerous; the freedom of trade being so necessary, the benefit so important, that it gives life, strength, and beauty to the whole body of the Commonwealth. But I must protest the House of Commons hath given no cause to this obstruction; we have eased trade of many burdens and heavy taxes, which are taken off; we have freed it from many hard restraints by patents and monopolies; we have been willing to part with our own privileges to give it encouragement; we have sought to put the merchants into security and confidence in respect of the Tower of London, that so they might be invited to bring in their bullion to the mint, as heretofore they have done; and we are no way guilty of the troubles, the fears,

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and public dangers which make men withdraw their stocks, and keep their money by them, to be ready for such sudden exigencies as in these great distractions we have too much cause to expect.

"Thirdly. The obstruction in the relief of Ireland. It must needs be accounted a great shame and dishonour to this kingdom that our neighbours have showed themselves more forward to supply the rebels than we have been to relieve our distressed brethren and fellow-subjects. But I must declare we are altogether innocent of any neglect herein. As soon as the first news of the rebellion came over, we undertook the war, not by way of supply and aid, as in former rebellions the subjects have used to do, but we undertook the whole charge of it, and we suffered not twenty-four hours to pass before we agreed to a great levy of money and men, to be employed against the rebels, even in a larger proportion than the lords, justices, and council there did desire; and from time to time we have done all for the furtherance thereof, though in the midst of many distractions and diversions. But the want of commissions for levying of men, for issuing arms, and divers other impediments, have been the causes of that obstruction: and I wish we had not only found impediments to ourselves; we have found also encouragements to them. Many of the chief commanders, now at the head of the rebels, after we had, with your lordships' concurrence, stop't the ports against all Irish Papists, have been suffered to pass by his majesty's immediate warrant, much to the discouragement of the lords-justices and the council there; and this procured, as we believe, by some evil instruments too near his royal person, *without his majesty's knowledge and intention.*

"Fourthly. The obstruction in prosecution of delinquents. Many we have already brought up to your lordships, divers others we have been discouraged to transmit, such difficult proceedings have we met withal, such terrors and discountenance have been cast upon ourselves and our witnesses. My lords, those who have showed themselves the friends and patrons of delinquents have found it the most ready way to preferment! Yea, his majesty's own hand hath been obtained, and his majesty's ships employed, for the transporting of divers of those who have fled from the justice of Parliament!

"Fifthly. A general obstruction and interruption of the proceedings in Parliament by those manifold designs of violence which, thro' God's mercy, we have escaped; by the great and frequent breaches of privilege; by the subtle endeavours to raise parties in our House, and jealousies betwixt the two Houses.

"Sixthly. The obstruction in providing for the defence of the kingdom, that we might be enabled to resist a foreign enemy, or to suppress all civil insurrections. What a pressing necessity there is of this, the exceeding great decays in the navy, in the forts, in the power of ordering the militia of the kingdom, and means of furnishing them with munition, are sufficient evidences, known to none better than your lordships. And what endeavours we have used to remove them, but hitherto without that

success and concurrence which we expected, and where the stop hath been, and upon what good grounds we may claim our own innocency and faithfulness, *we desire no other witnesses but ourselves.*

"Lastly, I come to the evil influences which have caused this distemper; and I shall content myself with mentioning those which are most important. 1. I shall remember the evil counsels about the king, whereof we have often complained. Diseases of the brain are most dangerous, because from thence sense and motion are derived to the whole body. The malignity of evil counsels will quickly be infused into all parts of the state. None can doubt but we have exceedingly laboured under most dangerous and mischievous counsels. This evil influence hath been the cause of the preparation of war with Scotland—of the procuring a rebellion in Ireland—of corrupting religion—suppressing the liberty of this kingdom—and of many fearful and horrid attempts to the subverting the very being of Parliaments, which was the only hopeful means of opposing and preventing all the rest. The last, indeed, doth appear to be a most predominant evil of the time, whereat we need not wonder when we consider how counsellors have been preferred and prepared; and I appeal to your lordships' own consciences whether the giving and countenancing of evil counsel hath not been almost the only way to favour and advancement. 2. The discouragement of good counsel. Divers honest and approved counsellors have been put from their places, others so discountenanced as that the way of favour hath been shut against them, and that of danger and destruction only open to them. 3. The great power that an interested and factious party hath in the Parliament by the continuance of the votes of the bishops and popish lords in your Lordships' House, and the taking in of others, both out of the House of Commons and otherwise, to increase their strength. 4. The fomenting and cherishing of a malignant party throughout the whole kingdom. 5. The manifold jealousies betwixt the king, his Parliament, and good subjects, whereby his protection and favour hath in a great measure been withheld from them, and their inclination and resolution to serve and assist him hath been very much hindered and interrupted."

The force and boldness of all this were equal to the great emergencies of the hour; and as the orator proceeded, we may suppose him more than repaid by the expression of proud and affectionate admiration that rested on the countenances of Hampden and Piennes, who were sitting by his side. His closing passages were simple and noble in the extreme. They condensed into a few words all the ominous warnings which, throughout his great task, he had addressed to the upper House; and the inspiration of a memorable lesson, announced not less for the present than as a precedent and example for remoter times, was stamped upon them.

"We have often suffered under the misinterpretation of good actions, and false imputation of evil ones which we never intended, so that we may justly purge ourselves from all guilt of being authors of this jealousy and mis-

understanding. We have been, and are still, ready to serve his majesty with our lives and fortunes, with as much cheerfulness and earnestness of affection as ever any subjects were; and we doubt not but our proceedings will so manifest this, that we shall be as clear in the apprehension of the world as we are in the testimony of our own consciences.

"I am now come to a conclusion. I have nothing to propound to your lordships by way of request or desire from the House of Commons. I doubt not but your judgments will tell you what is to be done. Your consciences, your honours, your interests will call upon you for the doing of it. The Commons will be glad to have your concurrence and help in saving of the kingdom; but, if they fail of it, it shall not discourage them in doing their duty. And whether the kingdom be lost or saved (I hope, through God's blessing, it will be saved!), they shall be sorry that the story of this present Parliament should tell posterity that, in so great a danger and extremity, the House of Commons should be enforced to save the kingdom alone, and that the Peers should have no part in the honour of the preservation of it, having so great an interest in the good success of those endeavours in respect of their great estates and high degrees of nobility.

"My lords, consider what the present necessities and dangers of the Commonwealth require, what the Commons have reason to expect, to what endeavours and counsels the concurrent desires of all the people do invite you; so that, applying yourselves to the preservation of the king and kingdom, I may be bold to assure you, in the name of all the commons of England, that you shall be bravely seconded!"

The first effect of this speech, which was enthusiastically hailed by the Commons,\* was in the passing of the bill for taking away the bishops' vote, with three dissentient voices only. The king refused his assent to it, but subsequently yielded, and in this gave great offence to his party. It may be supposed, however, that some subsequent explanation was satisfactory to them, since the following notable disclosure has escaped from Lord Clarendon's pen: "I have some cause to believe that the argument, which was unanswerable, for the rejecting that bill, was applied for the confirming it; an opinion that the violence and force used in procuring it rendered it absolutely invalid and void, made the confirmation of it less considered, as not being of strength to make that act good which was in itself null; and I doubt this logic had an influence upon acts of no less moment than these." There is scarcely an act in the life of Charles I. that does not bear the stain of some such perfidy. Where were the leaders of the English people now to lean, if not upon their own strength, the wisdom of their

\* "The foregoing speech of Mr. Pymme's was so agreeable to the Commons, that the same day they ordered 'that Mr. Speaker, in the name of the House, shall give thanks unto Mr. Pymme for his so well performing the service he was employed in, by the commands of this House, at this conference. And it was further ordered, that Mr. Pymme be desired to put the speech he made at this conference into writing, and to deliver it into the House, to the end that it may be printed.' This was done accordingly."—*Parliamentary History*. The copy in the text is taken from a large paper copy of this authorized version now in possession, "printed for John Rothwell," 1641.

long and hard experience, and the confidence of the people who trusted them!

The second great effect of Pym's speech was exhibited by the king himself. He wrote to the speaker and complained of it, more especially of that passage which stated several of the Irish rebels to have passed the ports "by his majesty's immediate warrant." The Commons vindicated the speech, and the king replied; it was again defended more strongly still; and the many conferences and declarations that passed served to widen the breach between the Parliament and the king.\* The tributes which it had meanwhile brought pouring in, of faith and affection to the Parliament, most materially strengthened the cause.†

The king now directed all his resources, whether of force or stratagem, to the acquisition of the two great magazines of the kingdom, Hull and the Tower. His various attempts, and their thorough defeat, are told in all the histories. The result was, that Charles proclaimed Hotham a traitor by sound of trumpet, and sent two angry messages to the House demanding reparation for the repulse he had met with. "If," he added, "we are brought into a condition so much worse than any of our subjects, that whilst you all enjoy your privileges, and may not have your possessions disturbed or your titles questioned, we only may be spoiled, thrown out of our towns, and our goods taken from us, 'tis time to examine

\* Charles's pertinacity about this speech was curious. Wherever, for some weeks after, the Commons sent him any message, his remark would be, "I must tell you, that I rather expected a vindication for the imputation laid on me as Mr. Pym's speech;" and as the war approached more nearly, his reference to it grew less respectful: "Concerning Pym's speech—you will have found by what the Lord Capten and Mr. Baynton brought from us in answer to the message they brought to us, that, as yet, we rest nothing satisfied in that particular."

† Even the London women, wives of tradesmen, became infected with the popular enthusiasm, and sent in a long petition of affection to the House of Commons, and prayers that they would redress all grievances. Butler is supposed to have alluded to this in his couplet:

"The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,  
And trudged away to cry 'no bishop!'"  
and the satire was allowable enough. The Journals of the House state, however, that "this petition was presented by Mrs. Anne Stagg, a gentlewoman and brewer's wife, and many others with her of like rank and quality; and that, after some time spent in reading of it, the House sent them in answer by Mr. Pym, which was performed in this manner. Mr. Pym came to the Commons' door, and called for the women, and spake unto them in these words: 'Good women, your petition, with the reasons, hath been read in the House, and is thankfully accepted of, and is come in a reasonable time. You shall, God willing, receive from us all the satisfaction which we can possibly give to your just and lawful desires. We intreat you, therefore, to repair to your houses, and turn your petition which you have delivered here into prayers at home for us; for we have been, are, and shall be, to our utmost power, ready to relieve you, your husbands, and children, and to perform the trust committed unto us towards God, our king, and country, as becometh faithful Christians and loyal subjects.'" This speech in no bad evidence of Pym's popular and easy address. Nothing could have been more happily turned. I should add, also, from the journals of the same period, another kind of testimony to the present influence of Pym. "Information being given to the Lords that Edw. Sandeford, a tailor, of London, had said 'that the Earl of Essex was a traitor; that all the Parliament were traitors; that the Earl of Warwick was a traitor, and he wished his heart in his boots; and that he cursed the Parliament, and wished Mr. Pym (calling him King Pym) and Sir John Hotham both hanged'; the said Edw. Sandeford was brought to the bar, and asked what he had to allege in his defence; but not being able to disprove the charge, he and the witnesses against him were ordered to withdraw, and a sharp sentence of punishment was decreed against him."

how we have lost those privileges, and to try all possible ways, by the help of God, the law of the land, and the affection of all our good subjects, to recover them, and to vindicate ourselves from those injuries; and if we shall miscarry herein, we shall be the first prince in this kingdom that hath done so—having no other end but to defend the true Protestant profession, the law of the land, and the liberty of the subject. And God so deal with us as we continue in those resolutions." And in a subsequent more elaborate paper, drawn forth by an order of the Commons justifying Hotham, and "suppressing" the forces the king had raised against Hull, Charles writes, or, rather, "Mr. Hyde" writes for him, "We are not unwilling to join issue with them in this way, and to let all the world know how necessary, just, and lawful all our proceedings have been in this point; and that the defence of these proceedings is the defence of the law of the land, of the liberty and property of the subject; and that by the same rule of justice which is now offered to us, all the private interest and title of all our good subjects to all their lands and goods are confounded and destroyed. Mr. Pym himself tells you, in his speech against the Earl of Strafford (published by the order of the House of Commons), 'The law is the safeguard, the custody of all private interests; your honours, your lives, your liberties, and estates are all in the keeping of the law: without this, every man hath a like right to any thing.' And we would fain be answered, What title any subject of our kingdom hath to his house or land, that we have not to our town of Hull! Or what right hath he to his money, plate, or jewels, that we have not to our magazine or munition there! If we had ever such a title, we would know when we lost it. . . . We conclude with Mr. Pym's own words: 'If the prerogative of the king overwhelm the liberty of the people, it will be turned to tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy;' and so we say into confusion."

Now mark the answer of the Commons, in perhaps the boldest and most remarkable state document of the time. The hand of Pym may be traced in every line of it. The commencement of the extract which follows is indeed almost literally copied from one of his finest speeches. "If," say the Commons of England to their king, "*if we have done more than ever our ancestors have done, we have suffered more than ever they have suffered*; and yet, in point of modesty and duty, we shall not yield to the best of former times; and we shall put this in issue. Whether the highest and most unwarrantable proceedings of any of his majesty's predecessors do not fall short of, and much below, what hath been done to us this Parliament; and, on the other side, whether, if we should make the highest precedents of other Parliaments our patterns, there would be cause to complain of 'want of modesty and duty in us,' when we have not so much as suffered such things to enter into our thoughts which all the world knows they have put in action! Another charge which is laid very high upon us (and which were indeed a very great crime if we were found guilty thereof) is, 'that, by avowing this act of Sir J. Hotham, we do, in



consequence, confound and destroy the title and interest of all his majesty's good subjects to their lands and goods; and that, upon this ground, that his majesty hath the same title to his own town of Hull which any of his subjects have to their houses or lands; and the same to his magazine or munition there, that any man hath to his money, plate, or jewels; and therefore that they ought not to have been disposed of without or against his consent, no more than the house, land, money, plate, or jewels of any subject ought to be without or against his will.'

*Here that is laid down for a principle which would indeed pull up the very foundation of the liberty, property, and interest of every subject in particular, and of all the subjects in general, if we should admit it for a truth 'that his majesty hath the same right and title to his towns and magazine (bought with the public moneys, as we conceive that at Hull to have been) that every particular man hath to his house, lands, and goods;' for his majesty's towns are no more his own than his kingdom is his own; and his kingdom is no more his own than his people are his own; and if the king had a property in all his towns, what would become of the subjects' property in their houses therein! and if he had a property in his kingdom, what would become of the subjects' property in their lands throughout the kingdom! or of their liberties, if his majesty had the same right in their persons that every subject hath in their lands or goods! and what would become of all the subjects' interest in the town and forts of the kingdom, and in the kingdom itself, if his majesty might sell, or give them away, or dispose of them at his pleasure, as a particular man may do with his lands and with his goods! This erroneous maxim being infused into princes, that their kingdoms are their own, and that they may do with them what they will (as if their kingdoms were for them, and not they for their kingdoms), is the root of all the subjects' misery, and of all the invading of their just rights and liberties; whereas, indeed, they are only intrusted with their kingdoms, and with their towns, and with their people, and with the public treasure of the Commonwealth, and whatsoever is bought therewith. By the known law of this kingdom, the very jewels of the crown are not the king's proper goods, but are only intrusted to him for the use and ornament thereof; as the towns, forts, treasure, magazine, offices, and people of the kingdom, and the whole kingdom itself, are intrusted unto him for the good, and safety, and best advantage thereof; and as this trust is for the use of the kingdom, so ought it to be managed by the advice of the houses of Parliament, whom the kingdom hath trusted for that purpose, it being their duty to see it be discharged according to the condition and true intent thereof, and as much as in them lies, by all possible means to prevent the contrary; which if it hath been their chief care and only aim in the disposing of the town and magazine of Hull in such manner as they have done, they hope it will appear clearly to all the world that they have discharged their own trust, and not invaded that of his majesty's, much less his property, which, in this case, they could not do."*

A second answer was returned by the king, more weak and more elaborate than the first,

and a vigorous remonstrance, recommended in an earnest and forcible speech by Pym,\* was forwarded to Charles. It opened with these words: "We, your majesty's most humble and loyal subjects, the lords and commons of this present Parliament assembled, do hereby call God, this kingdom, and the whole world to witness, that we have, ever since our first meeting in this present Parliament, with fidelity to your majesty and the state, with much patience and constancy in respect of the great affronts and interruptions, the pernicious plots and attempts wherewith we have been encountered, distracted, and opposed, employed our counsels and endeavours to maintain God's true religion, the honour and rights of your crown, the peace and safety of your royal person and your kingdoms, and the just liberties of your people; that so we might ease them of their great grievances, and prevent the fears and dangers, yea, the imminent ruin and destruction, which have been contrived and fostered, not only in your court, but even very near your own person; and however our liberties have been invaded, many of our lives endangered, and such attempts made upon us as might have subverted the very being of Parliament, yet have we so kept ourselves within the bounds of modesty and duty, that we have given no just occasion of your majesty's absence at this time." In reference to a complaint in the king's last paper, the following remark is made: "And whereas his majesty saith 'he could wish that his own immediate actions, which he avows on his own honour, might not be so roughly censured under that common style of evil counsellors,' we could also heartily wish we had not cause to make that style so common; but, how often and undutifully soever these wicked counsellors fix their dishonour upon the king, by making his majesty the author of those evil actions which are the effects of their own evil counsels, we, his majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, can use no other style, according to that maxim in the law, 'The king can do no wrong;' but if any ill be committed in matter of state, the council must answer for it; if in matters of justice, the judges."

Every step in this paper war now brought the combatants nearer and nearer to a more real and a more fatal field. The great question on which all else depended was at last in vehement agitation—the command of the militia of the kingdom. The very condition of the parties between whom the discussion arose precluded from the first the possibility of agreement. Some idea of the labour and research which Pym, notwithstanding, devoted to this memorable question, will be gathered from a curious document in the appendix at the end of this article,† and which is highly characteristic of the man.

The disposal of the militia, however, cannot be argued, in the present case, on abstract grounds, though Pym has made out the most forcible case, even in that view, which has been yet attempted. The Parliament had been undoubtedly forced into a position to make the

\* See this speech in Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 1162.

† Appendix C.

demand they did,\* when, as a ground of trust, they required that the king should place the army and navy under the command of officers possessing the confidence of both Houses. On refusal of this, he was asked whether, for a time, the militia might not be granted? "No, by God!" his sacred majesty, according to Rushworth,† swore; "not for an hour! You have asked that of me in this was never asked of any king, and with which I will not trust my wife and children."

On a subsequent motion of Pym, the Commons unanimously passed their ordinance for disposing the militia, and sent it up to the Lords. Meanwhile they again memorialized his majesty, who, in return, vapoured upon them thus: "We will propose no more particulars to you, having no luck to please or to be understood by you. Take your own time for what concerns our particular, but be sure you have an early, speedy care of the public; that is, of the only rule that preserves the public, the law of the land: preserve the dignity and reverence due to that. It was well said in a speech made by a private person (it was Mr. Pym's speech against the Earl of Strafford, and formerly quoted by us), 'The law is that which puts a difference betwixt good and evil, betwixt just and unjust. If you take away the law, all things will fall into a confusion; every man will become a law unto himself, which, in the depraved condition of human nature, must needs produce many great enormities. Lust will become a law, and envy will become a law; covetousness and ambition will become laws; and what dictates, what decisions such laws will produce, may easily be discerned.' So said that gentleman, and much more, very well, in defence of the law, and against arbitrary power. It is worth looking over and considering; and if the most zealous defence of the true Protestant profession, and the most resolved protection of the law be the most necessary duty of a prince, we cannot believe this miserable distance and misunderstanding can be long continued between us; we have often and earnestly declared them to be the chiefest desires of our soul, and the end and rule of all our actions." And again, in one of his subsequent productions, he returned to the same strain. "We remembered them long ago, and we cannot do it too often, of that excellent speech of Mr. Pym's: The law is that which puts a difference," &c. And Mr. Hallam can say of these tedious and evasive documents that they excel the manly, earnest, and straightforward productions of the popular leaders!

The next motion of the Commons "shook Charles's throne and title to the centre."‡ After obtaining, by a masterly stroke of vigorous policy, possession of the fleet, they passed the three following resolutions: "1. That it appears that the king, seduced by wicked counsel, intends to make war against the Parlia-

ment, who, in all their consultations and actions, have proposed no other end unto themselves but the care of his kingdoms, and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person. 2. That whensoever the king maketh war upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of his government. 3. That whosoever shall serve or assist him in such wars, are traitors by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two acts of Parliament, and ought to suffer as traitors."

The king now, in his turn, denounced the militia ordinance as illegal, and began to issue his commissions of array. On the 12th of July the Commons voted the raising of an army, to be commanded in chief by the Earl of Essex. Some days after, a proclamation from the king declared Essex a traitor.

At this point a temporary pause may be made, for the purpose of introducing a speech by Pym,\* of a style very different from any that has yet been given, but conceived and expressed in exactly that sort of exquisite gravity of humour which such a subject was likely to call forth from such a speaker. On the publication of the militia ordinance, Sir Edward Dering—whose fantastic vanity, before adverted to, had already separated him from the popular party and banished him from the House—bethought himself of a new project for notoriety, and, "albeit a justice of the peace," presented himself, with some equally dignified friends, as candidates to serve on the grand jury of the county of Kent (which he had before represented in the Commons), which being allowed, he wheedled all the jurors into his purpose; or, in the words of the charge preferred against him, having drawn up the heads of a strong petition against the militia ordinance and the House of Commons, he "did tender the said heads to the said grand jury, and did then and there wickedly and unlawfully persuade, labour, and solicit the rest of the grand jury to agree to the same, and have them drawn into a petition to the Parliament, to be presented by the said grand jury to the judge of the said assizes and the rest of the bench there, to be by them assented to and approved of; and did then and there wickedly conjure the said grand jury to secrecy, and not to discover any thing touching the said petition, till it should be by them agreed upon and presented as aforesaid, falsely persuading them that they were thereunto bound by their oath." Some of the jury consented, some refused; but Sir Edward persisted, ultimately managed to present his petition to the judges, and was proposing to do a vast deal more, when "Mr. Pym" interfered, lodged an information against him, and supported it, before the House of Lords, in the following admirable speech of grave satirical humour:

"Your lordships see by this that hath been read unto you, that *nondum recentis Ilii fatum stetit*; that, notwithstanding the many strange and variable attempts against the Parliament, and their wonderful and miraculous preservations, yet mischief is so fruitful and generative as to produce a new brood of serpents, which

\* Even Lord Clarendon admits, on the passing of the militia ordinance, that "when this bill had been, with much ado, accepted and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive farther countenance, but now there were few who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision for the peace and safety of the kingdom; so great an impression had the late proceedings made upon them."

† Vol. iv., p. 535.

‡ History from Mackintosh, vol. v., p. 204.

\* This speech appears anonymously in the common Parliamentary histories, but in the Journals it is given to Pym.

are continually hissing, maligning, and practising against the pious and noble endeavours of both Houses, and against the peace, prosperity, and happiness of this afflicted kingdom. If the evil and seducing spirit which doth animate those designs were asked from whence he comes, doubtless his answer would be, 'from compassing the earth,' having removed his scene into many several parts, and found so many friends and patrons of his audacious achievements, amongst whom this gentleman, Sir Edward Dering, is one: a man of mark and eminency; of wit, learning, and zeal, at least in show and appearance; and yet all these miserably shipwreck'd upon the shelves and sands of the Kentish shore! The thing itself appears to your lordships to be a manifest breach of the rules of law, justice, and religion; and yet, under the cloak of all three, a fast must be proclaimed to take away Naboth and his vineyard! The yeomanry of Kent, heretofore in great esteem, is now become vile and contemptible; an extraordinary grand jury must be prepared of knights, gentlemen, and justices of the peace, for some extraordinary service—what it is your lordships have heard. They must descend from their places on the bench, and from themselves too, not to serve their country (for that were no disparagement), but to serve their own unworthy, ambitious, and seditious ends.

"This gentleman, a ringleader, late a member of the House of Commons, the grand jury of the whole kingdom (and there so highly esteeming of his wisdom), is contented now to descend so low as to become one of the common jury of the county. Such is the meanness and pusillanimity of high thoughts, as, for compassing of their own ends, to stoop to any condition, how low soever it may be!

"Having set the cards, however, he plays the game very foully. He leads his fellows out of the way, and makes them, like ill hunters, instead of following the chase, at the quest of one ill mouth to fall upon a flock of sheep! Their duty was to have inquired diligently of the matters given them in charge. Surely this was out of the charge, because the judge had told them it was out of his commission. And yet they leave other matters which they were charged with as accidents and trifles, and insist upon this, which they had nothing to do with, as the principal business.

"He obtrudes on them also, be it observed, divers monstrous and seditious heads, and by sinister suggestions, labours, and solicitations, which ought not to be used to a jury, and by a kind of violence offered them, seeks to enforce them to a consent, contrary to their own reason, judgment, and consciences, when they refused, opposed, and protested against it. Failing of this,

"*Flectere si nequeam superos, acheronta movebo!* instead of inquiring upon the statute of witchcraft and conjuration, he useth his conjurations and enchantments upon them to conjure them to secrecy, falsely persuading them that they will be bound unto it by their oath. When all this would not serve, he then applies himself to the bench; and by the enchantments and conjurations used there, prevails so far as to have it there voted and assented to by such

as were present, and, to give the more strength and countenance to it, wants not the aid and concurrence of some appearing reverend divines, and of civilians also; and sticks not to affirm that he can have 40,000 persons to attend the petition! proclaims a meeting at Blackheath, a place fatal and ominous for actions of this nature! and all this under colour of a petition—being, in truth, a challenge, an adjuration, and a scandal upon the Parliament, and purporting nothing else but a desperate design to put not only Kent, but, for aught is known, all Christendom into combustion, carrying sails full swollen with spite, arrogance, and sedition.

"The particular instances I forbear to trouble your lordships with, because you will find some of them upon perusal of the petition. Many arguments might be used in aggravation of them, from the eminency of the power of the person, and the arrogance of his mind; from the acrimony of his spirit, and from the topping place of Kent, which former ages have found obnoxious to these infelicities;\* which this gentleman, so well read in story, should have been mindful of in these troublesome times! But all these, and other circumstances, I leave to your lordships' noble and judicious consideration, desiring, amongst other motives, that your lordships will be pleased to reflect upon the acts of your own justice in a case of like nature, which, being first begun here, near at hand, might have spread the flame and contagion over all England, had not the great wisdom and justice of both Houses in due time prevented it.

"I shall add no more at this time but what I have read of a people in Africa, who sent a challenge to the wind, whereupon, at the meeting, the wind blew down mountains upon them and overwhelmed them. I hope those bold and insolent adventurers, who have presumed to send a challenge or defiance to the great Houses, shall find a like stroke of their wonted power and justice, and that they shall meet with such a wind as will blow down their high thoughts upon themselves, return their votes into their own bosoms, and their mischievous designs upon their own heads!

"All which I am warranted, in the name of the House of Commons, and of all the commons of England, to desire of your lordships; and that you will be pleased to make this gentleman, the principal author of this foul act, a spectacle and pattern of exemplary justice to present and future times."

On the 22d of August, Charles I. erected his standard at Nottingham. The day was stormy and tempestuous, says Clarendon, and the king appeared more melancholic than he used to be. "The standard itself was blown down, the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed." Essex was in the field almost equally soon; and the green-coat regiments of Hampden, the London red-coats of Holles, the purple of Lord Brook, the blue of Lord Say, were soon seen gathering over the English fields. Sir William Waller, the firm friend of the Parliament, wrote

\* Pym here makes allusion to what has been commorated so nobly by our great poet Wordsworth, in his sonnet beginning "Vanguard of Liberty, ye men of Kent!"

to his "noble friend" Sir Ralph Hopton, entirely devoted to the king, in these words: "My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation of *usque ad aras* holds still. . . . The great God, who is the searcher of my heart, knows with what reluctance I go upon this service, and with what perfect hatred I look upon a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *opus Domini*, and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace in his good time send us peace, and in the mean time fit us to receive it! We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour, and without personal animosities." It stands on record, to the immortal honour of the English character, that in this noble and affecting spirit, with very rare exceptions, our great civil war was to the last fought out on both sides.

None of its details, however, belong to this memoir. To Pym was intrusted the momentous duty of watching over and conducting the affairs of Parliament and the executive while the majority of his friends were absent in the war. The executive power had been vested in what was styled a "Committee of Safety," comprising five peers, Essex, Northumberland, Pembroke, Holland, and Say, and ten commoners, Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Marten, Fiennes, Pierrepont, Glyn, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir John Meyrick. But all its most arduous duties fell upon Pym, and to their performance, with his old and unwearied energy, he entirely devoted what was left of his great and useful life.

With a view to that solemnity which was thought befitting the capital of a country through which civil war now raged, one of the first acts of the Houses was the issue of an order that, during the present period of calamity, "when humiliation and prayer better became the state of public affairs than mirth and levity," all public stage-plays should cease and be forborne. There is something grand in this, with which the liveliest and most liberal imagination among us now need not fail to sympathize. The players, however, were not dissatisfied. Scorning plain prose, they sent up a rhymed petition to the Houses, and then followed the army of the king. From the petition itself a line or two may serve:

\* "We vow  
Not to act any thing you disallow.  
We will not dare at your strange votes to jeer,  
Or personate King Pym with his state fear."

— King Pym was a favourite and scarcely objectionable term of Royalist reproach against one who reigned with absolute power over the

\* King Pym has been personated at least, however, or, if not personated, at least delineated, by Mr. Browning, with infinite force, expression, and beauty, in the recent tragedy of "Strafford." But the offences against Pym at this time were not all so harmless as that alluded to in the text. I copy from the Old Parl. Hist., vol. ii., p. 266: "Two were tried this day at the Lords' bar; one of them, Mr. Windesore, for saying 'that Mr. Pym had taken a bribe of £30, sitting in the chair in Easter term; that he had as many markleaves given for bribes as he had sold for 6 or £700. That before he was a Parliament man he was worth little, but he had now cosened the king of as much money as he had bought a good estate, and given £10,000 of the king's money to the marriage of his daughter.'"

affections of the great mass of the English people.

As the players went out, pamphlets and newspapers, a new, and many may think a somewhat less exceptionable series of "abstract and brief chronicles of the time," came in. Now "News from Hull," "Truths from York," and "Warranted Tidings from Ireland," coursed the country side; now the "Scots' Dove" assaulted and tore to pieces the "Parliament Kite" or the "Secret Owl;" and the "Weekly Discoverer" suddenly found himself "The Discoverer stript naked." The principal regular newspapers, however, were, on the side of the Parliament, the *Mercurius Britannicus*, written by the famous Marchamont Needham, or "soul-mouthed Ned," as his polite opponents styled him; and, on the king's side, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, published under the classic auspices of Oxford, and written, as Needham used to say, "by Birkenhead the scribe (afterward Sir John), Secretary Nicholas the informer, George Digby the contriver," and that very reverend divine, Doctor Peter Heylin. The wars of these rival journalists were carried on without much scruple on either side, though the court undoubtedly carried off the palm for indecency; and they served to disseminate, in every possible shape, the fiercest hate and malice. I have examined them all (I believe) with the utmost care, and shall be able to illustrate the remaining part of my subject with an occasional extract.

The exertions which Pym found requisite to maintain the interest and honour of Parliament at this time are almost incredible; and as the checkered fortunes of the Parliamentary army darkened into positive losses, the difficulties of his position were only less extraordinary than the resources they called forth from him. "From three of the clock in the morning to the evening, and from evening to midnight," says an unimpeachable witness, Dr. Marshall,\* who stood by his side, he laboured in the service of the Commonwealth. Now on the field of action, consulting with Hampden; now in the tent of Essex, strengthening his failing purpose; again at Westminster; and then among the London citizens—it was Pym, and Pym alone, who held at this awful crisis the frame of the executive together.

And, what in this was probably the most extraordinary, his influence sustained itself in defiance of all the violent changes and affections of the shortsighted multitude. In the opening months of the war, for instance, a negotiation with the king was opened, and became highly unpopular. Pym acknowledged its propriety, however, and, with some of the committee, presented himself at the Guildhall, and thus addressed the authorities:†

"My lord-mayor and gentlemen, I and my colleagues are here to represent to you (to you of this famous city of London, who will make it much more famous by these noble affections, which you have showed still to the public good, and by yielding so much aid and so much encouragement as you have done to the Parliament in maintaining it!) the state of both

\* Funeral Sermon, p. 36.

† This speech is not in Rushworth. I copy from a edition printed "for Peter Cole."

## BRITISH STATESMEN.

...the motives upon which we are proceeding. Indeed, we have from the beginning been resolved that we should never have recourse to a civil war if we might have secured a peace as might have been obtained by the public voice. But truly ill counsel would it have been to have done so. We are now, however, that the king, having seen the state of his subjects, having seen the state of his own person, and so much more, will be more tractable to the voice of peace than he would have been before. And that is the reason why we do so. We shall, however, after this battle has been fully fought, before it come to a final issue.

It is true that this may seem a resolution which is to that which was opened to you within these few days; but you will conceive that all great councils are subject to alter their resolutions, according as matters alter, and as the apprehensions of matters alter; for if things appear more clear and hopeful to them at one time than another, it is no dishonour for them to vary according to their appearance, judgments, and best reasons, so long as they do it with affections to the best purpose, which you may rest assured the Parliament hath done. And though we desire peace very much, yet a peace to betray religion or to betray our liberties we shall always esteem worse than war; therefore we shall put it to a very quick issue, if the king receive the petition, to make such propositions as you may see.

First, whether you shall be secured in your religion; in your religion with a hope of reformation; such a reformation as may maintain the power of religion, and the purity of religion, as well as the name of religion; for we shall not be contented with the name, nor without a reformation that shall maintain the power of it. Next, we shall pursue the maintenance of our liberties—liberties that may not only be in laws and statutes, but liberties that may be in practice and in execution—and to take such course that you may have the effects of them in truth; for to have printed liberties, and not to have liberties in truth and reality, is but to mock the kingdom; and I hope we shall take care for that in the second place. Thirdly, we shall take care to maintain the dignity and the honour of Parliament, for that is what will be a lasting security to you in your liberty and religion. We shall take care, in the fourth place, to answer the affections of the city of London, that we will not consent to anything that shall be prejudicial to them. We will preserve them in the highest degree of honour that ever this city of London was in; and truly it is now in the highest degree of honour that ever it was, for you have carried yourselves in such a regard to the public as never any of your predecessors did before, and therefore we shall, in a peace, be as careful of you as of ourselves; and you may be assured of this, that if we have not this peace, our lives, our pains, our estates, they shall all join with you in maintaining that with the sword which we can not get in an humble way by petition. And this, I again say, we shall bring to a quick issue.

"Therefore I shall only move you, as I am commanded to do from the Parliament, that you will not think there is any fainting on our parts; that we are more cold or less affectionate to any of these good ends than heretofore we have been, but that we would compass them with more secure advantage; for if you can get these by peace, you will have great advantages by it: you will hinder foreign invasions from beyond the seas; you will quickly be able to master the rebels in Ireland; you will quickly be able to suppress the Papists that begin to rise in England: then you shall have a perpetual security that they shall never be able to hurt you more. Therefore, if we can have such a peace without further hazard and blood-shedding, we shall praise God, and esteem it as a great blessing; but if not, pray lay not down the same spirits, for we have the same hearts, and multitudes of spirits, and the kingdom inclinable to us. Where the king has been, many, to save their estates and lives, have showed themselves but men, for it was not to be thought that single counties should maintain themselves against an army; but they have hearts as they had theretofore, and no doubt but they will join with us, with more alacrity, when they see we have desired peace by all the ways we could, and cannot have it.

"We shall, by this means, satisfy our own consciences; we shall satisfy many members of Parliament that desired it might be put on this way; we shall satisfy many of the kingdom, too, that have held themselves indifferent; but when they see there is no hope of peace in such a way without blood, certainly they will stand to us for religion and liberty, which must be destroyed if we cannot secure them without war. Therefore I shall commend to you that you would not let fall any part of your contributions, for it is that which must maintain the army, nor entertain ill apprehensions of the Parliament, but go on so as you have done. The end of all, I hope, will be such that God may have all the glory, and you all the comfort."

Two little months after, however, when war, again less successfully resumed, was not so popular, he presented himself in the same place, and requested from the same authorities a farther assessment of supply upon the citizens.

"My lord-mayor and gentlemen," he said, "we come not to tell your lordship and these worthy citizens only our wants and dangers, but we come to speak the thanks of the Parliament to you for that which you have already done; for that you have showed so much affection to the public, and that it hath produced so good effects throughout the whole kingdom. Now you have indeed an army raised, most out of this city, able to defend (with God's blessing) the religion and liberty of the kingdom, if it may be upheld! And we come not only to give you thanks for that which you have done, but to stir you up to join with us in giving thanks to God that hath given such a blessing to our endeavours, that when, by letters sent into all parts almost, our enemies did presume beforehand to triumph in the ruin and plundering of this city, God prevented it, and hath kept you safe; kept your houses, your walls, your suburbs, safe from that that was

intended against you ! And now, truly, as we have sought for this blessing by fasting and by prayer, so it is fit that we should testify our thanksgiving for it ; and this is a necessary part of our errand which we are sent about. And that we may be serviceable to God's providence still, as he hath stirred up your hearts to do so much already, so that he would stir you up still to continue to do that which is fit to be done for the future, and that you will do it in such a way as may be most pleasing to yourselves.

" We come not hither, that, by any consent here in public, you should bind yourselves in particular, but we come to let you know the dangers of the kingdom, with the sense the Parliament hath of it, and of the city especially, that you may not lose that which hath been already done, but that you may go on still cheerfully to do the full work. And we come to tell you that the Parliament doth intend the burden shall not lie upon you that are well affected and come in voluntarily, but that they have thought upon a way, and have begun it already, and I hope, within two or three days at the most, it shall be published to you, that all that are indisposed shall be forced to do that which, out of readiness and cheerfulness to the public good, they will not do of themselves. Neither limit we it to the city and suburbs, but we are in a course to draw in all the counties of the kingdom, that as the burden is universal, so the aid may be universal. These are the thoughts of the Parliament.

" If it please God to bless your forces that are already raised and continued, we hope you shall not only see peace again in the kingdom, and security for your religion, but see that the burden shall lie upon those who have been the engines and actors of the mischiefs and troubles that are come upon us. They shall then recompense the charges you have been at already !

" This is the intention of the Parliament. Only for the present do somewhat ! Every man, as God shall enable him, do somewhat ! Thus we may meet the present necessities, and prevent the dangers that require a present subsistence and present supply of the army ; without which, what is it will follow but the danger of the city, the ruin of the countries about, the stopping up of the river, which is almost taken from you, and the loss of the seacoasts ! You cannot have better hearts than you have ; God hath enabled many of you with purses. I hope it will be so readily disposed that we shall have a full joy in the recompense of it and of the retribution. This let us all pray to God to bring to pass."

A supply followed this speech, which is an exquisite specimen of those " wonderful popular arts" which Clarendon ascribes to Pym. It would, indeed, be difficult to imagine any thing better adapted to the occasion—so forcible, yet worded with such nice subtlety, as the passages which have just been quoted. Meanwhile the king, heated with his imagined successes, addressed a paper to the city of London in the highest style of a conqueror. Their recent actions he represented herein as outrages of so tremendous a nature that they called down the immediate vengeance of God, unless the city would purge itself of guilt by delivering up to

him their pretended lord-mayor and other leaders, whom he had particularly marked as traitors in his proclamations ;\* he graciously offered pardon to the rest, and added that he would give them the honour of his presence when they should put themselves in a proper posture to receive him ; with a warning that whosoever should henceforward contribute, by the payment of tonnage and poundage, or any other tax, on what pretence or authority soever, to the maintenance of the army under the Earl of Essex, must expect the severest punishment the law could inflict. He concluded with an express command that this his manifesto should be read out publicly in the city of London. This command, at least, was obeyed. The Parliament was communicated with, and a committee of both Houses were present when it was read.

" Methinks I see him," says Mr. Godwin, in reference to this period, " methinks I see Charles, in his principal entrance into London, surrounded by all his minions and myrmidons, his horse's hoofs wet with his country's blood."

But this was not to be while Pym lived. The king's manifesto was read, and a deep silence followed, when " Mr. Pym, that worthy member of the House of Commons and patriot of his country," as Peter Cole styles him in his edition of the speech, rose and commented, elaborately, but with singular force and clearness, on the various allegations of Charles. He acknowledged the generous and magnanimous conduct of the city, and their steady adherence to the principles of liberty ; he avowed that all those actions with which they had been reproached by the king had been done in obedience to the commands of Parliament ; he vindicated those commands, and showed that the king's answer was a libel, stuffed with scandalous, injurious aspersions on the two respectable bodies of Parliament and city ; as to the king's assertion that he was driven by tumults out of the city, Pym remembered the company of the king going, the day after his attempt to seize the members, into the city without a guard, and his residing divers days at Whitehall, Hampton Court, and Windsor, without any attempt which could give him apprehension of fear. On Charles's accusation against the two Houses of destroying the property of the subject by taking away the twentieth part by an arbitrary power, Pym observed that there was little reason for this objection on his majesty's behalf, when it was well known that from the subjects who were within the power of his army he did take the full yearly value of their lands, and in some cases more ; that not only particular houses, but whole towns, had been plundered by command and design ; and that by proclamations men were declared to forfeit all their estates because they would not obey arbitrary commands. To the king's declaration that he expected to be kept from tumults and affronts, Pym observed, that his majesty's expressions, in his answer, tending to the making a division in the city, and to the raising a party which might make disturbances in the orderly government now established in it, would be more prejudicial to his

\* These were Ven, Foulke, and Mainwaring.

quiet aooode in London than any thing which had ever been acted by the houses of Parliament, or the present governors of the city. In conclusion, as to the threatening part of the matter, Pym added, with a stern indifference, that the danger arising from these ill councils which influenced the king could not be kept off but by the power of arms; and that the Lords and Commons were so far from being frightened by his menaces, that they had just declared farther contribution towards the maintenance of the army; that they hoped for the continuance of the good affections of the city, and indeed desired that they would add at once some farther contributions towards the support of the forces which were now in existence for all their safeties.

The effect of this speech is strikingly described by the reporter. "At the end of every period *the applause was so great that he was fain to rest till silence was again made*; and at last (the company ready to be dissolved), after some pause and consultation with the committee of Lords and Commons then present, silence being made, he closed all with the words following: 'Worthy citizens, you have understood the sense of both houses of Parliament concerning my lord-mayor here, and those worthy members of your city that are demanded; you have heard the Parliament declare that they will protect them in that which they have done by direction of both Houses; and they expect that you should express it yourselves likewise, that if any violence be offered to them, you will secure and defend them with your uttermost force; and you shall always find that this protection of the Parliament shall not only extend to these, but to all others that have done any thing by their command; which words were no sooner uttered, but the citizens, with one joint harmony of minds and voices, gave such an acclamation as would have drowned all the former, if they had been then breathing; which, after a long continuance, resolved itself into this more articulate and distinct voice, 'We will live and die with them! We will live and die with them!' and the like. So that," concludes Mr. Peter Coles, "in the managing of this day's work, God was so pleased to manifest himself, that the well affected went away, not strengthened only, but rejoicing; and the malignants (as they have been called), some convinced, others silenced, many ashamed, it fully appearing how little power they had to answer their desires of doing mischief. Instead of dividing the city, the city were more exceedingly united; instead of a dissipation, thousands were unexpectedly brought, as it were, into an unthought-of association, to live and die in the defence of those zealous and honourable assertors of their peace and liberties, all which we may sum up in that triumph of the man of God, 'In the thing wherein they dealt proudly, God was above them.'"

Proud indeed was Pym's bearing through these great extremities of the cause, which, however, now threatened to deepen daily. Sir William Waller suffered a serious check from his old friend Sir Ralph Hopton, and was subsequently completely routed by Wilmot. Exeter and Bristol at about the same time surrendered to the king. The London people began

to murmur, and the danger was imminent indeed.

Again Pym saved the Commonwealth. The formidable conspiracy against the Parliament, and the life of Pym, its principal member, known by the name of Waller's Plot, was now discovered by the unwearied and unwinking vigilance of the patriot, and the feeling produced by its disclosure reanimated the sympathies of the people. The plot had been got up by Edmund Waller the poet, in concert with two associates named Challoner and Tomkins. The object was to seize the persons of Pym and the leading members of the Commons, and deliver up the city to the king. The proceedings were nearly ripe, when, says Clarendon, "a servant of Mr. Tomkins, who had often cursorily overheard his master and Mr. Waller discourse of the argument, placed himself behind a hanging at a time they were together, and there, whilst either of them discoursed the language and opinion of the company they kept, overheard enough to make him believe his information and discovery would make him welcome to those whom he thought concerned, and so went to Mr. Pym, and acquainted him with all he had heard. The time when Mr. Pym was made acquainted with it is not known, but the circumstances of the publishing it were such as filled all men with apprehensions. It was on Wednesday the thirty-first of May, their solemn fast-day, when, being all at their sermon in St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, according to their custom, a letter or message is brought privately to Mr. Pym, who thereupon, with some of the most active members, rise from their seats, and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the church. This could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind. Immediately they sent guards to all the prisons, as Lambeth House, Ely House, and such places where their malignants were in custody, with directions 'to search the prisoners,' and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the sermons were ended the Houses met, and were only told 'that letters were intercepted going to the king and the court at Oxford that expressed some notable conspiracy in hand to deliver up the Parliament and the city into the hands of the Cavaliers, and that the time for the execution of it drew very near.' Hereupon a committee was appointed 'to examine all persons they thought fit, and to apprehend some nominated at that time;' and the same night the committee apprehended Mr. Waller and Mr. Tomkins, and the next day such others as they thought fit."\*

The utmost available use was made of this

\* Hist., vol. iv., p. 66, 67. In No. 113 of King's Pamphlets, part xiv., p. 300, is a preposterous account of this plot, stating that it was merely a "commission issued by Charles against traitors," and that certain members of the House of Commons, assuming themselves to be the traitors, having found in whose hands the commission was, "on Wednesday, May the 31st, when the rest of their body were at church to observe the fast, some fifty of them went into the House of Commons, and delegated the whole power of the House to Master Pym, Master Glyn, Mr. St. John, Sir Harry Vane the younger, and Sir Gilbert Gerard; who, raising the trained bands, seized upon such persons as they thought were likely to cross their purposes, and filled the town with all the noise and clamour before remembered," &c., &c. The only effect of this is to implicate the king more deeply in the treachery.

discovery by Pym, and the most striking was the introduction of a vow against this or any similar design, which, though nominally optional, served all the purposes of a test. Tomkins and Challoner were tried and executed, and died acknowledging the justice of their punishment. Waller had disclosed so much, that on the payment of a fine of £10,000 and a year's imprisonment, he was suffered to carry his ignominy to France. The whole course and management of the plot, and its discovery, were enlarged on in the city with Pym's usual adroitness and popular power, and a copy of the elaborate speech he delivered at the Guildhall, "corrected by his own hand," will be found in the Appendix.\*

Still the king's successes continued, and still the inadequacy and slackness of Essex became more and more apparent. A proclamation appeared from Charles, promising free pardon to all, with some few exceptions,† on the laying down of arms. The exceptions included Pym and Hampden as principal traitors. Some of the moderate Presbyterians‡ in the House showed signs of wincing. The answer of Pym was one of the boldest and most decisive measures yet adopted. He carried up an impeachment against the queen,§ which Hollis has commemorated in his memoirs as the first great victory gained by the Independents over the Presbyterians. It is clear to me that the great patriot resorted to this as a stroke of immediate policy alone, and without any view to serious measures against Henrietta. (I am equally certain that, had Pym survived, poor feeble Laud would not have died upon the scaffold.) Any hope of compromise with the House of Commons, as a body, after the queen's impeachment, was utterly hopeless.

The abuses poured out from Oxford upon Pym were commensurate with these services to the "good old cause." "Mercurius Aulicus"

of March the 8th, 1643, observes: "It was carried from London by letters of the 2d of March, that in the House of Commons, the day before, there had been a great adoe about his majestie's proclamation prohibiting the association projected and agreed upon by them\* betweene the counties of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, which was inveighed against with all possible acrimony by Mr. Pym, who spake against it no lesse than seven times, and that with so much violence and passion that hee was faine to take breath." Some passages follow that may not with propriety be quoted, concerning the "hums and plaudites" bestowed upon "this Mr. Pym." The same respectable journal of a few weeks later, after describing the shift to which the Commons had been put for want of money, and a warrant circulated by Lady Waller to arrest the deserters from her husband's army, proceeds thus: "This warrant a gentleman of goode credit saw this weeke, which you must suppose was drawn up at the honourable she-committee, which is ever full of feares and sadnesse lest that goode fat man, Master John Pym, should lose his vote by going to Master Hampden upon some earnest businesse." "He tells us," rejoins Needham to this in the "Mercurius Britannicus," "he tells us of our she-committee again. Aulicus, let our ladies alone; they love not to be handled like yours at Oxford." Pym's change of residence has the honour of mention in a succeeding "Aulicus": "It is signified in the same letters that the committee for disposing of delinquent estates have appointed the Earle of Derby's house in Westminster to bee a dwelling for Pym, with especial directions that hee bee not too modest or reserved in the use thereof; and that others of the houses and householde staffe about the Tower are like to bee disposed by the same authoritie (to whose share, think you, will Whitehall fall in this distribution?)." On the other hand, an opposition journal states a very handsome tribute to the patriot, as paid by the court at Oxford: "It is credibly affirmed that the Cavaliers do usually drink this wicked and blasphemous health, viz., '1. A health to his majestie, by whom we live, move, and have our being. 2. A health to the confusion of Pym, his God, and his gospel.'" One extract more from the Oxford court journal: "From London we are certified that one Master Carleton hath so frequently feasted the worthy members, one whereof was Master Pym (who, the world knowes, is a man of quick dispatch), that they have eaten the said Carleton into a prettie broken fortune, and rendered him fit to bee a new common councilman; but, to make him whole againe, the worthies have preferred him to a captain's place in his excellencie's army, where, if hee thrive apace, hee may rise to bee as high as Mainwaring or Ven, at least as great as the Earle of Essex."

Nor was this the only kind of attack now made upon the patriot. Clarendon boldly affirms "that his power of doing shrewd turns was extraordinary, and no less in doing good offices for particular persons; and that he did preserve many from censure who were under the severe displeasure of the Houses, and looked

\* Appendix A.

† See Parl. Hist., vol. xii., p. 311, 312.

‡ By the aid of this very party, Pym was foiled more than once in a moderate and generous policy as to the conduct of the war. From one of the newspapers of a few months before, for instance, I take the following: "It was advertised from London, that upon Wednesday, May 17, at the recommendation of the Earle of Essex, a motion was made in the House of Commons that the Countesse of Rivers might have her coach-horses restored, which had before beene taken from her by some of the horse-takers for the two houses of Parliament; which, though it was a very unseemly courtesie, considering that she had beene rifled by them (as themselves confessed) to the value of £40,000, and that it was proposed by Master Pym (no meane man, I hope), would by no means passe."

§ "A message being sent up from the lower House to desire the Lords to sit a while, for they had a matter of great importance to communicate to them; soon after came up Mr. Pym to acquaint their lordships that the Commons had discharged their consciences by the following vote, which they had passed: 'That the queen had levied war against the Parliament and kingdom;' and having discharged their consciences, they think it fit to discharge their duty too; and said, he was commanded by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, in the name of themselves, and of all the commones of England, to accuse and impeach, and he did accordingly now accuse and impeach, Henrietta Maria, queen of England, of high treason. And they desired their lordships to issue forth proclamations to summon her to appear before them, and receive a trial and due sentence for the same. It is observable that these votes were carried in the House of Commons nem. con. The queen had just before met the king at Edge Hill with a re-enforcement of 3000 foot, 30 troops of horse and dragoons, and six pieces of cannon, besides great store of other warlike ammunition, which made the House of Commons so exasperated against her."—Parl. Hist., vol. xii., p. 265.

\* By Hampden and Pym. See Life of Hampden, post, p. 232.



upon as eminent delinquents; and the quality of many of them made it believed that he had sold that protection for valuable considerations." This latter deduction may be supposed to rest on the same authority to which Lord Clarendon has confessed himself indebted for other slanders against the patriot—that of "an obscure person or two."\* The incident, without the deduction, would have better deserved mention, as an evidence of Pym's generosity and kindness; but the wonder would have been, if such a forward and eminent person as Pym, in times of such exasperation, had escaped these fiercest slanders. They passed unnoticed by himself; but the Commons themselves interfered at last. When Sir John Hotham, for instance, brought to the bar of the House for desertion to the king, was asked "whether he knew of any members of that House, or of the Lords, that had conveyed any treasure beyond seas, he answered, he knew of none, if he were to die that instant. And being again asked whether he knew that Mr. Pym had conveyed any treasure in like manner, with some astonishment he asked if that question was asked him in earnest; protested he knew nothing of it, and that he had never reported any such thing." I will quote the sequel of this, as it is given in the Parliamentary History.† "In the course of these examinations, the reader may observe that Mr. Pym is mentioned as charged with some indirect practices. To do justice to that great man, on the same day, Sir Edward Bainton, a member of the House of Commons, was sent for, charged with saying that the Lord Say and Mr. Pym had betrayed the west and north; and being demanded whether he had spoke those words charged upon him, answered, he did not speak them as they were there laid down. Being then demanded what he had spoken to that purpose, answered that he had learned, since he had sat here, that he ought not to speak any thing here that reflected to the prejudice of another member, and therefore desired to be excused, unless he were enjoined and commanded. Whereupon he was enjoined to speak the whole truth; and then he said that he did not say that Mr. Pym had betrayed the west, but that he had betrayed his county, which he did by being a means of detaining him in prison who only was able to maintain and preserve that county till the said county was quite lost, notwithstanding many orders made for his bringing up. As for betraying the north, he knew nothing more of that than he had heard in the House, which sounded bad enough, viz., that the offer of the Lord Savile and Sir William Savile to deliver up to the Parliament's forces York and that whole county, if they might not be prejudiced in their persons and estates, was prevented; adding, that he had heard it said and affirmed, with solemn and deep oaths and protestations, that the Lord Cottington had treated with his majesty for the pardon of the Lord Say and Mr. Pym, and that, if they had had the preferments they expected, we had not been brought to the condition we now are in. Being demanded from whom he heard this, answered, it was from the Lord Grandison's brother, Lieutenant-colonel Brett, and

Sergeant-major Juques, all officers in the king's army, and prisoners with him at Gloucester. Mr. Pym, in answer to the charge, protested solemnly that he never had intercourse with the Lord Cottington, by one means or other, since the difference between the king and Parliament: that he never received but two messages from him since this Parliament began; the one was by Sir Arthur Ingram, long before he died; the other by Sir Benjamin Rudyard. Upon the whole, the Commons voted the charge laid upon Mr. Pym by Sir Edward Bainton to be false and scandalous, and that the said Sir Edward should be forthwith sent to the Tower, there to remain a prisoner during the pleasure of the House."

Increasing in malignity, however, Pym's slanderers now fixed upon his religious faith and personal relation to the king, and levelled such monstrous charges against him in regard to both, that he thought it necessary at last to issue a "declaration and vindication," which will be found at length in the Appendix.\* In this, with great modesty of language and feeling, he compares his fate with that of "the orator and patriot of his country, Cicero." "I will not," he says, "be so arrogant as to parallel myself to that worthy; yet my case, if we may compare lesser things with great, hath to his a very near resemblance; the reason I am so much maligned and reproached by ill-affected persons being, because I have been forward in advancing the affairs of the kingdom, and have been taken notice of for that forwardness; they, out of their malice, converting that to a vice which, without boast be it spoken, I esteem my greatest virtue." He concluded with affirming his continued attachment to a form of limited and constitutional monarchy in England. Such a monarchy,† had his life and that of Hampden been spared, would, in all probability, have resulted from the war; and the settlement of its conditions, and of the true extent of the power and authority of the people, would doubtless have put to shame the feeble and uncertain settlement of 1688. But this hope was already vain.

News of Hampden's death had reached London, and Pym felt himself sinking under a gradual and wearing illness. His labours had overtasked his strength. Still he appeared in the House of Commons, however, and had still one of the greatest achievements of his life to perform.‡

\* Appendix E.

† Shortly before the death of Pym, the elector-palatine sent letters to the Parliament, declaring his satisfaction with the covenant, and bemoaning the conduct of his brother, Prince Rupert, in fighting against the legislative body. This very constitutional allegiance obtained, eventually, for the elector, a pension from the Parliament, more than equivalent to that which he had been accustomed to receive from the king. The elector himself arrived in England just after Pym's decease. Is it possible that something more than this grant, frustrated by the patriot's death, had been secretly in agitation, and that Pym had originally contemplated the introduction of this electoral prince as the founder of a new royal dynasty, if it became necessary to depose Charles I.?

‡ In a recent compilation, entitled "Memoirs of Selkirk," Pym receives casual mention, at this period, as having singular influence. "Mr. Baillie," says the compiler, "gives this instance of the popularity of Mr. Pym in 1643: 'On Wednesday, Mr. Pym was carried from his home to Westminster on the shoulders of the chief men in the lower House, all the House going in procession before him.'"

\* See the text restored in Clarendon, vol. i., p. 493.

† Parl. Hist., vol. xii., p. 379.

Sanguine hopes prevailed at Oxford that the way to London was open at last. Waller was routed in the west, and the strong places were in Charles's hands. Gainsborough was recaptured, and Hull in imminent danger. The queen joined the king with a re-enforcement, and London was without an army or fortifications for its defence. But Pym was there! The Mercurius Aulicus had heard of his illness, however, and took occasion to throw out the following significant hint: "We are heare very glad to heare that the French ambassadour is most certainly arrived, and doth now reside at Sommerset House; the king and queen doe both desire that he may be the happy meanes to settle peace in this kingdome, and that Pym, if he be sicke, for so we are certifide by letters, may live to see the king againe, and, by asking God forgiveness, may die in his bed: a mercy which he does not deserve." This perfidious suggestion availed nothing. Pym was not yet so ill but that he retained his intellect, and, with that, his power; and now he used them both, with a last and memorable effect, against the king.

Essex, despairing, or willing to compromise, wrote to the House of Lords,\* advising accommodation. A petition was voted accordingly, and was taken into consideration by the Commons after a vehement struggle; but ultimately, by the unparalleled efforts of Pym and St. John, a majority of two was obtained against it. All the pulpits of London were brought into requisition, and the people wrought to the last pitch of political and religious enthusiasm. Yet the danger of the defenceless state of the capital remained unprovided against, and the discontent of Essex himself threatened the worst of dangers. Then it was that Pym nobly discharged himself of his last duty to the Commonwealth, and, oppressed with illness as he was, presented himself, with St. John, at the tent of Essex, and there, as Clarendon says,†

Fear Mr. Baillie little thought the use his description of the patriot's funeral would be put to! It was, alas! the dead body of Pym thus carried by his old friends to its last resting-place, in testimony of their affectionate respect.

\* Many of the lords, originally left in the executive, were now sighing once more for the court, and several unseemly exhibitions had already taken place between them and the more resolute members of the Commons. The following is from a curious pamphlet of the time: "The committee for the House of Commons, which came from Oxford, made a relation to the House of his majestie's answer, which was much commended and extolled by all moderate men, and thought to bee both full and satisfactorie; but that upon the other side it was so farre from pleasing the engaged malignant partie, that Master Martyn said expressly yt it was rather to bee scorned than answered; and finally, that at a conference the same day betwixt the Houses for giving some answer to his majestie's messages, in the painted chamber, the Earle of Northumberland, standing by the fire, asked Master Martyn (whom he found there) why hee brake open certaine letters which were sent to him to Oxford (for such a saucy trick had been put upon him), and finding little reason for it in his reply, gave him a bastinado with his cane, and a blow with his fist; whereupon Martyn, getting neare him, caught him by the collar of his doublet, or, as some say, by his George, which occasioned divers of the standers-by to draw their swords, amongst whom the Earle of Pembroke is said to bee one, and Master Pym another. And it was certified, with all, that the quarrell is so much resented, that the Commons have voted it to bee a breach of their privilege, and the Lords of theirs."

† "Mr. Pym," he observes, "always opposed all overtures of peace and accommodation; and when the Earle of Essex was disposed, the last summer, by those lords, to an inclination towards a treaty, as is before remembered, Mr. Pym's power and dexterity wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper which he afterward swerved

by "his power and dexterity, wholly changed him, and wrought him to that temper which he afterward swerved not from." In other words, he assured Essex of the support and confidence of the House, opened his eyes to the king's particular resentments and personal character, and confirmed him in his duty. It has been truly said, in reference to this self-possessed sagacity and courage, that "men actuated by either extreme of violent temper or vulgar prudence would have removed from the command a general whom they had reason to distrust." Pym's nobler policy held together the army without a flaw, and, from that hour, the tide of fortune gradually turned.

He did not live to see this, but the wise consciousness of what he had done was consolation sufficient for such a mind. The hand of death was now upon him. Some disgraceful riots broke out at this time, in consequence of the wants and deprivations incident to the war; and, according to Rushworth, a great multitude of the wives of substantial citizens, assisted by a large body of men in women's clothes, came to the House of Commons with a petition for peace, and blocked up the door for two hours. "Give us the traitor Pym," they cried, "that we may tear him in pieces! Give us the dog Pym!" but a troop of horse dispersed them. The traitor or the patriot Pym—the words may be probably thought synonymous here—was then lying on his deathbed.

The House of Commons, anxious to give their great leader one proof of confidence more, had conferred on him, in November, the all-important office of lieutenant-general of the ordnance of the kingdom; but from this moment he sank rapidly. With gloating expectation, his death was waited for by the Royalists. "From London we hear that Pym is crawling to his grave as fast as he can," writes Trevor to the Marquess of Ormonde, in a letter dated from Oxford in December.\* A yet more striking evidence of this feeling is supplied in the following extract from the Parliament Scout, published some days before: "We have given the enemy a great and notable defeat this week, if our news hold true; for whereas they have for many weeks expected the death of Master Pym, and horses have stood ready in several stables, and almost eaten out their heads, for those that were to go with the news to Oxford, and had promise of great reward and knighthood that brought it first, now he is like to recover, and to sit in the House of Commons again, to facilitate business there, and see an end of the miseries of England; and this will trouble the other party more, by far, than he is mending, than the rout that Sir William Waller gave to Sir Ralph Hopton on Tuesday last."

Very vain was this hope; for on the 8th of December, 1643, Pym died at Derby House. An account of the last moments of his sickness has been left by one who knew him intimately through life, and attended his deathbed. From that we learn that he maintained the same "evenness of spirit which he had in the time

not from. He was wonderfully solicitous for the Scots coming to their assistance, though his indisposition of body was so great that it might well have made another impression upon his mind."—*History*, vol. iv., p. 440, 441.

\* Carte's Letters, vol. i., p. 36.

† Dr. Marshall, in his funeral sermon, 1644.

of his health, professing to myself that it was to him a most indifferent thing to live or die: if he lived, he would do what service he could; if he died, he should go to that God whom he had served, and who would carry on his work by some others; and to others he said, that if his life and death were put into a balance, he would not willingly cast in one dram to turn the balance either way. This was his temper all the time of his sickness." The same interesting memorial tells us that "such of his family or friends who endeavoured to be near him (lest he should faint away in his weakness), have overheard him importunately pray for the king's majesty and his posterity, for the Parliament and the public cause, for himself begging nothing. And a little before his end, having recovered out of a swoon, seeing his friends weeping around him, he cheerfully told them 'he had looked death in the face, and knew, and therefore feared not, the worst it could do, assuring them that his heart was filled with more comfort and joy which he felt from God than his tongue was able to utter;' and (whilst a reverend minister was at prayer with him) he quietly slept with his God." After reading this calm and affecting account of the last moments of this immortal advocate of civil and religious freedom, no one will feel disposed to deny the justness of that prophecy in which the good and amiable Baxter has indulged in translating Pym into heaven: "Surely" (I quote from the "Saint's Everlasting Rest" of that good man), "surely Pym is now a member of a more knowing, unerring, well-ordered, right-aiming, self-denying, unanimous, honourable, triumphant senate than that from whence he was taken!"

On the news of Pym's death,\* say the authors of the Parliamentary History, "the House of Commons showed a respect to his memory that is without precedent in the whole course of these inquiries; for we find in the journals 'that a committee there named was appointed to consider of the estate of Mr. Pym, deceased, and to offer what they think fit to be done in consideration of it to the House; likewise to take care to prepare a monument for him at the charge of the Commonwealth.' It was also ordered 'that the body of Mr. Pym be interred in Westminster Abbey, without any charge for breaking open the ground there; and that the speaker, with the whole House, do accompany his body to the interment.'"†

\* Welcome news, of course, at Oxford. I extract from *The Kingdom's Weekly Post*, "with his packet of letters publishing his message to the city and country." "It is everywhere remarkably observed concerning the taking of Alton (the particulars whereof are suffy commund to the kingdom already, our Post not using to relate what hath bene printed before), that the very same day there was a great feast at Oxford; and great preparations made for bonfires that night, which was done accordingly. The reason was, for that they heard that Master Pym was dead; and it was observed that many Cavaliers at Oxford drank that day the confusion of the Roundheads, and particularly Sir William Waller."

† *Parl. Hist.*, vol. xii., p. 462. From the "Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer" I take the following: "The Parliament so highly honours the memorie of Master Pym, that they have ordered a monument to be erected in the Abbey at Westminster, where hee is to be interred; and the House of Commons have appointed themselves to accompanie the corpse to the grave, so highly doe they value and esteeme the merits and deservings of so good, so excellent a patriot and Commonwealth's man. They have also taken

On the 15th of December, what remained of the great patriot "was buried," says *Clarendon*,\* "with wonderful pomp and magnificence, in that place where the bones of our English kings and princes are committed to their rest." The body, followed by Charles and Alexander Pym, was carried from Derby House to Westminster Abbey on the shoulders of the ten chief gentlemen of the House of Commons, in the deepest mourning: Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Oliver Saint John, Strode, Sir Gilbert Gerard, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Nevil Poole, Sir John Wray, and Mr. Knightley; "and was accompanied" (says the authority I quote, the "Perfect Diurnall" of the following week) "by both houses of Lords and Commons in Parliament, all in mourning, by the Assembly of Divines, by many other gentlemen of quality, and with two heralds of armes before the corpse bearing his crest. His funeral sermon was made by Mr. Marshall, who tooke his text out of the 7th of Micah, part of the first and second verses, in these words: 'Wo is me, for the good man hath perished out of the earth.'"

A few extracts from this noble and affecting sermon may fitly close this attempt to do tardy justice to the life and memory of Pym.‡

order, in regard Master Pym hath not onely spent his life in the service of the kingdome, but lost his estate, that a speciall care bee taken for a subsistence for his sons, who are likewise in the service of the Parliament and kingdome; it being a thing very considerable and remarkable, that the father's care was so totally taken up for the good of the publike, that hee even neglected a necessarie care to provide for his children."

\* I may here subjoin one or two points from this writer's character of Pym. The main part of it has already been noticed in these pages. "No man had more to answer for the miseries of the kingdom, or had his hand or head deeper in their contrivance. And yet, I believe, they grew much higher, even in his life, than he designed. . . Besides the exact knowledge of the forms and orders of Parliament, which few men had, he had a very comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper; and understood the temper and affections of the kingdom as well as any man; and had observed the errors and mistakes in government; and knew well how to make them appear greater than they were. . . He seemed to all men to have the greatest influence upon the House of Commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time."

† A volume might be filled with the various characters of the patriot with which the various publications now, and for many weeks after, teemed. I will only quote, as a specimen, an "Elegie" which appeared "in deep mourning" in the *Mercurius Britannicus*.

"No immature nor sullen fate  
Did his immortal soule translate;  
Hee passed gravely hence, even  
Kept his old pace, from earth to heaven!  
Hee had a soule did alwayes stand  
Open for businesse, like his hande.  
Hee took in so much, I could call  
Him more than individuall;  
And so much businesse waited by,  
Would scarcely give him leave to die.  
Hee knew the bounds, and every thing  
Betwixt the people and the king;  
Hee could the just proportions draw  
Betwixt prerogative and law;  
Hee lived a patriot here so late,  
Hee knew each syllable of state,  
That had our charters all bene gone,  
In him we had them every one.  
Hee durst bee good, and at that time  
When innocence was half a crime.  
Hee had seene death before hee went,  
Once had it as a token sent;  
Hee surfeited on state affaires,  
Did on a pleurisie of caires;  
Nor doth hee now his mourners lacke,  
We have few soules but goe in blacke,

"Our Parliament is weakened," said this eloquent and earnest preacher, "our armies wasted, our treasure exhausted, our enemies increased; and of those few able hearts, heads, and hands who abode faithful to this great cause and worke in hande, it might even stab us to the very heart to thinke how many of them the Lord hath even snatcht away, in the midst of their worke, and our greatest neede! That excellent-spirited lord, the Lord Brooke; that rare man, Master John Hampden; that true-hearted Nathaniel, Master Arthur Goodwin (pardon me, I beseeche you, though I mention them amongst these friends, who cannot thinke of them without bitterness)—'How are these mighty men fallen in the midst of the battell, and the weapons of warre perished! the beautie of our Israel is slaine in the high places!' . . . And now we meete to lament the fall of this choice and excellent man, in whose death the Almighty testifies against us, and even fills us with gall and worm-woode. I knowe you come hither to mourne; so fully prepared for it, that although I am but a dull orator to move passion, I may serve well enough to drawe out those teares wherewith your hearts and eyes are so big and full. There is no neede to call for the 'mourning women, that they may come, and for cunning women, that they may take up a wailing, to helpe your eyes to runne downe with teares, and your eyelids to gush out with waters;' the very looking downe upon this beere, and the naming of the man whose corpes are here placed, and a very little speech of his worth, and our miserable losse, is enough to make this assembly, like Rachel, not onely to lift up a voice of mourning, but even to refuse to be comforted. . . . I am called to speake of a man so eminent and excellent, so wise and gracious, so good and usefull, whose workes so praise him in every gate, that if I should altogether holde my tongue, the children and babes (I had almost said, the stones) would speake: upon whose horse could I scatter the sweetest flowers, the highest expressions of rhetorike and eloquence, you would thinke I fell short of his worth; you would say, this very name, JOHN PYM, expresseth more than all my words could doe. Should I say of him, as they of Titus, that hee was 'amor et delicie generis humani;' should I say of his death, as once the Sicilians upon the Grecians' departure, 'Totum ver periit ex anno Siciliano;' should I say hee was not onely as one of David's thirtie worthies, but one of the three, one of the first three, even the first and chiefe of them, the Tachmonite who sate in the seat; should I say our whole lande groaneth at his death, as the earth at the fall of a great mountaine, I might doe it without envie in this assembly."

"I shal forbear," Doctor Marshall continued, "to speake any thing of his family, educa-

And for his sake have nowe put on  
A solemne meditation.  
Teares are too narrow droppes for him,  
And private sighes too strait for Pym;  
None can completely Pym lament,  
But something like a Parliament!  
The publike sorrow of a state  
Is but a griefe commensurate.  
We must enact passions have,  
And leave for weeping at his grave."

tion, naturall endowments; his cleare understanding, quick apprehension, singular dexteritie in dispatch of businesse; his other morall eminences, in his justice, patience, temperance, sobrietic, chastitie, liberalitie, hospitalitie; his extreame humanitie, affabilitie, curtesie, chearfulness of spirit in every condition; and (as a just reward and sweet just fruit of all these) the high and deare esteeme and respect which hee had purchased in the hearts of all men of every ranke who were acquainted with him, such onely excepted of whom to be loved and well reported is scarce compatible with true vertue. All men who knew him either loved or hated him in extremitie: such as were good, extremely delighted in him, as taken in a sweet captivitie with his matchlesse worth; the bad as much hated him, out of their antipathy against it. . . . His excellent, usefull spirit was accompanied with three admirable properties, wherein hee excelled all that ever I knew, and most that ever I read of. First, such singleness of heart, that no by-respect could any whit sway him; no respect of any friend: hee regarded them in their due place, but hee knew neither brother, kinsman, nor friend, superiour nor inferiour, when they stood in the way to hinder his pursuit of the publike good—'magis amica respublica;' and hee used to say, 'Such a one is my entire friend, to whom I am much obliged; but I must not pay my private debts out of the publike stock.' Yea, no self-respect, no private ends of his owne or family, were in any degree regarded, but himselfe and his were wholly swallowed up in the care of the publike safetie; insomuch that when friends have often put him in mind of his family and posteritie, and prest him, that although hee regarded not himselfe, yet hee ought to provide that it might be well with his family (a thing which they thought hee might easily procure), his ordinary answer was, 'If it went well with the publike, his family was well enough.' Secondly, such constancy and resolution, that no feare of danger or hope of reward could at any time so much as unsettle him. How often was his life in danger? What a world of threats and menaces have beene sent him from time to time? Yet I challenge the man that ever saw him shaken by any of them, or thereby diverted from, or retarded in, his right way of advancing the publike good. Nor could the offers of the greatest promotions (which England could afford) in any way be a block in his way: in that hee was as another Moses (th' only man whom God went about to bribe), who desired that hee and his might never swim, if the cause of God and his people did ever sinke; his spirit was not so low as to let the whole world prevaile with him so farre as to hinder his worke, much lesse to be his wages. Thirdly, such unweariableness, that from three of the clock in the morning to the evening, and from evening to midnight, this was his constant employment (except onely the time of his drawing nigh to God), to be some way or other helpfull towards the publike good, burning out his candle to give light to others. Who knowes not all this to be true who knew this man's conversation? Not onely since the time of this Parliament, but for many yeares together, hath hee beene a great pillar to up-

hold our sinking frame; a master workman, labouring to repair our ruinous House: and under the weight of this worke hath the Lord permitted this rare workman to bee overthrown."

Allusion was now made to one of the Royalist fabrications\* which had assailed the great statesman's memory, and which is worth extracting, since it remains treasured up in the pages of Clarendon: "It may bee some of you expect I should confute the calumnies and reproaches which that generation of men who envied his life doe already begin to spread and set up in libells concerning his death, as that hee died raving, crying out against that cause wherein hee had beene so great an instrument; charging him to dye of that loathesome disease which that accursed Balsack, in his booke of slanders against Mr. Calvin, charged him to dye of. But I forbear to spend time needlessly, to wipe off those reproaches which I know none of you believe. And this will satisfy the world against such slanders, that no lesse than eight doctors of physike of unsuspected integritie, and some of them strangers to him (if not of different religion from him), purposely requested to bee present at the opening of his body; and well neare a thousand people, first and last, who came, many of them out of curiositie, and were freely permitted to see his corpes, can and doe abundantly testify the falsheode and foulness of this report."

"Verily," concluded this fearless and virtuous divine, "when I consider how God hath followed us with breach upon breach, taken away all those worthy men I before mentioned, and all the other things wherein the Lord hath brought us low; and nowe this great blow, to follow all the rest, I am readie to call for such a mourning as that of Hadadrimon in the Valley of Megiddon. But mistake me not! I doe not meane that you should mourne for him, you his deare children; you right honourable Lords and Commons, who esteeme him little lesse than a father; I meane not that you should mourne for him! his worke is done, his warfare is accomplished; hee is delivered from sin and sorrow, and from all the evils which we may feare are coming upon our selves: hee hath received at the Lord's hande a plentiful reward for all his labours. I beseeche you, let not any of you have one sad thought touching him. Nor would I have you mourne out of any such apprehension as the enemies have, and for which they rejoyce, as if our cause were not goode, or wee should lose it for want of handes and heades to carry it on: No, no, BELOVED, THIS CAUSE MUST PROSPER; AND ALTHOUGH WEE WERE ALL DEAD, OUR ARMIES OVERTHROWN, AND EVEN OUR PARLIAMENTS DISSOLVED, THIS CAUSE MUST PREVAIL."

Alexander Pym died some short time after his father, but Charles survived him many years; and on the Restoration, though he had

\* See Clarendon, vol. iv., p. 436. An official statement, signed by the famous Sir Theodore Mayerne, subsequently appeared, and will be found in Appendix F. Whitelocke says, after a singular mistake as to the date of the death, "it was believed that the multitude of his business and cares did so break his spirit and health that it brought his death."

continued in the ranks of the Parliamentary army, was created a baronet. It may be added, that, on an investigation by the committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the patriot's estate, it was found necessary not only to vote £10,000 for the settlement of the debts it was discovered to be involved in, but also to pension this son, Charles, upon the Parliament. No precedent existed for such votes as these, but the House justly decided that so specially eminent a case was not likely to have occurred before. In these proceedings, at least, the lie was peremptorily given to those slanders on the patriot's public virtue, which had represented him, some years before his death, privately amassing the public money for his own peculiar ends.

Since the early sheets of this memoir went to press, some information respecting the family and estate of the Pym has been kindly communicated to me by a gentleman who was recently connected with their native county of Somersetshire, and whose interest in the subject of these researches is another testimony to his distinguished zeal in the public cause. Mr. Leader tells me that the estate of the Pym must originally have been very extensive, but that, of the old mansion house, a large porch, with a pointed Gothic doorway and Gothic pinnacles, is all that remains to attest its splendour or picturesqueness. In addition to their estate of Brymore, which the family held, in direct issue, from the reign of Henry III. to that of Charles II., my informant acquaints me, on the authority of the present owner of Brymore (the Hon. Mr. Bouverie, Lord Radnor's brother), that they held also the estate of Woolavington in the same county, which is still occasionally called "Woolavington Pym." From a patent of baronetcy now in Mr. Bouverie's possession, it would appear, moreover, that Charles Pym's dignity was first conferred upon him in 1658 by Richard Cromwell, immediately upon the death of Oliver, and received subsequent confirmation from Charles II.

The following detailed account of the family of the Pym is kindly furnished to me by Mr. Leader, from Collinson's History of Somersetshire, under the title of the "Hundred of Cannington:"

"On the west side of this parish is an ancient estate called Brymore, formerly part of the lordship of Radway above mentioned, and held from thence by the service of the tenth part of a knight's fee. Geoffrey de Bramora held it in the beginning of the reign of Henry III.; soon after which it was possessed by Odo, son of Durand de Dorleigh, who conveyed the same to William Fitchet, and he to Elias Pym.

"This Elias Pym was father of several children, William, John, and Roger, his eldest son and heir, who possessed this estate 27 Edward I.

"The eldest son and successor of this Roger was of his own name, and bore on his seal a saltire between four quatrefoils. He died 23 Edward III., and was succeeded by Elias his brother; after whose death, without children, the inheritance devolved to Philip the third son, who, 50 Edward III., being then parson of Kentisbury, in Devonshire, conveyed all his

right herein to Philip Pym, son of Henry his brother, and to the heirs of the said Philip.

"Philip Pym was dead before 1 Henry IV. He had two sons by his first wife Emmota, daughter and coheir of Alexander de Camelis, whose names were Roger and William; by his second wife he had also a son called Elias, to whom he gave several estates in Dulverton and Brumpton-Regia.

"Roger Pym, the eldest son, married Joan, daughter and coheir of John Trivet, of Sidbury in Devonshire, a younger branch of the family of Trivet of Durborough. This Roger was possessed of Brymore from the 1st year of Henry IV. to 13 Henry VI., in which last year he was succeeded by Philip, his eldest son. The coat of this Philip was a bull's head within a wreath. He was living 16 Edward IV., and had two sons, Roger, his successor, and Philip.

Roger Pym married Joan, daughter and heir of John Gilbert, of Woollavington, by Alianor, daughter and coheir of William Doddisham. He was living the last year of Edward IV., at which time he made over all his estate lying at

G a

Brymore, Woollavington, and other places, to his son Alexander;

"Which Alexander married Thomasine, daughter of William Stainings, Esq., and died 8 Henry VII. He was succeeded by Reginald Pym, his eldest son, who, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Dabridgecourt, was father of Erasmus Pym, and grandfather of the famous John Pym, Esq., member for the borough of Tavistock.

"This John, by Anna, daughter of John Hooker, Esq., was father of several children; the eldest of whom, Charles, was, on the Restoration, made a baronet, and was succeeded in his honour and estates by a son of his own name; who dying without issue, the estate fell to his sister Mary, the wife of Sir Thomas Hales, Bart., progenitor of the present Sir Philip Hales, Bart."

This was at the close of the last century. Since that period the estate of Brymore has passed, by will, from Miss Hales, the last descendant of the Pym, to Mr. Bouverie, its present possessor.

# APPENDIX

## TO THE

### LIFE OF JOHN PYM.

A.

*A Discovery of the great Plot for the utter Ruine of the Citty of London and the Parliament, as it was at large made knowne by John Pym, Esq., on Thursday, being the 8th of June, 1643, at a Common Hall, and afterward corrected by his owne Hande for the Presse.*

JOHN PYM, ESQ., HIS SPEECH.

MY LORD-MAJOR, and you, worthy citizens of this famous and magnificent citie,—We are sent hither to you from the House of Commons, to make knowne to you the discovery of a great and a mischievous designe, tending not onely to the ruine and destruction of the citie and of the kingdome, but which, in those ruines, would likewise have buried religion and libertie. I might call it a strange designe, though in these late times designes of this kinde have bene very frequent, because it exceeds others in divers considerable circumstances of it—in the malice of the intention, in the subtiltie of contrivance, in extense of mischief, and nearnesse of execution; all which arose from the wickednesse of the authors. Two others may be added, that is, the clearnesse of the discovery and proofe, and the greatnesse of the deliverance proceeding from the great mercies of God.

I shall, in the opening of this designe, take this course for my owne memory and yours.

Observe, first, what was in their aymes. Secondly, the variety of preparations. Thirdly, the degrees of proceeding. Fourthly, the maturitie and readinesse for execution.

The Parliament, the citie, and the army seeme to bee the three vitall parts of this kingdome, wherein not onely the well-being, but the very life and being of it doth consist: this mischief would have seized upon all these at once.

The citie should have bene put into such a combustion as to have your swordes imbrued in one another's blood: the Parliament should have bene corrupted and betrayed by their owne members; the army destroyed, if not by force, yet for want of supply and maintenance, that so they might have had an open and a clearer way to the rest, which they had in proposition, especially to that maine and supreme end, the extirpation of religion.

I shall tell you, first, out of what principles this did rise. It was from the ashes of another designe that failed—that malicious petition which was contrived in this citie. The actors of that petition being therein disappointed, they fell presently into consultation how they might compass their former end in another way, that is, under pretence of securing themselves by force against the ordinances of Parliament. Thus, under pretence of procuring peace, they would have made themselves masters of the citie, yea, of the whole kingdome, and they would have ruined and destroyed all those that should have interrupted them in their mischievous intentions.

The first step in their preparation was to appointe a committee that might often meete together, and consult how they might compass this wicked end. Their next was, that they might inable that committee with intelligence from both the armies, as well those on the king's side (as they call themselves, tho' we bee of the king's side indeed) as those that are raised by the Parliament; especially they were carefull to understand the proceedings of Parliament, that as by the advantage of this intelligence they might the better effect that which they had in project, and finde the readiest and the nearest wayes to it. After they had thus provided for intelligence, how they might procure power and countenance to this action by some appearing authoritie of his majestie was next considered; for which purpose, they projected to get a commission from the king, whereby many of themselves, and of those that were of their owne consort, should bee established a councill of warre in London and parts adjacent, with power to raise forces, make provisions of ammunition, and of other kinde of armes, and to give authoritie for the leading and conducting of those forces, and to raise money for the maintenance of them, and, as it is express'd in the commission, for the destruction of the army under the command of Robert E. of Essex, raised by authoritie from the two houses of Parliament.

Having layd these grounds, I shall, in the next place, discover to you those that should have bene actors and agents in this businesse, their severall qualifications and relations.

The first sort was some members of the citie, whereof there were divers (you shall heare the names out of the proofe); and the next was (in their pretence, as they gave

out) members of the two houses of Parliament; and the third sort was two gentlemen, Master Waller, and a brother-in-law of his, Master Tomkins, that were to bee agents betwixt the Parliament and the citie, as they pretended; then a fourth sort was those that were to bee messengers to convey intelligence from this place to the courts at Oxford, and to other places where there should bee occasion; and the fifth and last consisted but in one man, that we yet discover, and that was the Lord of Falkland, that kept correspondence with them from the courts. These were to bee the actors in this mischievous designe.

They began then to thinke upon some other courses of very great advantage to themselves.

The first was of combination, how they might bee more closely conjoynd one to another, and how they might bee more secure from all others that were not of the same partie. And for this purpose there was devis'd a protestation of secrecy, whereby, as they were Christians, they did binde themselves to keepe one another's counsell, not to reveall that which they had knowledge of, or which they were trusted with. And the second was a warinesse in discovering the businesse to any of those who were to bee brought into the plot, though they came in amongst them to bee of them. They would not trust all of their owne body, but they took this wary and subtle course, that no man should acquainte above two in this businesse; that so, if it came to examination, it should never goe further than three by the same partie that discovered it; and then those two had the like power, that any one of them might discover it to two others, that so still it might bee confined within the number of three: then there was a speciall obligation (as was pretended by Mr. Waller), which hee had made to those that hee said were members of both houses of Parliament, and consenting to this plot; but that is yet but a pretence—no names or parties are knowne.

After they had provided thus for their combination and for their securitie, then, in the next place, they thought of some meanes of augmentation—how they might increase their numbers, and drawe in others to come to bee of their partie; and for this they did resolve to use all the art and subtiltie to irritate men's mindes against the Parliament. They found out those that thought themselves most heavily burdened with the taxes; they did cherish all that had any discontents about the assessment, advising them to repaire to the committee for ease, which they knew would be difficult to obtaine, and that they, being disappointed, would bee more enraged, and the apter to joyne them in this plot.

From this care of augmentation, they went, in the next place, to finde out some meanes of discovery, that they might knowe how farre their partie did extende, who were of their side, and who were against them; and for this purpose they did devise that there should bee a survey of all the wards, nay, of all the parishes within the citie of London, the suburbs and places adjoining in every parish, to observe those that were for them, whom they called right men, and others that were against them, whom they called adverse men; and then a third sort, whom they called neutralls and indifferent men; and they appointed severall persons that were trusted with this survey and enquiry to finde out these severall degrees and sorts in every parish.

Thus farre this designe seemes to bee but a worke of the brain—to consist onely in invention and subtiltie of designe; but the other steps and degrees which I shall now observe to you will make it to bee a worke of the hands, to bring it somewhat nearer to execution.

The first step that came into action and execution was, that they procur'd this commission which they had before designed, and indeavour'd to obtaine. Nowe they had obtained a commission (as I told you before) to establish certaine men, seventeen in number; their names are there expressed, and you shall heare them read to you. They were to bee a councill of warre here within the citie. These seventeen men had power to name others to themselves to the number of twenty-one, and both were to bee inabled to appointe, not onely colonells and capitaines, and other inferior officers of an army, but to appointe and nominate a generall; they had power to raise men, to raise armes, ammunition, and to doe all those other things that I told you before; and to lay taxes and impositions to raise money; and to execute martiall law.

When they had gone thus farre, in the next place they did obtaine a warrant from the king, and this was to Mr.

Challoner, that hee might receive money and plate of all those that, either by voluntary contribution or loan, would furnish the king (as they called it) in this necessity of his; and thereby the king was obliged to the repayment of it. This was obtained.

By this cometh in the list, and what was before part of the designe cometh nowe into act. The citizens that were trusted with framing of this list brought it in, except in some few parishes, under those heades of discovery that I formerly told you of; that is, in every parish, who were right, and who were indifferent and neutrall, and who were averse; and those were brought to Mr. Waller's house; and after they had delivered that list, the citizens then declared themselves that nowe they had done their part: they had discovered to them a foundation of strength, they did expect from them a foundation of countenance and authority, namely, from both houses of Parliament; and they did declare that they would proceed no further till they knew the names of those members of both houses that should joyn with them, and should undertake to countenance this business. Mr. Waller made this answer: That hee did assure them that they should have members of both Houses, both lords and commons, to joyn with them; that hee himselfe was but their mouth; that hee spoke not his owne wordes, but their wordes; that hee was but their agent, and did their worke; that they should have of the ablest, of the best, and of the greatest lords, and the greatest number—may, that they should pick and chuse; that they could not wish for a lord whom hee doubted not but to procure them: this was the vanity of his boasting to them to drawe them on, and to encourage them in this plot. This being done nowe, and propounded by the citizens on their part, so Mr. Waller propounded from the lords divers queries, questions which had bene framed (as he said) by the lords and commons, and in their name hee did present them, that were for the removall of difficulties, of some obstructions that might hinder this worke. Those queries were delivered upon Friday was se'ennight to some of the citizens, and upon the Saturday morning (that was Saturday se'ennight) they were returned back againe with answers.

I shall now relate to you both the queries, and the answers that were returned by those of the citie.

The first query was, What number of men there were armed? The answer was, That there were a third part well armed, and a third part with halberts, and another third part with what they could get, with that that came to hande.

The second query was, In what places the magazines were laide? The answer to that was, At Alderman Fowks's house, at Loden Hall, and at Guild Hall.

The third query was, Where the rendezvous should bee? The answer was, At all the gates, at the places of the magazines, in Cheapside, in the Exchange, and at what other places the lords should thinke fit.

The fourth query was, Where the place of retreat, if there should bee occasion? The answer was, That they had Banstead Downe, they had Blackheath in proposition, but they did referre the conclusion of the place to the lords.

The fifth was, What colours there should bee? To this it was answered, That at every rendezvous there should bee colours.

A sixth consideration was, By what markes and tokens they should bee distinguished from others, and knowe their friends from their enemies? To that it was answered, That they should have white ribbands or white tape.

Then, in the seventh place, it was asked, What strength there was within the walls, and what strength without the walls? To that it was answered, That within the walls there was, for one with them, three against them; but without the walls, for one against them there was five for them.

The eighth was, What was to bee done with the Tower? The answer was, That they could conclude nothing in that point.

The ninth was, Where the chiefe commanders dwelt? To that they made this answer: That every parish could tell what new commanders and captaines they had, and who of the militia dwelt in it.

The tenth and the last was, What time this should bee put in execution? To that the answer was, That the time was wholly left to the lords.

After these queries thus propounded and answered, Master Waller told them that hee would acquainte the lords with those answers that hee had received from them to their queries, and wished them not to bee troubled, though the lords did not yet declare themselves, for they could doe them as good service in the House.

Being proceeded thus farre, they came then to some propositions which should bee put in execution, and they were these:

First, that they would take into their custodie the king's children that were here. The second was, that they would by hold of all those persons that they thought should bee able to stand in their way, or to give them any impediment, or at least of some considerable number of them. It is un-

like that all were named; but some were named. Of the Lord's House there was named my Lord Say and my Lord Wharton, and besides, my lord-major, whom they took into their consideration, as the heade of the citie. There was named of the House of Commons Sir Philip Stapleton, Master Hampden, Master Strode, and they did me the honour and the favour to name me too.

When they had taken into consideration the surprizall of these members of both Houses, they did further take into their further resolution, that with my lord-major should have bene seized all your committee of militia; they would not spare one of them. They intended further, that they would release all prisoners that had bene committed by the Parliament, that they would seize upon the magazines, and that they would make a declaration to satisfy the people.

*There are no designes, bee they never so ill, but they doe put on a maske of some good; for betwixt that that is absolutely and apparently ill, there is no congruities with the will of man, and therefore the worst of evils are undertaken under a shadow and a shew of goodnesse.* Thus declarations must bee set out, to make the people believe that they stood up for the preservation of religion; for the preservation of the king's prerogative, of the liberties of the subject, of the privileges of Parliament; and of those one thousand were to bee printed; they were to bee set upon postes and gates in the most considerable and open places; and they were to bee dispersed as much as they could thorow the citie against the time it should bee put in execution. This was done upon Saturday last was se'ennight, in the morning.

Then, in the next place, they thought fit to give intelligence to the courts of what proceedings they had made here, and thereupon Master Hazel hee was sent to Oxford that very Saturday in the afternoon from Master Waller's house. There were two messages sent by him, for this maine designe they would not trust in writing. The first message was from Master Waller: it was, that hee should tell my Lord of Falkland that hee would give him a more full notice of the great business very speedily; the other message from Master Tomkins, and that was, that the designe was nowe come to good maturitie; that they had so strong a partie in the citie, that, though it were discovered, yet they would bee able to put it in execution. They promised also to give notice to the king of the very day, and, if it were possible, of the very hour, wherein this should bee put in execution; and then they did desire, that when they had seized upon the outworks, that there might some partie of the king's army come up within fifteen miles of the citie, who, upon knowledge of their proceedings, must bee admitted into the citie. These were the four points upon which the message did consist, which was sent from Master Tomkins to my Lord of Falkland by Master Hazel. To both these messages my Lord of Falkland returned an answer by word of mouth. They kept themselves so closely that they durst not venture to write; but hee bid the messenger to tell Master Waller, Master Tomkins, and Master Hampden (a gentleman that was sent up with a message from the king, and remained here in towne to agitate this business, and made that use of his being here in towne) that hee could not well write, but did excuse himselfe, but prayed them that they would use all possible haste in the maine business.

Master Waller, having plotted it and brought it on thus farre, nowe began to thinke of putting it further; and the Tuesday following this Saturday, which was Tuesday was se'ennight, in the evening, after hee came home to his lodgings, Master Tomkins and hee being together, hee told Master Tomkins that the very next morning, that was Wednesday, the fast day, hee should goe to my Lord of Holland and acquainte him with this plot, discover so much to him as hee thought fit, that hee himselfe would goe to some other lords, and doe the like. This was the Tuesday night, in which conference they had put on that confidence in expectation of success in this plot, that Master Waller broke out with a great oath, to affirme, that if they did carry this throughout, then we will have any thing. This hee spake to Master Tomkins with a very great deal of earnestnesse and assurance. So farre they went on in hope and expectation; but here they were cut short. That very night there were warrants issued (upon some discoveries that were made of this plot) to the lord-major and to the sheriffes here, which they did execute with so much diligence and care of the good of the citie, that the next morning, when Master Tomkins and Master Waller should have gone about their business, they were apprehended, and the rest of the citizens, divers of them; but some escaped.

Thus farre I have discovered to you the materials and the linements of this mischievous designe; you shall nowe bee pleased to heare the proofes and the confessions out of which this narration doth arise, and that will make all this good to you that I have said; and after those are read, I shall then tell you what hath bene done since in the House of Commons, somewhat in the House of Lords, and what else is in proposition to bee offered to you from the House of Commons; but I shall desire you first that you may bee



fully convinced of the great goodness of God in discovery of this plot, and the truth of these things that I have spoken to you, that you will heare the evidence of the proofes, and then we shall goe on to those other things which we have in charge.

The proofes having beene read, Mr. Pym proceeded thus: Gentlemen, we have held you long; you are nowe almost come to the end of your trouble. I am to deliver to you some short observations upon the whole matter, and then to acquainte you with the resolutions thereupon, taken in the House of Commons; and to conclude with a few desires from them to you.

The observations are these: First, I am to observe to you the contrarietie betwixt the pretences with which this designe hath beene mark'd and the truth. One of the pretences was peace; the truth was blood and violence. Another of the pretences was the preserving of propriety; the truth was the introducing of tyranny and slavery, which leaves no man master of any thing bee hath.

A second observation is this: The unnaturall way by which they meant to compass this wicked designe: that was to destroy the Parliament by the members of Parliament, and then, by the carcase and shadow of a Parliament, to destroy the kingdom. What is a Parliament but a carcase when the freedom of it is suppressed? when those shall bee taken away by violence that can or will oppose, and stand in the way of their intentions? The high courts of Parliament is the most certaine and constant guardian of libertie; but if it bee deprived of its owne libertie, it is left without life or power to keepe the libertie of others. If they should bring a Parliament to bee subject to the king's pleasure, to bee correspondent (as they call it) to his will, in the midst of such evil counsells which nowe are predominant, there would little or no cure bee left; but all things that are most mischievous would then seeme to bee done by law and authoritie.

The third observation is this: With what an evill conscience these men undertooke this worke. They that pretended to take armes to defend their owne propriety, obtained a commission to violate the propriety of others; they would take the assertion of the lawes of the land, but assumed to them such a power as was most contrary to that law—to seize upon their persons without due processe, to impose upon their estates without consent, to take away some lives by the law martiall; and besides all this, without any commission they intended to alter the government of the citie, which is nowe governed by your owne councill, and by a magistrate chosen by yourselves—then to bee governed by violence.

The fourth observation is this: That the mischievous effect of this designe would not have ceased in the first night's worke. All the godly part in the kingdom, all faithfull ministers especially, would have beene left not onely to the scorn and reproach, but to the hatred, malice, and crueltie of the Papists and malignants.

The fifth and last observation I shall make to you is this: That this matter was prosecuted in part, and agitated and promoted by those that were sent from the king, and seemed to bee messengers of peace; and while we should bee amazed with pretences of gracious messages to propose peace, this villanous project, which should have set you all in blood, was promoted by those messengers, and should have beene put in execution very shortly after. This is all I shall trouble you with by way of observation.

The matters resolved on in the House of Commons are these things: First, that there bee publike thanksgiving to God, both in the citie and throughout the kingdom, for this great deliverance; that a neare day bee appointed for the citie, the Parliament, and the parts adjacent, and a convenient day for other parts of the kingdom. The next thing resolved on was, that the House of Peeres, they should bee made acquainted with these proofes, and with all this discovery, which hath beene done accordingly. It was likewise resolved that there should bee a covenant made, whereby we should both testify our detestation of this mischievous plot, and joyne ourselves more closely in the maintenance of the common interest of the Church and Commonwealth, in religion and libertie, which are still in great danger, and would have beene utterly subverted if this project had taken effect. It was resolved, in the fourth place, which is nowe partly executed, that this should bee communicated to you of the citie, that so, as you have a great part in the blessing, you may doe your part in the dutie of thankfulness, together with us. It is further resolved, that it shall bee communicated to the armie, that they likewise take notice of this great mercy of God, and joyne with us, both in the thanksgiving, and in the protestation and covenant, as we shall likewise desire you of the citie to doe.

Then we are commanded to give thanks to my lord-majour, to the sherifes, and to the rest of the officers of the citie, for their great care in the apprehending of these persons, in guarding the peace and the quiet of the citie.

We are likewise to give thanks to those gentlemen that have had the custody of these prisoners. We knowe it can-

not but bee a trouble to them; there was no meanes to keepe them safe from messages one to another, and from speeches, but by such a way of putting them in honest men's hands. The House of Commons have commended us to give them speciall thanks that they would undertake this care, and to assure them that they will see them fully recompensed for all the trouble and charge they shall undergoe by it.

And we are to give you thanks, which are the citizens of this citie, for your good affections to the publike cause, and for your continuall bountie for the support of it.

Thus farre we are enjoyed by the resolution of the House. Now we are further to intreate you to heare both the covenants: you shall thereby knowe to what we have bound ourselves, and to what we desire you should bee bound. There are two covenants, that is, one proper for the houses of Parliament, which hath beene taken in the House of Commons by all the members, by those gentlemen that are named in those examinations to have beene privy to this plot, which they all have disavowed; and the other covenant is to bee taken by all the other part of the kingdom, by the citizens, by the armie, and the rest of the people generally in all places.

The draught of these two covenants we shall communicate to you; the House of Lords, they have had them already, and have taken them into consideration; and we heare they doe resolve that which is appointed for them shall bee taken by the members of that House.

We are further to desire you that you would bee serviceable to the Divine providence, to God's great mercy to this citie and the whole kingdom. God doth not onely doe good, but thereby gives assurance that hee will doe good. His mercies, they are comforts for the present, they are pledges for the future; but yet our care must not cease.

We are to desire that you would keepe your guardes, and look well to your citie, and that you would finde out these evill members that are among you, as neare as may bee, that so for the time to come this plot may bee prevented, as hitherto hath beene stopped; for out of doubt all the malignity is not drawne out of them, though the present opportunity is hindered for the present of putting it in execution.

I am to tell you further, that in desire to winne those that shall bee taken with remorse for this wicked designe and conspiracy, it is resolved, that if any man shall come in before the 15th day of this present June, and freely confesse his fault, and what hee knowes of this conspiracy, that hee shall have a full, and free, and plenary pardon for the time to come, except those that are already or fled. I say, those that come in voluntarily shall bee pardoned.

Your care and our care, they will bee all little enough; we hope God's blessing will bee so upon them both, that you shall bee restored to a full peace, and that in the mean time you shall enjoy such a degree of safetie and prosperitie as may make way to it.

## B.

*Some Extracts from THE SENSE OF THE HOUSE, or the Opinion of some Lords and Commons concerning the Londoners' Petition for Peace. Oxford; printed by the University Printer, Leonard Lichfield.*

"Give ear, beloved Londoners—  
Fie! fie! you shame us all!  
Your rising up for peace will make  
The Close Committee fall.  
Wonder you should aske for that  
Which they must needs deny:  
Here's thirtie swears they'll have no peace,  
And bid me tell you why."

A number of lords are then represented giving reasons against peace. Thus:

"First, I'll no peace," says Essex,  
'For my chaplin says 'tis saine,  
To lose a £100 a day  
Just when my wife lies in;  
They cry, God bless your excellence;  
But if I lose my place,  
They'll call me rebell, popular asse,  
And cuckold to my face."  
&c. &c. &c.

Their lordships disposed of, the leading members of the lower House follow with similar reasons:

"My venum swela," quoth Hollis,  
'And that his majestie knowes.'  
'And I,' quoth Hampden, 'fetch the Scots,  
Whence all this mischiefe grows.'  
'I am an asse,' quoth Hazlerigg,  
'But yet I see deepe i' th' post;  
'And I,' quoth Stroud, 'can lye as fast  
As Master Pym can trot!'

'But I,' quoth Pym, 'your hockney am,  
And all your draggery dog,  
Have made good speeches for myselfe,  
And priviledges for you:  
I sit, and can looke downe on men,  
Whilst others bleede and fight;  
I eate their lordships' meate by day,  
And give it their wives by night.'

'Zounds,' said Henry Martin,  
'We'll have no accommodation;  
D'ye not knowe 'twas I that tore  
His majestie's proclamation?  
In the House I spake high treason;  
I've sold both lande and lease;  
Nay, I shall then have but three \* \* \*,  
A pox upon this peace.'

'Who talks of peace,' quoth Ludlow,  
'Hath neither sense nor reason,  
For I ne'er spake i' th' House but once,  
And then I spake high treason;  
Your meaning was as bad as mine—  
You must defend my speech,  
Or else you'll make my mouth as fume'd  
As was my father's \* \* \*'

'You see (belov'd Londoners)  
Your peace is out of season,  
For which you have the sense of th' House  
And every member's reason.  
Oh, doe not stand for peace, then,  
For, trust me, if you doe,  
Each county of the kingdomes will  
Rise up and doe so too.'

## C.

*Certain Select Observations on the several Offices and Officers in the Militia of England, with the Power of the Parliament to raise the same as they shall judge expedient, &c. Collected and found among the Papers of the late Mr. John Pym, a member of the House of Commons. Writ in the Year 1641. MS.*

WHEN kings were first ordained in this realm, the kingdom was divided into forty portions, and every one of those portions or counties was committed to some earl, to govern and defend it against the enemies of the realm. *Mirror of Justice*, p. 8.

These earls, after they received their government in each county, divided them into centurians or hundreds; and in every hundred was appointed a centurian or constable, who had his portion and limits assigned him to keep and defend with the power of the hundred, and were to be ready, upon all alarms, with their arms, against the common enemy. These, in some places, are called wapentakes, which, in French, doth signify taking of arms. *Mirror*, p. 10. 12 Henry 8, folio 16, 17.

King Alfred first ordained two Parliaments to be kept every year for the government of the people, where they were to receive laws and justice. *Mirror*, p. 10, 11.

The Peers, in Parliament, were to judge of all wrongs done by the king to any of his subjects. *Mirror*, p. 9.

The ancient manner of choosing and appointing of officers was by those over whom their jurisdiction extended.

## INSTANCES.

1. Tythingman: This man was, and at this day is, chosen by the men of his own tything, and by them presented to the lord, to be sworn for the true execution of his office.

2. Constable: This officer is chosen by the inhabitants, who are to be governed by him, and those of the place where his jurisdiction lieth, and presented unto the lord to be sworn.

3. Coroner: This officer hath jurisdiction within the whole county, and therefore was chosen by the freeholders of the county in the county court. *Cook's Magna Charta*, p. 174, 175, 550.

4. Such as had charge to punish such as were violaters of *Magna Charta*: These were chosen in the county court, as appeareth by stat. 23 Ed. 1, c. 1, 17.

5. Sheriffs: were in time past, and by the common law, to be chosen likewise in the county court. *Lamb. Saxon Laws*, fo. 130, stat. 36 Ed. 1, c. 8, 13. *Cook's Magna Charta*, 175, 550. *Mirror*, p. 8.

6. Lieutenants of counties (anciently known by the name of *Heretock*) were chosen in the county court (which *Cook*, upon *Magna Charta*, p. 69, calls the *Folk mote*). *Lamb. Saxon Laws*, folio 130. *Mirror*, p. 8, 11, 12.

7. Majors and bailiffs in boroughs and towns corporate, are chosen by the commonalty of the same corporation within their jurisdiction.

8. Conservators of the peace were anciently chosen by

the freeholders in the county court. *Cook's Magna Charta*, 550, &c.

9. Knights for the Parliament are to be chosen in the county court, stat. 7 H. 4, cap. 15; 1 H. 5, cap. 1; 8 H. 6, cap. 7; 10 H. 6, cap. 2.

10. Verderers of the forest are chosen within their jurisdiction by the inhabitants. *Cook's Magna Charta*, 550.

11. Admirals, being the sheriffs of the counties, as *Selden*, in his *Mare Clausum*, p. 169, 188, affirms, must be chosen as the sheriffs were, viz., in the county court. But the Parliament of R. 2, folio 29, saith they are chosen in the Parliament, the representative body of the realm, because they had the defence of the realm by sea committed unto them.

12. The captain of Calais, viz., Richard, earl of Warwick, in the time of Henry 6, refused to give up his captainship of Calais unto the king because he received it in Parliament. *Cowel's Interpreter*, in the word Parliament.

13. The Lord-chancellor, to whom is committed the great seal of England, being the publick faith of the kingdom, was in former times chosen in Parliament. *Lamb. Archeon*, p. 48. *Dan. Chronicle*, p. 139, 148, 195.

14. Lord-treasurer, an officer to whom is of trust committed the treasure of the kingdom, was, in like manner, chosen in Parliament.

15. Chief-justice, an officer unto whom is committed the administration of the justice of the realm, was chosen in Parliament. *Lamb. Archeon*, p. 46, *ut supra*.

Anno 15 Ed. 3d. The king was petitioned in Parliament that the high officers of the kingdom might, as in former times, be chosen in Parliament. To which the king yielded, that they should be sworn in Parliament. *Dan. Chronicle*, p. 195. *Quere* the Parliament roll and petitions.

And it appeareth by a printed statute, Anno 15 Ed. 3, cap. 3, that the great officers of the kingdom were sworn to maintain *Magna Charta*.

16. The great council of the king and kingdom, namely, the Parliament, is chosen by the Commons; for they choose the knights and citizens, and burghesses, or barons, for so the citizens were anciently called; and the cinque-ports retain that name to this day.

And this was, as I conceive, the ancientest constitution of the kingdom for choosing of their officers.

In the next place, it will be requisite to inquire which of these officers are now altered, and by what authority.

And, first, of sheriffs. The choice of sheriffs was first taken from the freeholders by the statute of 9 Edward 2, and the choice of them committed to the lord-chancellor, treasurer, the barons of the Exchequer, and the justices of either bench. *Cook's Magna Charta*, p. 550.

This election is to be made the morrow after All-Soules-Day, in the Exchequer, by statute 14 Edward 3, c. 7.

*Quere* 1. If they choose none at that day and place, but at some other time, whether the choice be good? Or if he be chosen by any other?

*Objection*. The king himself doth usually make and appoint sheriffs in every county by his prerogative.

*Solution*. It hath been agreed by all the judges that the king cannot appoint any other to be sheriff than such as are named and chosen according to the statute of Lincoln *Cook's Magna Charta*, p. 550.

If so, then it is questionable whether the making of Mr. Hastings sheriff of Leicestershire be warrantable by law or not?

*Quere* 2. If no sheriff be legally chosen, whether the freeholders of the county shall not choose one, as they were accustomed before the making of the stat. of 9 Ed. 2, for these reasons:

1. If there be no sheriff legally chosen, there will be a failure of justice, which the law will not permit.

2. Because the statute is in the affirmative, and therefore doth not altogether take away their power of choosing, because affirmative statutes do not alter the common law.

Next, let us consider the choice of justices of the peace, who, as they are commissioners of the peace, are not officers by the common law; and therefore this case will differ in some respects from the former, it being an office created by statute.

1. I conceive that no court may be erected without the authority of Parliament; for the court of first-fruits was erected by stat. 32 Henry 8, cap. 45; the court of wards by stat. 32 Hen. 8, cap. 46; the court of justice in Wales by stat. 34 H. 8, c. 6; and power to erect courts given 1. Mar. ses. 2, cap. 10. And it was resolved in this Parliament, at the trial of the Earl of Strafford, that the court at York was against law, albeit it hath had continuance these hundred years, because it was not erected by Parliament.

And justices of the peace, being judges of record, were first ordained by statute, as appeareth by 16 Ed. 3, cap. 2, and 34 Ed. 3, cap. 1; with such other additions of power as later statutes have given unto them.

Justices of the peace, then, having their being by virtue of the statute law, they are to be ordained in the same manner as the statutes prescribed, and not otherwise.

1. After their first institution, the statutes did leave the choice of them indefinitely in the crown, as I conceive, until the statute of 12 R. 2, 27; which statute doth instruct the chancellor, treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, steward and chamberlain of the king's house, the clerk of the rolls, the justices of both benches, barons of the Exchequer, and others, to name and make them.

2. Other statutes do appoint what persons shall be chosen to be justices of the peace; namely, such as reside in the same county where they are justices of peace, as stat. 12, R. 2, c. 10. And they must be of the most sufficient knights, esquires, and gentlemen of the same county, stat. 17, Rich. 2, 10; and dwelling in the same county, 2 H. 5, stat. 2, cap. 1 (except lords and justices of assizes). Upon this last statute, it may be doubted if choice may be made of any lords and justices of assizes which have no residence or estate in the county where they are so made justices of the peace; which, if it doth, it doth repeal all former statutes which confine them to such persons as are of the same county, which I conceive is against their meaning, for that statute doth only dispense with the residence of lords and justices of assize, because men of the same county, inhabiting in the county where they are justices of peace, in regard of their other employments in the Commonwealth which necessarily requireth their absence, and so it amounteth only to a dispensation for their residency.

*Objection.* The common practice is, that the lord-keeper doth appoint whom he pleases, and that by virtue of the statute of 18 Henry 6, cap. 1.

*Solution.* True, such is the practice; but the doubt is, how warrantable his act is; for the statute of 18 H. 6 doth give the lord-chancellor (alone by himself) no other power but in case there be no men of sufficiency in the county, and where none of twenty pounds per annum are to be found; for, in such case, he hath power to appoint such as he conceives are men most fit. But, in case there are men of sufficient estates in the county to be found, he must join with the others mentioned in the statute, viz. the treasurer, privy-seal, &c., who have a joint and undivided power with him.

If this be so, then it may be doubted whether the Lord-vicecount Falkland, being no peer of the realm, Sir Peter Mico, Sir Edward Nicholas, of late put into the commission of the peace in many counties of this kingdom, are, by the law, capable of being justices of the peace in those counties where they do not reside. *Et sic de similibus.*

Quere, also, whether a justice of the peace, being once legally chosen according to the statute before mentioned, may be put out at the pleasure of the lord-keeper alone, without any just cause alleged; for, being a justice of record, whether some matter of record must not appear to displace him? for, being settled by law, he is to be displaced by law, and not upon displeasure or surmise.

3. A third officer is the lieutenant in every county, in former times known (for the name only is out of use) by the name of heretoch, Lamb. Saxon Laws, fol. 136. And here will fall into debate the ordinance in Parliament about the settling of the militia of the kingdom.

The choice of these, as was formerly mentioned, was by the freeholders in the county court; but of later times they have exercised the same power, being appointed by the king, under the shadow of his prerogative.

First, it is to be demanded whether the king's prerogative can take away that ancient right which the subjects had by law invested in them? If so, then the king, by his prerogative, may do wrong, which is contrary to a maxim in law, *Fortesque, de Legibus*, &c., fol. 25. If not, then whether the power of choosing a lieutenant, or heretoch, doth not yet remain in the subject, so as they may now choose one as well and by the same right they did in former times?

If freeholders of a county may yet choose, then I conceive the Parliament, being the representative body of the whole kingdom, may appoint lieutenants; because they include them, or, at least, they are not excluded from such a power, no more than where the statute, giving power unto justices of peace to inquire of a riot, doth exclude the power of the King's Bench, which no man will affirm. And therefore the ordinance of the militia is legal.

That the Parliament hath power to make an ordinance may be proved *a minori*. For,

If the inhabitants of a town, without any custom to enable them, may make an ordinance or bye-law for the reparation of their church, highway, or bridge in decay, or any the like thing, being for their publick good, and upon a pecuniary pain in case of neglect, and if it be made by the greater part, that it shall bind all within the town, as hath been agreed for law. 44 Ed. 3, fol. 19; Cook, lib. 5, fol. 63; the Chamberlain of London's case; Clarke's case; and Jefferys's case, *ibid.*, fol. 64, 65.

If a township be amerced, and the neighbours, by assent, shall assess a certain sum upon every inhabitant, and agree that if it be not paid by such a day, that certain persons be so assigned shall distrain; and, in this case, the distress is lawful. *Doctor v. Student*, fol. 74, 6, cap. 9.

If a bye-law that every one that holdeth land shall pay one penny towards the reparation of a church, and, for non-payment, shall forfeit to the churchwardens twenty shillings, be good and doth bind, as the book saith, 21 H. 7, fol. 20, holdeth.

If a town make bye-laws, and they shall bind every one of the town, if it be for the common good, as 11 H. 7, fol. 14, then, by the same reason, may the Parliament make ordinances and bye-laws for the common good of the kingdom, as shall bind all. For if a town may make ordinance, much more may the knights and burgesses of the Parliament, because they have their power *ad faciendum et consentiendum*; as appeareth of record under their hands and seals in chancery, in their return of their several elections for knights and burgesses.

Lastly, as every private man is by law bound to preserve the peace—as, in case an affray be made by two, and a third man standing by shall not use his best endeavour to part them and preserve the peace, he may be indicted and fined for it—why may not the Parliament, being entrusted with the preservation of the peace of the realm, make an ordinance for the preservation of the peace in case of apparent danger?

Ordinance made in Parliament, 6 Ed. 2, for the preservation of the alienation of the king's land, and fines not upon such as presume to break them. Rot. Parl., 28 H. 6, Art. 29.

The judges and courts at Westminster may make an ordinance for fees to be paid unto the clerk of their courts, and for bar fees taken by sheriff and gaolers. 21 H. 7, fol. 17.

An ordinance made in Parliament, 21 Ed. 3, fol. 60, for exemption of the Abbot of Bury from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Norwich. Selden's Titles of Honour, p. 702; 12 H. 7, fol. 25.

Heyborne and Keyland's case, M. 14 Ed. 4, Rot. 60, in Banco. Reg. Crook, page 35, who had his money taken away from him by virtue of an ordinance, and was adjudged that the ordinance did bind him.

Whether an infant may be a colonel, admiral, &c.

1. None, by the intention of the law, can do knight's service before he be twenty-one years of age. And this is the reason of wardship.

2. It is an office of trust, which may not be executed by a deputy.

3. Such an office requires personal attendance, for otherwise the county may be overthrown unawares in the absence of such a governor from his charge.

#### D.

*A Sketch of English Affairs, from the Dissolution of the third Parliament to the raising of the King's Standard at Nottingham; from a Speech by Sir Arthur Hasleirig, on the 7th of February, 1658.*

THE council-table bit like a serpent, the Star Chamber like scorpions. Two or three gentlemen could not stir out for fear of being committed for a riot. Our souls and consciences were put on the rack by the archbishop. We might not speak of Scripture, or repeat a sermon at our tables. Many godly ministers were sent to find their bed in the wilderness. The oppression was little less in the lower courts and in the special courts.

Altars were set up, and bowing to them enjoined; pictures were placed in church windows, and images set up at Durham and elsewhere; with many other exorbitancies introduced, both in Church and State. The archbishop would not only impose on England, but on Scotland, to bring in the Book of Common Prayer upon them. They liked it not; and, as luck would have it, they would not bear it. He prevailed with the king to raise an army to suppress them. The king prevailed with his nobles to conquer them into it. He went to their country, and, finding himself not able to conquer them, came back.

He called a Parliament, which was named the little, or broken Parliament; disbanded not his army, but propounded that we should give him a great sum to maintain the war against Scotland. We debated it, but the consequence of our debate made him fear we would not grant it. We had, if he had suffered us to sit. Then did Strafford and his council advise him to break us and to rule arbitrarily, and that he had an army in Ireland to make it good. For this, Strafford lost his head. The king suddenly broke that Parliament. I rejoiced in my soul it was so. He raised the gallantest army that ever was—the flower of the gentry and nobility. The Scots raised too, and sent their declaration into England, that by the law of God and nature they might rise up for their own preservation; and thus they came into England. At Newburn the armies met. We were worsted. God was pleased to disperse our army, and give them the day. The Scots passed Newburn, and advanced to New-castle.

Then some of our nobles—Say, Essex, and Scroop—humbly petitioned his majesty for a Parliament. He, seeing

dancer, called a Parliament. This was the Long Parliament. The first proposition was to raise money for the Scots. We gave them a brotherly assistance of £300,000. They showed themselves brethren and honest men, and peaceably returned. Then money was pressed for our own army. The House, considering how former Parliaments had been dealt with, was unwilling to raise money till the act was passed not to dissolve the Parliament but by their own consent. It passed freely by king, Lords, and Commons. This was wonderful—the very hand of God that brought it to pass; for so man could then foresee the good that act produced.

The king then practised with the Scots, then with his army, to assist him against this Parliament, and to make them sure to his particular interest. Sir John Conyers discovered it, to his everlasting fame. Mr. Pym acquainted the House. Divers officers of the army—Lord Goring, Ashburnham, Pollard, and others—were examined here. They all absented. The House desired of the king that they might be brought to justice; but the king sent them away broad oars.

The king demanded five members, by his attorney-general. He then came personally to the House, with five hundred men at his heels, and sat in your chair. It pleased God to hush those members. I shall never forget the kindness of that great lady, the Lady Carlisle, that gave timely voice. Yet some of them were in the House after the next session. It was questioned if, for the safety of the House, they should be gone; but the debate was shortened, and it was thought fit for them, in discretion, to withdraw. Mr. Russell and myself being then in the House, withdrew. Away we went. The king immediately came in, and was at the House before we got to the water.

The queen, on the king's return, raged and gave him an unkind name, "poltroon," for that he did not take them out; and certain if he had, they would have been hanged at the door.

Next day the king went to the city. They owned the members. Thereupon he left the Parliament, and went five steps to step, till he came to York, and set up his standard at Nottingham, and declared the militia was in him.

*From the diary of Thomas Burton, Esq.*

## E.

## A Declaration and Vindication of John Pym, Esq.

It is not unknown to the world (especially to the inhabitants in and about London) with what desperate and fameworded aspersions my reputation, and the integrity of my intentions to God, my king, and my country, hath been invaded by the malice and fury of malignants, and ill-affected persons to the good of the Commonwealth; some charging me to have been the promoter and patronizer of all the innovations which have been introduced upon the ecclesiastical government of the Church of England; others, of more calumnies and exorbitant spirits, alleging that I have been the man who have begot and fostered all the so lamented distractions which are now rife in this kingdom. And though such calumnies are ever more harmful to the authors than to those whom they strive to wound with them, when they arrive only to the censure of judicious persons, who can discern the forms, and see the difference betwixt truth and falsehood; yet, because the scandals inflicted upon my innocence have been obvious to people of all conditions, many of which may entertain a belief of those reproachful reports, though in my own soul I am far above such ignominies, and as was once resolved to have waved them as unworthy my notice, yet at last, for the assertion of my integrity, I concluded to declare myself in this matter, that all the world, but such as will not be convinced either by reason or truth, may bear testimony of my innocence. To pass by, therefore, the Earl of Strafford's business, in which some have been so impudent as to charge me of too much partiality and malice, I shall declare myself fully concerning the rest of their aspersions, namely, that I have promoted and fomented the differences now abounding in the English Church.

How unlikely this is, and improbable, shall, to every indifferent man, be quickly rendered perspicuous; for that I am, and ever was, and so will die, a faithful son of the Protestant religion, without having the least relation in my belief to those gross errors of Anabaptism, Brownism, and the like, every man that hath any acquaintance with my conversation can bear me righteous witness; these being but aspersions cast upon me by some of the discontented clergy, and their factious and abettors, because they might perhaps conceive that I had been a main instrument in extenuating the haughty power and ambitious pride of the bishops and prelates. As I only delivered my opinion as a member of the House of Commons, that attempt or action of mine had been justifiable both to God and a good conscience, and had as way concluded me guilty of a revolt from the orthodox doctrine of the Church of England because I sought a reformation of some gross abuses crept into the government by

the cunning and perverseness of the bishops and their substitutes; for was it not high time to seek to regulate their power, when, instead of looking to the cure of men's souls (which is their genuine office), they inflicted punishment on men's bodies, banishing them to remote and desolate places, after stigmatizing their faces, only for the testimony of a good conscience; when, not contented with those insufferable insolencies, they sought to bring in unheard-of canons into the Church—Arminian or Papistical ceremonies (whether you please to term them, there is not much difference)—imposing burdens upon men's consciences which they were not able to bear, and introducing the old abolished superstition of bowing to the altar? If it savoured either of Brownism or Anabaptism to endeavour to suppress the growth of those Romish errors, I appeal to any equal-minded Protestant either for my judge or witness. Nay, had the attempts of the bishops desisted here, tolerable they had been, and their power not so much questioned as since it hath; but when they saw the honourable the high court of Parliament had begun to look into their enormities and abuses, beholding how they wrested religion like a wizen nose to the furtherance of their ambitious purposes, then they were taken in—they began to despair of holding any longer their usurped authority; and therefore, as much as in them lay, both by public declarations and private counsils, they laboured to foment the civil differences between his majesty and his Parliament, abetting the proceedings of the malignants with large supplies of men and money, and stirring up the people to tumults by their seditious sermons.

Surely, then, no man can account me an ill son of the Commonwealth if I delivered my opinion and passed my vote freely for their abolishment; which may, by the same equity, be put in practice by this Parliament, as the dissolution of monasteries, and their lazy inhabitants, the monks and friars, were in Henry the Eighth's time; for, without dispute, these carried as much reputation in the kingdom then, as bishops have done in it since; and yet a Parliament then had power to put them down. Why, then, should not a Parliament have power to do the like to these, every way guilty of as many offences against the state as the former? For my own part, I attest God Almighty, the knower of all hearts, that neither envy, nor any private grudge, to all or any of the bishops, hath made me averse to their functions, but merely my zeal to religion and God's cause, which I perceived to be trampled under foot by the too extended authority of the prelates, who, according to the purity of their institution, should have been men of upright hearts and humble minds, shearing their flocks, and not slaying them.

And whereas some will alledge it is no good argument to dissolve the function of bishops, because some bishops are vicious; to that I answer, since the vice of these bishops was derivative from the authority of their function, it is very fitting the function, which is the cause thereof, be corrected, and its authority divested of its borrowed feathers; otherwise it is impossible but the same power which made these present bishops (should the episcopal and prelatical dignity continue in its ancient height and vigour) so proud and arrogant would infuse the same vices into their successors.

But this is but a molehill to that mountain of scandalous reports that have been inflicted on my integrity to his majesty; some boldly averring me for the author of the present distractions between his majesty and his Parliament, when I take God and all that know my proceedings to be my vouchers that I neither directly nor indirectly ever had a thought tending to the least disobedience or disloyalty to his majesty, whom I acknowledge my lawful king and sovereign, and would expend my blood as soon in his service as any subject he hath. 'Tis true, when I perceived my life aimed at, and heard myself proscribed a traitor merely for my intireness of heart to the service of my country; when I was informed that I, with some other honourable and worthy members of the Parliament, were, against the privileges thereof, demanded, even in the Parliament House, by his majesty, attended by a multitude of men-at-arms and malignants, who, I verily believe, had, for some ill ends of their own, persuaded his majesty to that excess of rigour against us; when, for my own part (my conscience is to me a thousand witnesses in that behalf), I never harboured a thought which tendered to any disservice to his majesty, nor ever had any intention prejudicial to the state; when, I say, notwithstanding my own innocence, I saw myself in such apparent danger, no man will think me blame-worthy in that I took a care of my own safety, and fled for refuge to the protection of the Parliament, which, making my case their own, not only purged me and the rest of the guilt of high treason, but also secured our lives from the storm that was ready to burst out upon us.

And if this hath been the occasion that hath withdrawn his majesty from the Parliament, surely the fault can no way be imputed to me, or any proceeding of mine, which never went further, either since his majesty's departure, nor before then, so far as they were warranted by the known law

and authorized by the indisputable and undeniable *fact* of the Parliament. So long as I am secure in my conscience that this is truth, I account myself above all those calumnies and falsehoods, which shall return upon themselves, and not wound my reputation in good and impartial men's opinions.

But in that devilish conspiracy of Catiline against the state and senate of Rome, none among the senators was so obnoxious to the envy of the conspirators, or liable to their traduccments, as that orator and patriot of his country, Cicero, because by his council and zeal to the Commonwealth their plot for the ruine thereof was discovered and prevented. Though I will not be so arrogant to parallel myself with that worthy, yet my case (if we may compare lesser things with great) hath to his a very near resemblance: the cause that I am so much maligned and reproached by ill-affected persons being because I have been forward in advancing the affairs of the kingdom, and have been taken notice of for that forwardness, they, out of their malice, converting that to a vice which, without boast be it spoken, I esteem as my principal virtue—my care to the public utility. And since it is for that cause that I suffer these scandals, I shall endure them with patience, hoping that God in his great mercy will at last reconcile his majesty to his high court of Parliament, and then I doubt not but to give his royal self (though he be much incensed against me) a sufficient account of my integrity. In the interim, I hope the world will believe that I am not the first innocent man that hath been injured, and so will suspend their farther censures of me.

F.

*A Narrative of the Disease and Death of that noble Gentleman, John Pym, Esquire, late a Member of the honourable House of Commons, attested under the Hands of his Physicians, Chyrurgions, and Apothecary.*

FORASMUCH as there are divers uncertaine reportes and false suggestions spread abroad touching the disease and death of that noble gentleman, John Pym, Esquire, late a member of the honourable House of Commons, it is thought fit (for the undeceiving of some, and prevention of misconception and suspitions in others) to manifest to those who desire information the true cause of his lingering disease and death, as it was discovered (while hee lived) by his physicians, and manifested to the view both of them and many others, that were present at the dissection of his body after his death; for the skin of his body, it was without so much as any roughness, scarr, or scab, neither was there any breach either of the scarfe or true skin, much lesse any *phlegmatic* or lousie disease, as was reported; and as for

that suggestion of his being poysoned, there appeared to the physicians no signe thereof upon the view of his body, neither was there any exhorbitant symptome (while hee lived) either in his animall, vitall, or naturall parts, for hee had his intellectualls and senses very entire to the last, and his sleep for the most part very sufficient and quiet. As for the vitall parts, they were all found very sound, and (while hee lived) they were perfect in their actions and uses; and as for the naturall parts contained in the lower belly, they did not otherwise suffer than from that large imposthume that was there contained; the stomach being smooth and faire in all its costes; the liver and kidnies good enough, onely much altered in their colour; the spleen faire, but little. But the most ignoble part of this lower belly, the mesentery, was found *fundi calamitas*, the shop wherein the instrument of his dissolution was forged; there being a large abscess or imposthume, which wrought itselfe to such a bulke as was easily discovered by the outward touch of his physicians at the beginning of his complaining, and did increase to that capacite as (being opened) it did receive a hande contracted, and in its growth did so oppress the gall and stop its vessels as occasioned the jaundice. Besides, this abscess (by the matter contained in it) did so offend the parts adjacent as most of them suffered by its vicinity, yet without any such turbulent symptome as did at any time cause him to complaine of paine, being sensible onely of some soreness upon the touch of the region of the part affected; and from its vapours the stomach suffered a continuall inappetency and frequent nauseousness, and it did so deprave and hinder the concoction, distribution, and perfection of nourishment, that it produced an *atrophy* or falling of the flesh; so that inappetency, faintness, and nauseousness were the great complaints hee usually made. At last, after a long languishment, this imposthume breaking, hee often fainted; and soon after followed his dissolution, December the 8th, 1643, about 7 a clocke at night.

Attested by the physicians that attended him in his sickness:

Sir THEODORE MAYERN,

Dr. CLERK,

Dr. MEREVELL, President of the Colledge of Physicians.

Dr. GIFFORD,

Dr. MICKLETHWAIT,

Dr. MOULIN,

Dr. COLLADE,

And Chyrurgions:

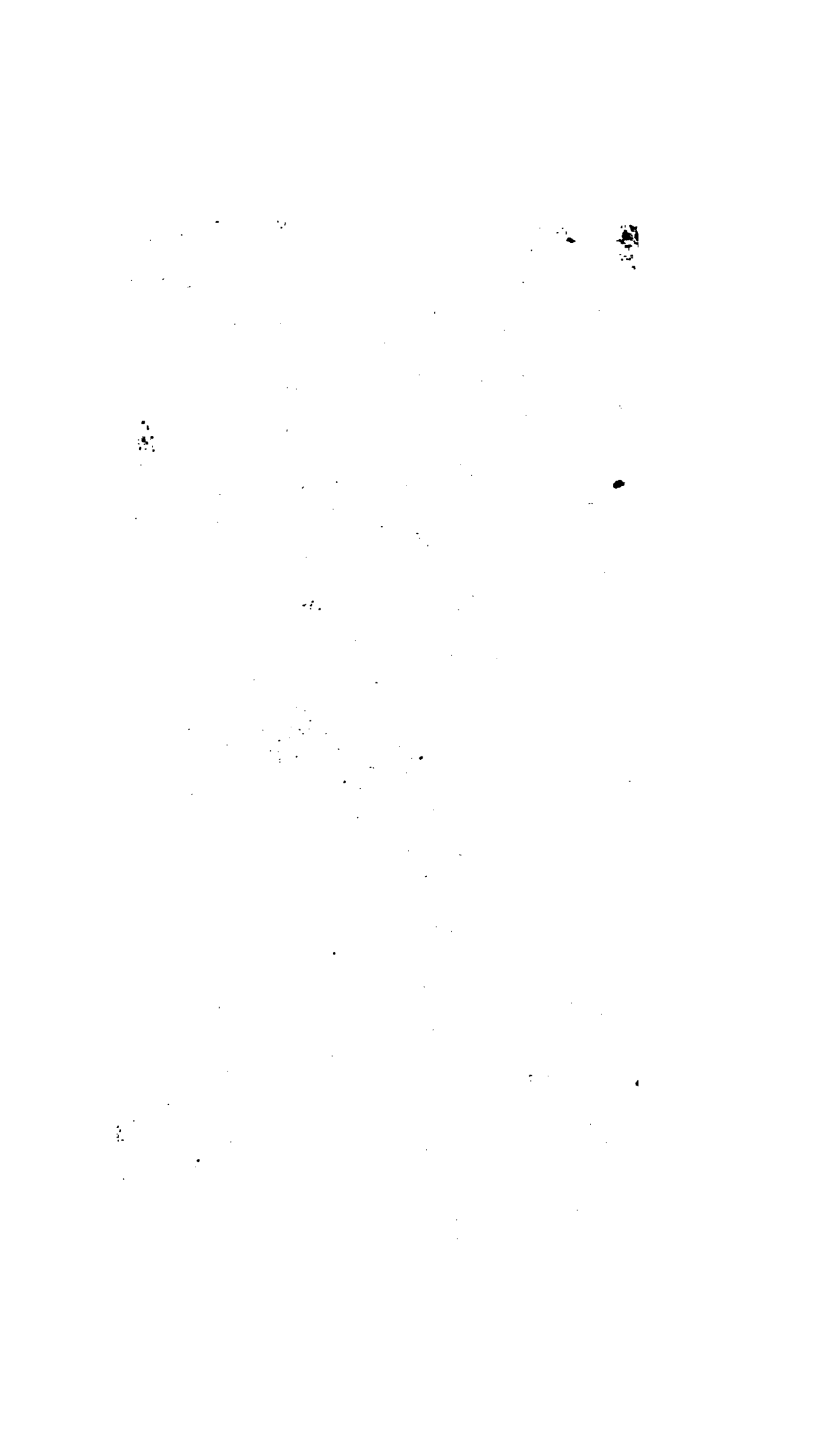
THOMAS ALLEN, and

HENRY AXTELL, his servant.

Apothecary:

JOHN CHAPMAN, servant to WILLIAM TAYLOR

that were present at the dissection of his body (together with two of those above mentioned).





*John Wallis.*

HARPER & BROTHERS

JOHN HAMPDEN.—1594–1643.

An outline of the life of Hampden is all that will now be required for the purposes of this work. So little, after the most extensive research, is known of the man that all may have been distinguished in chivalry; they were often

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\* This rests on the authority of Wood, who ascertained indisputably by reference to the matriculation books at Oxford.  
† Vol. ii., p. 62.  
[For the authority of this page, the reader may consult the admirable life of Hampden by Lord Nugent, whence it is derived, p. 4-6, vol. i.—G.]  
† Anthony Wood.





## JOHN HAMPDEN.—1594–1643.

AN outline of the life of Hampden is all that will now be required for the purposes of this work. So little, after the most extensive researches, is known of the man, that all may, unfortunately, be very briefly told: his history is written in the great public actions he forwarded through life, and in the assertion and defence of which he died; and these have already been minutely recorded, in the foregoing memoir of the dearest and most intimate of his friends, and the most eminent of his great fellow-labourers. Such are the only, though the sufficient records that permanently attest the wonderful influence of his character; for of all the speeches he delivered in the House of Commons, only one remains, and even its authenticity is more than doubtful.

John Hampden was born in London\* in 1594, ten years after the birth of Pym. His family may be traced in an unbroken line from the Saxon times. It received from Edward the Confessor the grant of the estate and residence in Buckinghamshire, from which the name is derived, and which in Domesday Book are entered as in the possession of Baldwyn de Hampden. Escaping from the rapacity of the Norman princes, and strengthened by rich and powerful alliances, it continued in direct male succession, and increased in influence and wealth. Noble says, in his "Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell,"† with which, as well as with the old ancestors of Lord Say and Sele, the family of the Hampdens were allied, that few were so opulent in the fourteenth century as this family, but that one of them was then obliged to forfeit to the crown the three valuable manors of Tring, Wing, and Ivingo, for a blow given to the Black Prince in a dispute at tennis; and that by this only he escaped without losing his hand. A rude couplet, still remembered in that part of the kingdom, sustains the tradition:

"Tring, Wing, and Ivingo did go  
For striking the Black Prince a blow."

This story, indeed, has not been suffered to pass without many doubts; but whether true or not, it has served no mean purpose in giving a name to one of the noblest works of romantic fiction in these latter times. Sir Walter Scott possessed himself of the tradition, as of every other, and the shape he received it in will be thought a corroboration of it, when compared with the versions of Noble and Lysons:

"Tring, Wing, and Ivanhoe,  
For striking of a blow,  
Hampden did forego,  
And glad he could escape so!"

Be the story true or false, however, no doubt the property of the Hampdens at this period was very extensive. They were not only rich and flourishing in their own county, but enjoyed considerable possessions in Essex, Berkshire, and Oxfordshire. In Buckinghamshire they were lords of Great and Little Hampden,

\* This rests on the authority of Wood, who ascertained it indisputably by reference to the matriculation books at Oxford.

† Vol. ii., p. 62.

Stoke Mandeville, Kimble, Prestwood, Dunton, Hoggstone, and Hartwell, and had lands in many other parishes. They appear to have been distinguished in chivalry; they were often intrusted with civil authority, and represented their native county in several Parliaments. We find, in the Rolls of Parliament, that some lands were escheated from the family on account of their adherence to the party of Henry VI., and that they were excepted from the general act of restitution in the 1st Edward IV. Edmund Hampden was one of the esquires of the body, and privy counsellor to Henry VII.; and in the succeeding reign we find "Sir John Hampden of the Hill" appointed, with others, to attend upon the English queen at the interview of the sovereigns in the Field of Cloth of Gold. It is to his daughter, Sibel Hampden, who was nurse to the Prince of Wales, afterward Edward VI., and ancestress to William Penn, of Pennsylvania, that the monument is raised in Hampton Church, Middlesex, which records so many virtues and so much wisdom.\* During the reign of Elizabeth, Griffith Hampden, having served as high sheriff of the county of Buckingham, represented it in the Parliament of 1585. By him the queen was received with great magnificence at his mansion at Hampden, which he had in part rebuilt and much enlarged. An extensive avenue was cut for her passage through the woods to the house; and a part of that opening, Lord Nugent says, is still to be seen on the brow of the Chilterns from many miles around, and retains the name of "The Queen's Gap," in commemoration of that visit. His eldest son, William, who succeeded him in 1591, was member, in 1593, for East Loos, then a considerable borough. He married Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke in Huntingdonshire, and aunt to the Protector, and died in 1597, leaving two sons, John and Richard, the latter of whom, in after times, resided at Emington in Oxfordshire.

The fact of London having been the birth-place of the patriot has been disputed, but apparently without reason. He was reported to have been born at the manor-house, long in the possession of his family, at Hoggstone, in the hundred of Cottlesloe, in Buckinghamshire: it was only so said, because the people of that county adored his name. Succeeding to his father's estate in his infancy, Hampden remained for some years under the care of Richard Bouchier, master of the free grammar-school at Thame in Oxfordshire.† In 1609 he was

\* See a copy in Noble's *Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 64. This is an extract:

"To court she called was, to foster up a king,  
Whose helping hand long *lingering suites* to speedie end did bring.

Two queernes that sceptre bore, gave creadyt to the dame,  
Full many yeres in court she dwelte, without disgrace or blame."

Query—Do these *lingering suites* in any way allude to the royal quarrels of her ancestors?

[For the authority of this page, the reader may consult the admirable life of *Hampden* by Lord Nugent, whence it is derived, p. 4–6, vol. i.—Q.]

† Anthony Wood.

entored as a commoner at Magdalen College, Oxford, where his attainments gained him reputation, and he was chosen, with others, among whom was Laud, then master of St. John's, to write the Oxford gratulations on the marriage of the Elector-palatine with the Princess Elizabeth.\* In 1613 he entered the Inner Temple as a student of law. And now, whether, at this youthful period, he had been induced, from his cheerful habits and fascinating manners, to enter into the dissipations of the age, and had begun the life of "great pleasure and licence" which Clarendon,† not, as it seems, unjustly, has charged upon his earlier years, we have no means of knowing; but it is certain that he never, at any period of his life, abandoned intellectual exertion, or neglected the literary labours to which his taste always inclined him. Accordingly, at the Inner Temple, he did not fail to make considerable progress in his new study; and we find the courtier, Sir Philip Warwick, bearing testimony to his "great knowledge, both of scholarship and law." Nor does the next circumstance of his life to which our attention is directed indicate any taste on his part for "licence" of the more abandoned sort. He was married in the church of Pytton, in Oxfordshire,‡ 1619, to Elizabeth, only daughter of Edmund Symeon, Esq., lord of that manor and estate. To this lady he was tenderly attached, and often, after her early death, paid sorrowful and affectionate tribute to her virtues, talents, and affection.

Hampden entered the House of Commons the following year, having taken his seat for the borough of Grampound on the meeting of James's Parliament of 1620. He attached himself at once to the popular party, though certain of his friends were desirous that he should seek other means of advancement. His mother was very urgent with him to look to adding a peerage to the dignity of his family. "If ever," says this lady, in a characteristic letter preserved in the British Museum, "if ever my sonn will seeke for his honour, tell him now to come; for heare is multitudes of lords a making — Vicount Mandvile, Lo. Thresorer, Vicount Dunbar, which was Sr. Ha. Constable, Vicount Falkland, which was Sir Harry Carew. These two last of Scotland; of Ireland divers, the deputie a vicount, and one Mr. Fitzwilliams a barron of Inglad, Mr. Villers a vicount, and Sr. Will. Fielding a barron. . . . I am ambitious of my sonne's honour, which I wish were now conferred upon him, that hee might not come after so many new creations." But this counsel was not followed. The discovery is due to Lord Nugent.§

\* "These verses," says Lord Nugent, "published at Oxford, 1613, in a volume entitled 'Lusus Palatini,' contain little worth remark, unless it be the last three lines:

"Ut surgat inde proles,  
Cui nulla terra, nulla  
Gens, sit parem datura."

Remarkable when it is remembered that from this marriage Rupert was born, who led the troops at Chalgrove, by whom Hampden was slain; but also that from it sprang the succession to which stands limited the guardianship of the free monarchy of England." † Hist., vol. iv., p. 61.

‡ Register of Pytton, June 24, 1619. He died on the anniversary of that day.

§ I shall have frequent occasion to refer to Lord Nugent's recent and interesting "Memorials of Hampden." It is much to be regretted, however, that, with every advantage of research, his lordship should not have succeeded in communicating more. [To this remark of Mr. Forester, I would

and it is in all respects very grateful. It throws a steady light on Hampden's early character, and is a comfort and a guide to our understanding in following his after-exertions. Here was no personal vanity; no private interest; no boundless ambition; no reckless or unsatisfied desires. He always saw a nobler dignity than was to be won in James I.'s presence chamber, and that and immortality he achieved together.

In considering the character of Hampden, it will not appear strange that for many years he made no considerable figure in Parliament. In disposition he was unobtrusive; of "rare temper and modesty," to use the words of Clarendon; whilst his wonderful energy of mind was under exact discipline. He saw that the leading members of the opposition were sufficient to their present task, and cared not to thrust himself unnecessarily forward. Recording his votes for freedom always, he waited a fitting opportunity for greater personal exertion. But as he was resolved wisely not to anticipate the call of the occasion, so he prepared himself not to disobey it. In the retirement of his yet private life, he earnestly investigated the great political questions of the time. It is interesting to be able to add, that Lord Nugent has seen a curious manuscript volume of Parliamentary cases and other papers, at Mr. Russell's, at Checker's Court, in which he says there is abundant evidence of the pains which Hampden took to fortify himself in the science of precedent and privilege. A great part of that volume is filled with extracts from what are called "Mr. Hampden's notes." We may imagine the effect produced on his mind by such studies; nor do we wonder to hear from Clarendon that at this period "he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society;" while we feel to love him the more for it when the historian adds that he yet preserved his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and, above all, a flowing courtesy to all men.

In the first Parliament of Charles, however, he was by no means idle. He made himself a prominent member of the famous Glanville committee, already referred to. "The cases of the three Buckinghamshire boroughs," says Lord Nugent, "there is little reason to doubt, were in reality drawn up and put forward by Hampden, although ostensibly managed by Hakewill. This is all the more probable from its appearing, from Hampden's correspondence,\* that Hakewill had before been frequently employed by him to conduct suits and arbitrations for him respecting his property in that county." In consequence of these petitions, Noy and Selden were ordered to make search in the record, and the committee reported that all four had the right, and ought to be admitted accordingly; furthermore declaring it to be "the ancient privilege and power of the Commons in Parliament to examine the validity of elections and returns concerning this House and Assembly," in opposition to the former decision of James

add my humble opinion, that the Memorials of Hampden by his lordship afford an invaluable commentary upon the men and events of the times, and especially would I call attention to his most admirable estimate of the character of James I., p. 18-31, vol. i.—C.]

\* This correspondence Lord Nugent does not adduce. Why? It would have been an interesting addition even to his interesting "Memorials."

that they should be judged in chancery. Whether Hakewill was aware or not of the full extent of the object for which he was working, does not appear. It seems, at all events, probable that the greater number of the opposite party were not; and that those who were, did not at the beginning think it prudent to give the alarm. King James, however, had shrewdness enough to detect the tendency of this measure; and accordingly, notice thereof being given to him, he stated his unwillingness to have the number of the burgesses increased, "declaring," says Glanville, "he was troubled with too great a number already, and commanded his then solicitor, Sir Robert Heath, being of the House of Commons, to oppose it what he might; and most of the courtiers then of the House, understanding the king's inclination, did their utmost endeavours to cross it." The report, nevertheless, was in the end confirmed by the House. "Whereupon," says Glanville, "a warrant under the speaker's hand was made to the clerk of the crown in the chancery for the making of such a writ, which was issued out accordingly; and therefore were elected and returned to serve in the same Parliament, for Amersham, Mr. Hakewill and Mr. John Crew; for Wendover, Mr. John Hampden, who beareth the charge, and Sir Alexander Denton; for Marlow, Mr. H. Burlace and Mr. Cotton."

On the dissolution of Charles's second Parliament, Hampden resolutely refused the loan; and on being asked why he would not contribute to the king's necessities, startled the court with these memorable words: "That he could be content to lend as well as others, but feared to draw upon himself that curse in magna charta which should be read twice a year against those who infringe it."\* The privy council, not being satisfied with his own recognition to appear at the board, although answerable with a landed property nearly the largest possessed by any commoner of England, committed him to a close and rigorous imprisonment in the Gate-house. Being again brought before the council, and persisting in his first refusal, he was sent into private detention in Hampshire.

His sufferings had now made him prominently known; and in the celebrated third Parliament, to which he was returned as member for the borough of Wendover, he achieved the entire confidence of the popular party, and took part in the preparation of the petition of right.

"From this time forward," Lord Nugent says truly, "scarcely was a bill prepared or an inquiry begun upon any subject, however remotely or incidentally affecting any one of the three great matters at issue—privilege, religion, or the supplies, but he was thought fit to be associated with St. John, Selden, Coke, and Pym on the committee." On the 21st of March, a few days after the meeting of Parliament, he was placed upon the committee on "an act to restrain the sending away persons to be popishly bred beyond seas;" and on the 28th, on one "to examine the warrants for billeting soldiers, or levying money, in the county of Surrey." On the 3d of April he was on the committee on a bill "to regulate the pressing men as ambassadors, or on other foreign service, so as to

promote the good of the people as well as the service of the state;" and during the course of the same month he was engaged in others, "for the better continuance of peace and unity in the Church and Commonwealth;" "on the foundation of the Charter House;" "on acts against "scandalous and unworthy ministers;" concerning "subscription, or against procuring judicial appointments for money or other rewards;" and "on the presentments of recusants made by the knights of the several shires." On the 10th of May he was put upon the committee "on the case of the Turkey merchants," whose goods were detained till they should pay the tonnage and poundage; and afterward on the committees for "redressing the neglect of preaching and catechising;" "on the petitions of Burgesse and Sparke," who had been persecuted by the Bishop of Durham; "to search for records and precedents;" "to consider the two commissions for compounding with recusants;" and "for explaining a branch of the statute 3d of James." On the 13th of June he closed for the season his laborious share in this sort of business with two committees, the one "to take the certificates of the Trinity House merchants for the loss of ships," and the other "to meet that afternoon on the Exchequer business."

On the reassembling of this Parliament after the prorogation, and when the disgraceful invasion of religion and property, committed in the interval by Laud and Charles, had inflamed the passions of the leading members in regard to both these questions, Hampden's exertions became absorbed in the committees that were appointed to discuss them. His name is to be found on the committees for preparing bills for enlarging the liberty of "hearing the Word of God;" and "against bribery, and procuring places for money and other rewards;" and on the committee to prepare a bill to explain the statute 3d James "concerning the appropriation of vicarages." He was also put upon committees "to view the entries of the clerk's book and to search the entry of the petition of right;" and "to examine a person who had petitioned the king with articles against Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, the keeper;" and again, "concerning the differences in the several impressions of the "Thirty-nine Articles." Again, "to examine the matter and the information in the Star Chamber;" and "concerning the particulars of Sir Joseph Eppesley, and all others where commissioners are drawn to answer before the Lords;" and "to search the course and precedents in the Exchequer concerning the injunction against merchants' goods detained for the non-payment of duties;" and, lastly, "to prevent corruption in the presentation and collation to benefices, headships, fellowships, and scholarships in colleges."

Hampden took no part in the stormy scene of the day of the dissolution—that "most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England," as Sir Symonds d'Ewes has termed it, "that had happened for five hundred years"—and therefore escaped the fierce vengeance under which Eliot perished. Before that brave and virtuous man entered his prison, he committed his two sons to Hampden's care.

Upon this circumstance I have already re-

\* Rushworth, vol. i., p. 426, &c.

marked in the memoir of Eliot. It is enough to add here, that, besides in the thought of that great person's sufferings having served the cause that was dearer to him than happiness or life, the sorrow with which we contemplate them has some redemption, in the delightful view which they have been the means of handing down to us of the character of Hampden, and his generous and gentle feeling. We find in him, at this trying period, nothing wanting in the qualities that command respect and love for their amiable and exalted nature. He appears to us the guardian of the two young Eliots, turning his great mind anxiously to their improvement, leaving nothing undone for their welfare, and disclosing, throughout his correspondence with their father, a fine fancy; a heart of honour full, as of gentleness; of true wisdom and scholarship, as of kindness and intrepidity. This it was which made Hampden a patriot: his love for all men, and for all good and graceful things. In looking at his life, these letters are of the last importance; the feelings they disclose enable us to judge his latter years by a true test, and to discover the secret of his bold endeavours then—the end to which he looked in all his patriotic toils and enjoyments—unbounded love and gentleness to mankind.

These letters, then, I will here present to the reader, as they have been copied\* from the manuscripts in Lord Eliot's possession. They follow in the order of their dates, and refer occasionally to circumstances which have been already explained in this work.†

The first alludes to Eliot's younger son, and to the passages of the "Monarchy of Man" forwarded for Hampden's perusal.

"Sir,—If my affections could be so dull as to give way to a sleepy excuse of a letter; yet this bearer, our common friend, had power to awaken them, and command it: to the public experience of whose worth in doing, I can now add my private of his patience in suffering the miseries of a rough-hewn entertainment, to be tolerated by the addition of your sonne's company; of whome, if ever you live to see a fruite answerable to the promise of the present blossoms, it will be a blessing of that weight as will turne the scale against all worldly afflictions, and denominate your life happy.

"I returne your papers with many thanks, which I have transcribed, not read; the discourse, therefore, upon the subject must be reserved to another season, when I may, with better opportunitie and freedome, communicate my thoughts to you, my friend. Till then, with my salutations of all your societie, and prayers for your health, I rest,

"Your ever assured friend and servant,

"JOHN HAMPDEN.

"Hampden, January 4th."

The son here alluded to was Hampden's favourite. The character of the elder son, whose college riots are touched on with so indulgently slight a hand in the next letter, has been described‡ before.

\* With one exception, the fifth letter, which is to be found in the British Museum, and therefore appears never to have reached Eliot.

† Life of Eliot, p. 35-41.

‡ Ibid., p. 36.

"Sir,—I hope you will receive yor sonnes both safe, and that God will direct you to dispose of them as they may be trained up for his service and to yor comfort. Some words I have had with yor younger sonne, and given him a taste of those apprehensions hee is like to finde with you, wch I tell him future obedience to yor pleasure, rather than justification of past passages, must remove. He professeth faire, and y<sup>e</sup> ingenuitie of his nature doth it without words; but you knowe vertuous actions flow not infallibly fro. the flexiblest dispositions: there's onely a fit subject for admonition and government to worke on, especially that wch is paternall. I confesse my shallownesse to resolve, and therefore unwillingnesse to say any thing concerning his course; yet will I not give over the consideration, because I much desire to see y<sup>t</sup> spiritt rightly managed. But for yor elder, I thinke you may with securitie returne him in convenient time, for certainly there was nothing to administer from a plott; and in another action y<sup>t</sup> concerned himselfe, wch hee'll tell you of, hee received goode satisfaction of the vice-chancellor's faire carriage towards him. I searched my study this morning for a booke to send you of a like subject to y<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> papers I had of you, but finde it not. As soone as I recover it, I'll recommend it to yor view. When you have finished y<sup>e</sup> other part, I pray thinke me as worthy of y<sup>e</sup> sight of it as y<sup>e</sup> former, and in both together I'll betray my weakness to my friend by declaring my sense of them. That I did see is an exquisite nosegay, composed of curious flowers, bound together with as fine a thredd. But I must in the end expect hony fro. my friend. Somewhat out of those flowers digested made his owne, and giving a true taste of his owne sweetness, though for that I shall awaite a fitter time and place. The Lord sanctify unto you y<sup>e</sup> sowrenesse of yor present estate, and y<sup>e</sup> comforts of yor posteritie.

"Yor ever y<sup>e</sup> same assured friend,

"JO. HAMPDEN.

"April 4th, 1631."

The delicacy and beauty of the criticism at the close of this letter could scarcely be surpassed. Eliot, in answer to the letter, proposes to send his younger son, Richard, to the Netherlands, to learn the art of war in the company of Sir Horace Vere. This he thinks will be the best mode of employing to a good purpose his quick and vivacious humour. He states, also, his elder son's desire to go to France, but his own wish that he should remain at Oxford till he should have obtained his "licence" or degree at that university. Hampden replies in an animated strain. Most beautiful and touching is his closing allusion to their mutual friendship. Well did his after life "improve" and approve the "noble purchas" of Eliot's affection!

"Sir,—I am so perfectly acquainted with your cleare insight into the dispositions of men, and abilitie to fit them with courses suitable, that, had you bestowed sonnes of mine as you have done yor owne, judgement durst hardly have called it into question, especially when, in laying the designe, you have prevented y<sup>e</sup> objections to be made against it; for if Mr. Rich.

Eliot will, in the intermissions of action, adde study to practise, and adorn that lively spirit with flowers of contemplation, hee'll raise our expectations of another Sr Edw. Veere, that had this character, 'All summer in the field, all winter in his study'; in whose fall fame makes this kingdome a great loser; and, having taken this resolution from counsell, with ye highest wisdome (as I doubt not you haue), I hope and praye y<sup>e</sup> same power will crowne it with a blessing answerable to our wish.

"The way you take with my other frend declares you to bee none of y<sup>e</sup> Bp of Exeter's converts, of whose minde neither am I superstitiously; but, had my opinion beene asked, I should (as vulgar concepts use to) haue shewed my power rather to raise objections than to answer them. A temper between Fraunce and Oxford might haue taken away his scruple, with more advantage to his yeares—to visit Cambridge as a free man for varietie and delight, and there entertaine himselfe till y<sup>e</sup> next spring, when universitie studies and peace had beene better settled than I learne it is; for, although hee bee one of those that, if his age were looked for in no other booke but that of the minde, would bee found no ward if you should dye to-morrow, yet 'tis a great hazard, methinkes, to see so sweete a disposition guarded with no more, amongst a people whereof many make it their religion to bee superstitious in impietie, and their behaviour to bee affected in ill manners. But God, who onely knowes y<sup>e</sup> periods of life, and opportunities to come, hath designed him (I hope) for his owne service betime, and stirred up yor providence to husband him so early for great affaires. Then shall hee bee sure to finde him in Fraunce, that Abraham did in Sichem, and Joseph in Egypt, under whose wing alone is perfect safetie.

Concerning that lord who is now reported to bee as deepe in repentance as hee was profound in sinne, the papers, &c., I shall take leave fro. your favour, and my straight of time, to bee silent till the next weeke, when I hope for the happinesse to kisse your handes, and present you with my most humble thanks for yor letters, wch confirm y<sup>e</sup> observation I have made in the progresse of affections, that it is easier much to winne upon ingenuous natures than to meritt it. This, they tell me, I have done of your's; and I account it a noble purchase, wch to improve with the best services you can commaund, and I performe, shall be y<sup>e</sup> care of

"Your affectionate frend and servant,

"Jo. HAMPDEN.

\* Hampden, May 11th, 1631.

"Present my services to Mr. Long, Mr. Valentine, &c.

"Do not thinke by what I say, y<sup>t</sup> I am fully satisfied of your younger sonne's course intended, for I have a crotchett out of y<sup>e</sup> ordinary way, wch I had acquainted you wth if I had spoken wth you before hee had gone, but am almost ashamed to communicate."

The mention of the "lord" in this letter refers to Mervyn Touchet, the infamous Lord Audley, of whose removal from the Tower, and trial and sentence, Eliot had spoken in a previous letter.

The next letter is from Hampden to one of the sons, his "young friends." It is to Richard, his favourite, who had been, *for a time only*, admitted to live with his father in the Tower:

"Sir,—I receaved yor commaunds by y<sup>e</sup> handes of Mr. Wian, and was glad to knowe by them that another's word had power to commaund yor faith in my readinesse to obey you, wch mine, it seemes, had not. If you yet lack an experience, I wish you had put me upon y<sup>e</sup> test of a worke more difficult and important, y<sup>t</sup> yor opinion might bee changed into beliefe. That man you wrote for I will unfainedly receave into my goode opinion, and declare it really when hee shall have occasion to put me to y<sup>e</sup> prooffe. I cannot trouble you with many words this time. Make goode use of the booke you shall receave from me, and of yor time. Be sure you shall render a strict account of both to

"Yor ever assured frend and seruant,

"Jo. HAMPDEN.

"Present my service to Mr. Long. I would faine heare of his health.

"Hampden, June 8th, 1631."

All the remaining letters are to Eliot. This which follows is merely an apology for not writing; but how gracefully it is worded!

"Noble Sir,—'Tis well for me that letters cannot blush, else you would easily reade me guiltie. I am ashamed of so long a silence, and knowe not how to excuse it; for as nothing but businesse can speake for me, of wch kinde I have many advocates, so can I not tell how to call any businesse greater than holding an affectionate correspondence with so excellent a frend. My onely confidence is, I pleade at a barre of love, where absolutions are much more frequent than censures. Sure I am that conscience of neglect doth not accuse me, though evidence of fact doth. I would add more, but y<sup>e</sup> entertainment of a stranger frend calls upon me, and one other inevitable occasion; hold me excused, therefore, deare frend; and if you vouchsafe me a letter, let me beg of you to teach me some thrift of time, that I may employ more in your service, who will ever bee

"Your faithful servant and affectionate frend,

"Jo. HAMPDEN.

"Commend my service to y<sup>e</sup> soldier, if not gone to his colours.

"Hampden, March 21."

The sweet and nervous style of the next, which is a criticism on the "Monarchy of Man," illustrates the literary taste and skill of Hampden:

"Sir,—You shall receave y<sup>e</sup> booke I promised by this bearer's immediate hande; for y<sup>e</sup> other papers I presume to take a little, and but a little, respitt. I have looked upon y<sup>e</sup> rare piece onely with a superficial view, as at first sight to take y<sup>e</sup> aspect and proportion in y<sup>e</sup> whole; after, with a more accurate eye, to take out y<sup>e</sup> lineaments of every part. 'Twere rashnesse in me, therefore, to discover any judgement before I have ground to make one. This I discerne, that 'tis as compleate an im-

\* This letter is addressed "To my honored and deare friend Sir John Eliot, at his lodging in the Tower." I copy it, as I have said, from the British Museum. The date seems to me to be an obvious error for June. "The soldier" referred to is Richard Eliot, of whom he speaks in the next letter, as fearing him to have gone

age of y<sup>e</sup> patterne as can be drawne by lines; a lively character of a large minde; the subject, method, and expressions excellent and homogeniall, and, to say truth (sweete heart), somewhat exceeding my commendations. My words cannot render them to the life; yet (to show my ingenuitie rather than wit) would not a lesse modell have given a full representation of that subject: not by diminution, but by contraction of parts! I desire to learne; I dare not say. The variations upon each particular seeme many; all, I confesse, excellent. The fontaine was full; y<sup>e</sup> channell narrow; y<sup>t</sup> may bee y<sup>e</sup> cause; or that the author imitated Virgill, who made more verses by many than hee intended to write. To extract a just number, had I seen all his, I could easily have bidd him make fewer; but if hee had badd me tell which hee should have spared, I had beene apposed. So say I of these expressions; and that to satisfy you, not myselfe, but that, by obeying you in a commaund so contrary to my owne disposition, you may measure how large a power you have over

"Hampden, June 29th, 1631.

"Recommend my service to Mr. Long; and if Sr Ol. Luke bee in towne, expresse my affection to him in these words; y<sup>e</sup> first part of y<sup>e</sup> papers you had by y<sup>e</sup> handes of B. Valentine long since. If you heare of yor sonnes, or can send to ym, let me knowe."

The present of a small buck from the seat at Hampden accompanied this next very graceful note. By the postscript it appears that John Eliot, the elder son, had been permitted to go to France as he desired.

"Deare Sir,—I receaved a letter from you the last weeke, for wch I owe you ten, to countervaille those lines by excesse in number that I cannot equall in weight. But time is not mine now, nor hath beene since that came to my handes; in your favour, therefore, hold me excused. This bearer is appointed to present you with a buck out of my paddock, wch must bee a small one to hold proportion with y<sup>e</sup> place and soyle it was bred in. Shortly I hope (if I doe well to hope) to see you; yet durst I not prolong y<sup>e</sup> expectation of yor papers. You have concerning them layde commaundes upon me beyond my abilitie to give you satisfaction in; but if my apology will not serve when we meete, I will not decline y<sup>e</sup> service to y<sup>e</sup> betraying of my owne ignorance, which yet I hope yor love will couer.

"Yor ever assured frend and seruant,

"JO. HAMPDEN.

"Hampden, July 27.

"I am heartily glad to learne my frend is well in Fraunce. Captaine Waller hath beene in these parts, who I have seene, but could not entertaine; to my shame and sorrow I speake it."

The next refers to the emigration schemes\*

\* An ingenious attempt has been made by Mr. Towill Rutt to show that Hampden had interested himself so far in the "New World" as actually, in the recess between James's last two Parliaments, to visit it in person. But Hampden had recently married; and, as no mention is made of Mrs. Hampden in the record of the visit, does Mr. Rutt think the patriot had tired so soon of her society? The attempt is too ingenious, however, to be passed altogether, and therefore I present it to the reader from the pages of the Examiner journal, where it appeared some years since: "In a work printed at 'Boston, N. E. 1736,'

in which the patriots of the time took so great an interest.

"Noble Sir,—I hope this letter is conveyed to you by so safe a hande y<sup>t</sup> yor will bee y<sup>e</sup> first y<sup>t</sup> shall open it; or, if not, yet, since yor injoy, as much as without contradiction you may, y<sup>e</sup> libertie of a prison, it shall bee no offence to wish you to make y<sup>e</sup> best use on't, and y<sup>t</sup> God may finde you as much his, now you injoy y<sup>e</sup> benefit of secondary helpees, as you found him yor while, by deprivation of all others, you were cast upon his immediate support. This is all I have, or am willing to say; but y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> paper of considerations concerning y<sup>e</sup> plantation might bee very safely conveyed to me by this hande, and, after transcribing, should bee as safely returned, if you vouchsafe to send it me. I beseeche you present my service to

entitled, *A Chronological History of New England, by Thomas Prince, M. A.*, at p. 159, from 'Winslow's Relation,' one of the earliest 'printed tracts,' I find the following narrative: '1623. March. News comes to Plymouth that Massasoit is like to die, and that a Dutch ship is driven ashore, before his house, so high, that she could not be got off till the tide's increase. Upon which the governor sends Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. John Hampden, a gentleman of London, with Hobomak, to visit and help him, and speak with the Dutch. The first night we lodge at Namasket; next day, at one, come to a ferry in Corbittan's country, and, three miles further, to Mattapoyst, his dwelling-place (though he be no friend to us), but find him gone to Paganokik, about five or six miles off. Late within night we get thither, whence the Dutch had departed; find Massasoit extreme low, his sight gone, his teeth fixed, having swallowed nothing for two days; but using means, he surprisingly revives. We stay and help him two nights and two days. At the end of the latter, taking our leave, he expresses his great thankfulness. We come and lodge with Corbittan at Mattapoyst, who wonders that we, being two, should be so venturous. Next day, on our journey, Hobomak tells us, that at his coming away, Massasoit privately charged him to tell Mr. Winslow there was a plot of the Massachusetts. That night we lodge at Namasket; the next get home.' Edward Winslow, one of the fathers of New England, first appears, '1620, Dec. 6,' among 'ten of their principal men,' whom they 'send out in their shallop to circulate the bay' in search of a landing-place (p. 70). Hutchinson (*Hist. Mas.*, i., 167) says 'he was a gentleman of the best family of any of the Plymouth planters, his father being a person of some figure at Droitwich, in Worcestershire.' The following entry in the *Chronological History* (p. 140) may fix, with great probability, in the absence of any information on the subject, the date of Hampden's return to England: '1623, Sept. 10. This day the Ann saile for London, being laden with clapboards, and all the beaver and other furs we have; with whom we send Mr. Winslow, to inform how things are, and procure what we want.' Edward Winslow printed his '*Account of N. E. to Sept. 10*' during this visit to London, whence he returned in 1624. After governorships of Plymouth and missions to England, he settled there in 1646 as agent for the colony. In 1665 he was appointed by the Protector one of 'three commissioners to superintend and direct the operations of Penn and Venables,' and 'died on board the fleet, in the West Indies,' aged 60, leaving a 'name' that 'in New England will never be forgotten.' Such was the associate of John Hampden. Of the other *dramatis personæ*, Massasoit was a 'great sagamore,' who, 'in 1621,' had visited the governor, when, 'after salutations, the governor kissing his hand, and the king kissing him, they agree on a league of friendship,' which 'lasted to 1675.' Hobomak was 'a chief captain of Massasoit's,' and Corbittan 'a petty sachem.' Dr. Holmes, of Cambridge, N. E., in his *American Annals* (1809), says (i., 185), 'Mr. Hampden wintered (1623) with the Plymouth colonists, and desired much to see the country, and is supposed by Dr. Belknap (*Biog.*, ii., 229) to be the same who afterwards distinguished himself by his opposition to the arbitrary demands of Charles I.' From these early associations, Hampden would probably be foremost, in 1636, to promote that well-known project of emigration which Charles, so fatally for himself, interrupted by his prerogative. It appears, in the *Parliamentary History*, that from Feb. 1621-2 to Feb. 1623-4, Hampden's senatorial duties must have been entirely suspended. Thus there would be abundant leisure for the visit to America." [I see nothing to militate against Mr. Rutt's view of the case. In an age that called for sacrifice, Hampden would readily quit his home for public service.—C.]

Mr. Valentine, and Mr. Long, my countryman, if with you, and let me bee honoured with the style of

"Yor faithful frend and seruant,

"Jo. HAMPDEN."

The last letter contains a noble compliment to the genius of Eliot.

"Sir,—In the end of my trauailes, I meate ye messengers of yor love, weh bring me a most gratefull welcome. Yor intentions outfly mine, that thought to have prevented yor, and convince me of my disabilitie to keepe pace with you or the times. My employment of late in interrogatory with like affaires hath deprived me of leisure to compliment, and ye frame of dispositions is able to juttle the estyle of a letter. You were farre enough above my emulation before; but, breathing nowe the same ayre with an ambassador, you are out of all ayme. I believe well of his negociation for ye large testimony you have given of his parts, and I believe ye King of Sweden's sword will bee ye best of his topicks to persuade a peace. 'Tis a powerfull one nowe, if I heare a right, fame giving Tilly a late defeate in Saxony with 20,000 losse, the truth whereof will facilitate yor worke, the Spaniard's curtesy being knowne to bee no lesse than willingly to render that which hee cannot hold. The notion of these effects interrupts not or quiet, though ye reasons by weh they are gouerned do transcend or pitch. Yor apprehensions, yt ascend a region above those clouds weh shadow us, are fit to pierce such heights, and or to reveale such notions as descend from thence; which while you are pleased to impart, you make the demonstrations of yor favour to become ye rich possessions of

"Yor ever faithful frend and seruant,

"Jo. HAMPDEN.

"Present my seruice to Mr. Long.

"Hampden, October 3.

"God, I thanke him, hath made me father of another sonne."

The melancholy progress of the public affairs during this correspondence, and after it had been closed by the death of the illustrious prisoner,\* has been amply described. In retirement at his estate in Buckinghamshire, Hampden continued to improve the literary tastes and acquirements in which he already excelled so highly, and, it is said, while the crisis of affairs approached more nearly, began to prepare himself for the last extremity they threatened. Davila's history of the civil wars of France became his manual—his *cade mecum*, as Sir Philip Warwick calls it; as though in the study of that sad story of strife and bloodshed he already saw the parallel which England was to afford so soon. The bitterness of spirit with which he thought of these things may have been greatly increased by the death of his wife,† which happened at about this time. At

last, however, he abandoned his retirement, dismissed the thought of a solitary and secluded life, and became one of the acknowledged leaders of the people. He imitated in this the great and virtuous Coligny, described in his favourite work.

In the autumn of 1635, ship-money writs were sent into Buckinghamshire. Many gentlemen of that county refused to pay, and among them Hampden. Accordingly, on the 25th of January, 1635–6, new sheriffs having been in the interval appointed, a writ was issued, directed "To Sir Peter Temple, Baronet, late high sheriff, and Henage Proby, Esq., now appointed high sheriff for the county of Bucks," directing the one to deliver, and the other to receive, the original warrant, as well as all accounts and returns concerning the levy of the former year. This return was accordingly made by the assessors of the different parishes; and, among others where payment had been delayed, a return by those of the parish of Great Kimble, a village at the foot of the Chiltern Hills, round which the principal property of John Hampden lay, and in the immediate neighbourhood of his house. The return contains the names of those who, with him, had tendered their refusal to the constables and assessors, together with an account of the sums charged upon each person. Among the names of the protestors, it is to be observed that the constables and assessors had the courage to return their own, and at the head of the list stands that of John Hampden, "as a passport," Lord Nugent justly says, "for the rest to an honourable memory, so long as the love of liberty shall retain a place in the hearts of the British nation."

This protest, however, was not thought sufficient, by the then rampant tyranny of Charles, to excuse Sir Peter Temple for his default of arrears. He was summoned before the council-table. ill health prevented his instant attendance; and an officer was at once sent to hold him in close custody at his own residence at Stowe. Lord Nugent found one of his letters, written under these circumstances, among the manuscripts there. It is worth quoting, as an illustration of the occasion and the time:

"Deere Mother,—In haste I write to you. I hauing my handes full, cannot write to you with my owne handes, I hauing byne lately ill at London, and taking physicke. Yet must I leaue the meanes of my health to doe the kinge service. I was sente for on the 30th of June, by a messenger, to attend the kinge on Sundaye, the 3d of July, about the shippe-moneye; wherein I am blamed for the sherriffe's actions that nowe is, and am compelled with a messenger, nowe wayting on me, with all the distresses and inprisonings that maye be imposed on the cuntrye. But the sherriffe must answere what is done by me in the future tyme. I am to attende the kinge at Theobalde's, on the 17th daye of July, to giue an accompte to him what I haue done in the seruice, and, as he likes my proceedings, I am to continue in the messen-

\* Eliot and Hampden, it is worth adding, had changed portraits some time before, and both these portraits are now in the possession of the Eliot family. That of Hampden, the only original in existence, and a portrait of noble expression, has been engraved for this work, by the courteous permission of the Earl of St. Germain's. A close and earnest look at the engraving, which is exquisitely faithful, will furnish an eloquent description of the face of Hampden.

† She lies buried in the chancel of great Hampden church, where an epitaph on a plain black stone records her merits

and her husband's affectionate regrets. See *Memorials by Lord Nugent*, vol. i., p. 206. She left Hampden three sons, John, Richard, and William, and six daughters. Elizabeth, the eldest of these, married Richard Knightley, son of the friend of Pym and Hampden; and the second, Anne, was afterward married to Sir Robert Pye, of Berkshire.



ger's hande, or be releassed, or worsse. My lyfe is nothing but toyle, and hath byne for manye yeares, to the commonwealthe, and nowe to the kinge. The change is somethinge amended for the pressent, but yet released of neither. Not soe much tyme as to doe my dwtie to my deere parentes, nor to sende to them. Yett I hoped that they wolde haue sente for a bucke, or what Stowe wolde afforde, before thys tyme. But, seeinge they will not, I will spare myselfe soe much tyme as to presseste nowe unto them one by thys bearer.

"Although I am debarred from father, mother, wife, and children, and state—though some of them farre absente—wyth thys I presseste my dwtie, wyth these unhappy lynes, and remayne

"Yor sonne, that loues and honoures  
my father and you,

"PETER TEMPLE.

"Stowé, thys 8th of July, 1636.

"To his deere mother, the Lady Hester Temple, at Dorsett, theis pressente."

The history of Hampden's immortal trial, in which for many days, though in the midst of public dangers and disquiet, the fundamental laws of our country were contested without reproach or passion, has been sufficiently glanced at in these pages. "The judgment," says Clarendon, "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service." Then indeed Hampden "became the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst at his own charge support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court."\* Even courtiers and crown lawyers spoke respectfully of him; for, adds Clarendon, "his carriage throughout that agitation was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony." The court continued, after the trial, to levy the hated tax more recklessly than ever, but it soon became the recklessness of despair.

The third Parliament was summoned, and Hampden—whose share in the immediate causes which led to that memorable event has been described in the memoir of Pym—having returned from London to his native seat, was solicited, by the grateful men of Buckinghamshire, to become their representative. In this character, and with all the new influence it gave him, he soon again left Hampden, never, except at rare intervals of some few hours' duration, to return to it again. "His mansion," says Lord Nugent, "still remains. It stands away from both the principal roads which pass through Buckinghamshire, at the back of that chalky range of the Chilterns which bounds, on one side, the vale of Aylesbury. The scenery which immediately surrounds it, from its seclusion little known, is of singular beauty, opening upon a ridge which commands a very extensive view over several counties, and diversified by dells, clothed with a natural growth of box, juniper, and beech.† What has once been the

abode of such a man can never but be interesting from the associations which belong to it. But, even forgetting these, no one, surely, who has heart or taste for the charm of high, breezy hills, and green glades enclosed within the shadowy stillness of ancient woods, and avenues leading to a house on whose walls the remains of the different styles of architecture, from the early Norman to the Tudor, are still partly traced through the deforming innovations of the eighteenth century—no one, surely, can visit the residence of Hampden, and not do justice to the love which its master bore it, and to that stronger feeling which could lead him from such a retirement to the toils and perils to which, thenceforth, he entirely devoted himself."

Hampden has left no record of his eloquence behind him, but its influence is stamped immortally on Clarendon's account of him at this momentous period. "Mr. Hampden," says the noble historian, describing the leading members of this Parliament, "was a man, it may be, of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was a gentleman of a good extraction and a fair fortune, who, from a life of great pleasure and license, had on a sudden retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability; which, together with the opinion of his wisdom and justice, and the courage he had showed in opposing the ship-money, raised his reputation to a very great height, not only in Buckinghamshire, where he lived, but generally throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely begun the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the House was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do that, he never was without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining anything in the negative which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made so great a show of civility, and modesty, and humility, and always of mistrusting his own judgment, and of esteeming his with whom he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have no opinions or resolutions but such as he contracted from the information and instruction he received upon the discourses of others, whom he had a wonderful art of governing and leading into his principles and inclinations, while they believed that he

the bare brow of a lofty hill called Green Haly, on the side of which is cut, in the chalk, the form of a cross, which is seen from all the country round. This monument, of a very remote antiquity, is known by the name of the White Leaf Cross, and is supposed by Mr. Wise (in a learned letter to Browne Willis on the subject of Saxon antiquities) to have been designed in commemoration of a victory gained by Edward, King of the West Saxons, over the Danes, early in the tenth century. It appears, however, with more probability, to have been intended as a memorial of the last battle of Hengst and Horsa with the Britons, which was fought over the extensive plain of Rusborough and Sanderr-ton, when, on this height, and on the Bledlow ridge which adjoins it, the Saxon princes planted their victorious standards to recall their troops from the pursuit.

\* Clarendon.

† The woods of Hampden terminate to the north upon

wholly depended upon their counsel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himself, or was less the man that he seemed to be, which shortly after appeared to everybody, when he cared less to keep on the mask." The character of Clarendon himself is too well known to render any modification of this language necessary. The circumstances which explain the colour he always strives to give to the profound policy of the popular leaders have had abundant illustration in these pages. It is enough now to show that that policy is, even thus, confirmed by him; and that upon him, equally with the men of their own party, the genius of its great authors impressed itself—the more deeply, perhaps, that it was so obstinately resisted.

To the business affairs of this Parliament Hampden applied himself with his accustomed zeal. On the 16th, three days after its meeting, he was on a committee to examine all questions relating to election returns, and other privileges; and on the 17th, on one to report upon the state of the journals and records. On the 18th, on one concerning the violation of privilege, at the close of the last Parliament; and on the 20th, on another to prepare an address to the king, praying "that the like infringement of their liberties might not be practised in future, to their prejudice and his own." On the 21st he was on the committee appointed to inquire into the effect of the commission lately granted to convocation; and on the 22d, on two others—one upon the case of Smart, a prebendary of Durham, who had petitioned, as a prisoner, against Bishop Neile; and the other to prepare the heads of a conference with the Lords concerning the petitions from the country. On the 23d he was on one to expedite the matter of this conference, by stating the reasons for postponing the supplies until effectual means should have been taken to prevent innovations in religion, to secure the property of the subject, and the privileges of Parliament, and to prepare an answer on these heads to the king. On the 24th he was manager of that conference; on the 25th he reported it to the House; and on the 1st of May we find him reporting a second conference, touching some matters which had occurred in the first.

The disgrace of Williams has been alluded to: the wily prelate had long been striving to regain his position by petitions to the king; or, by a summons before Parliament, to make an effort for it that way. Sentence, however, interrupted his schemes at last, suspending him from all his offices and dignities, and imposing upon him a fine of £10,000, and imprisonment during the king's pleasure.

Finding the Lords not disposed to assert with spirit the question of privilege in his behalf, he endeavoured to engage Hampden, during this session, to make his case one of Parliamentary grievance. With this view, it may be supposed, he affected his old patriotic arts to engage the patriot's sympathy. Be this as it may, among the manuscripts at Lambeth is a sheet of notes in his handwriting, under the title of "Remembrances to Mr. Hampden," dated April 27th, to which the answer is found appended. The style of cold civility in which Hampden declines this business was that of a man who

already suspected that the public virtue of the bishop was wavering, and that he was preparing to embark again in the course of court favour, into which, on his enlargement and elevation to the archbishopric of York, he soon relapsed. Hampden's answer was as follows:

"My Lord,—I should be very ready to serve you in anything I conceived good for you and fitt for mee; but in your lpp's present commands I doubt that to make overture of yor intentions, and be prevented by a suddaine conclusion of y<sup>e</sup> Parlt, wch many feare, may render yor condition worse than nowe it is. To begin in or house is not y<sup>e</sup> right place; the most important businesses of the king and kingd are press'd on with such expedition y<sup>t</sup> any of a more particular nature will be but unwellcome, and hardly prosecuted wth effect; besides that there is at this instant a tendernes betweene y<sup>e</sup> Lords and us about priviledge; and for my owne unfittnesse, I neede mention no more but my disability to carry through a businesse of this nature, though y<sup>r</sup> l<sup>p</sup> may easily conceive another incompetency in my person. In these regards I humbly desire yor l<sup>p</sup> to excuse mee, and thereby to lay a newe obligation upon mee of being, Your l<sup>p</sup>'s most humble servant,

"JO. HAMPDEN."

"Westm<sup>r</sup>, Apr. 29, 1640"

In the Long Parliament, Hampden again sat for Buckinghamshire. His exertions in the great interval of excitement before it met have been already detailed. He had married again during the present year, and now his wife joined him, with his family, in London, and the establishment at Hampden was broken up. The lady's name was Letitia Vachell, the daughter of a gentleman of Coley, near Reading. She survived Hampden very many years, during which she again resided on her husband's old estate.

Hampden discharged himself of his duties, at this the final crisis of the English liberties and laws, as became the virtue and courage of his character. He who had been formerly, though ever pursuing the strictest line of duty, yielding and gentle, was now stern and resolute; he who had kept within the letter of precedents while yet serving the cause in his private capacity, now found "the eyes of all men fixed upon him as their *Patru Pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it." What wonder that, with such responsibility, his views became larger and more extended? What wonder if, from a meek bearing, as Lord Clarendon tells us, "his nature and carriage seemed much fiercer than before!" Thrust from the legitimate ground of warfare on which he would willingly have taken issue, he rose, by his resources of mind and hear, and shifting from the narrower grounds of precedent and privilege, fell back on the great rights of mankind, out of which, and for which, all laws arise. It is useless to deny that Hampden had then become (as Clarendon terms him) a "Root and Branch man." All his subsequent acts prove it. He had taken higher ground, and would no longer be contented with lopping off the branches, but was resolved to lay the axe

\* Nugent's Memorials, vol. i., p. 297.

to the root, of the tree of corruption. Why does Lord Nugent shrink from contemplating his character in this view? It would have helped him to conclusions more just, and to reflections more beneficial, than those which disfigure the latter portion of the first volume of his "Memorials," where he speaks of "the memory of Hampden not being stained by any appearance of his having been concerned in Strafford's attainder." If his name does not appear in the proceedings, neither does that of Oliver Cromwell: but what will the noble author of the "Memorials" infer from that? That Cromwell opposed the attainder? Is it even pretended that Hampden opposed it? By no means! \* We are simply told by Lord Nugent that, "being only doubtful as a matter of precedent, but clear to him in respect of the guilt of the accused person," and knowing that, if it did not pass, "all law but that of the sceptre and the sword was at an end," he—did what?—he stood by with all his lofty thoughts of the thousands of families whose quarrel he had embraced, and left the burden of the deed necessary for their happiness to his great fellow-labourer Pym, that he might himself escape the odium of having departed from a strict letter of precedent, and might appear graceful to an aristocratic posterity! And Lord Nugent thinks he is adorning the memory of Hampden while striving to inflict this stain upon it, and talks of the injustice which has been done to the great patriot on this point by Clarendon and others. Why, if it be indeed true that he retired from the division on the attainder before the question was put, no doubt he had admirable reasons for doing so, and rested meanwhile on the surety of its passing; for even Lord Nugent does not pretend to say that he had not its success much at heart. Why, then, blame Clarendon? for it seems to me that what Clarendon says (in one of his passages of covert and falsely-coloured meaning) of Hampden's character so far bears out Lord Nugent, and that they both conspire in this instance to reflect no additional honour on the patriot. "He begot many opinions and motions," says that historian, "the education whereof he committed to other men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to

designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, *he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness.*"\*

But this is merely another of Lord Clarendon's dexterous attempts to mislead, and it is to be regretted that a friend to the "good cause" should in any way countenance it. What is Lord Nugent's authority for his opinion that Hampden shrunk from the side of Pym during the progress of Strafford's attainder? I will quote the entire passage of the "Memorials." "Falkland, it appears clearly from Sir Ralph Verney's notes, on the 15th of April, spoke in answer to Digby and in favour of the bill—Hampden never; and on the 16th, while Hampden was on one committee to prepare heads for a conference 'concerning their lordships' resolution to hear counsel in matter of law, and to desire that their lordships would use all expedition to give an end to this trial as much as in justice may be,' Falkland was on another which was appointed to prepare heads for a conference 'concerning the further proceedings,' on the report of which committee it was that the bill was passed. In debate, Hampden never alluded to the proceeding by bill but once. On the 16th of April, when it was discussed, pending the attainder, whether the Commons should continue to hear the earl's counsel at the bar of the Lords, or proceed with the bill, St. John, having said that, 'being possessed of a bill, they had made themselves judges, and being so, it were a dishonour to hear counsel anywhere but at their own bar;' and Colepepper having said, 'if we reply to Lord Strafford's counsel before the Lords, we prejudice our cause in taking away the power of declaring treason,' Hampden, according to Sir Ralph Verney's notes, in opposition to his fellow-managers, urged that they should proceed, not by bill, but by trial at the Lords' bar. 'The bill now depending doth not tie us to goe by bill. Our counsell hath been heard; ergo, in justice, we must heare his. Noe more prejudice to goe to heare matter of law, than to heare counsell to matter of fact.' " Now the latter words do not bear out the previous statement of them. It has been justly observed† that there is good reason to question whether, in this discussion, it was considered as an alternative to hear the earl's counsel at the Lords' bar or proceed with the bill, for by the result of that day's debate it appears that both were done, the committee answering, "after some deliberation with the House, that since the Lords had so resolved, they would not deny it to be there present, and to hear what his counsel could say for him; but to reply any more in public they neither could nor would, because of the bill already past; only if the

\* "But why then, it is asked, if Hampden disapproved of the precedent of a bill of attainder, did he not make head against it as manfully as he had before supported the impeachment? Plainly because, in a case doubtful to him only as a matter of precedent, but clear to him in respect of the guilt of the accused person—in a case in which the accused person, in his estimation, deserved death, and in which all law but that of the sceptre and the sword was at an end if he had escaped it—when all the ordinary protection of law to the subject throughout the country was suspended, and suspended mainly by the counsels of Strafford himself, Hampden was not prepared to heroically immolate the liberties of England in order to save the life of him who would have destroyed them. Hampden probably considered the bill which took away Strafford's life (and, indeed, it must in fairness be so considered) as a revolutionary act, undertaken for the defence of the Commonwealth. That in his conscience he believed it to be an act of substantial injustice to the person arraigned, no man has any right to conclude. I moreover aver, that there is not more ground for imputing a participation in that measure to him than to Lord Clarendon, and not near so much as to Lord Falkland." *Nugent's Memorials of Hampden*, vol. i., p. 379, 380. Lord Clarendon supported the measure, and so, most certainly, did Lord Falkland.

\* I have ventured to reprint these remarks on this great error, as I conceive it to be, of Lord Nugent's book, from a periodical for which they were written at the time of its publication. I have seen no reason to alter my opinion during the last six years, and I again use the same expression of it, because it became the subject of remark and quotation in a subsequent controversy between Mr. Southey and Lord Nugent, and I would not be supposed to have merely stolen my present opinion from the "professor of the hip-and-thigh school," so often referred to there. I have had no reason hitherto to avoid avowing myself as that "hip-and-thigh professor."

† *Quarterly Review*, vol. xlvii., p. 501.

Lords should take any scruple in the matter of law, they would be ready to give them satisfaction by a private conference." So that Hampden's opinion, it appears, prevailed, and the bill nevertheless proceeded. It has not been discovered that on any other occasion he alluded to the bill; and it is obvious that there is no ground here for such a charge as that of Lord Nugent, or such a mere party statement as Lord Clarendon's.

Very certain and unequivocal indeed must be the evidence that should so impugn Hampden's memory. Sufficient has been said in the progress of this work to prove that no one of that age—not even Pym himself—looked at the great question of resistance to tyranny on larger or more extended grounds, or in a more philosophic spirit. It was Hampden who first dared to anticipate a broader field of warfare than the floor of the House of Commons, and to prepare himself for a more real struggle; and, constantly in communion with his friend and cousin, Oliver Cromwell, it was Hampden who advised with him great projects of freedom; whose penetrating spirit first pointed to that remarkable person as likely to become, "in case of a breach with the king, the greatest man in England;" and whose virtue, at all times equal to his intellect and courage, would most surely, had not death stepped in, have prevented even Cromwell's traitorous usurpation on the English Commonwealth.

Hampden's course in this Parliament was given at the time the great questions of Pym's life were detailed. Hampden was second to Pym alone, and to the aid of everything which the wisdom and vigilance of that great statesman planned, he brought an influence of almost irresistible power. He was, as I have shown, an especially earnest promoter of the grand remonstrance and of the anti-episcopal measures. In regard to the latter, it may be important here to use, as an illustration of his real opinions, even one of the most artful and disingenuous statements of Clarendon. Describing the first debate on the bill for taking away the bishops' votes, and mentioning Lord Falkland's support of it, "Mr. Hyde," in the dignity of the historian Clarendon, observes: "The House was so marvellously delighted to see the two inseparable friends [Falkland and Hyde] divided in so important a point, that they could not contain from a kind of rejoicing; and the more, because they saw Mr. Hyde was much surprised with the contradiction; as in truth he was, having never discovered the least inclination in the other towards such a compliance; and therefore they entertained an imagination and hope that they might work the Lord Falkland to a farther concurrence with them. But they quickly found themselves disappointed, and that, as there was not the least interruption of close friendship between the other two, so, when the same argument came again into debate, about six months after, the Lord Falkland changed his opinion, and gave them all the opposition he could: nor was he reserved in acknowledging 'that he had been deceived, and by whom,' and confessed to his friends, with whom he would deal freely, 'that Mr. Hampden had assured him that, if that bill might pass, there would be nothing more at-

tempted to the prejudice of the Church;' which he thought, as the world then went, would be no ill composition."\*

And why had that bill ceased to be a "good composition?" Because it was refused by the House of Lords when first presented there. It was the old story of the sibyl and her leaves; and though two hundred years have passed, that story is again in the course of rehearsal. No one should have known better than Clarendon the great truth which the very distinction he himself has marked between the early and later years of Hampden so strikingly illustrates—that justice deferred, and rights withheld, will always enhance the price at which safety and peace *must*, in the end, be purchased.

Hampden's mission to Scotland to overlook and check the king is already before the reader; and I now approach the only speech which remains upon record with his name attached to it. It purports to have been spoken on the memorable morning already so fully described, after the impeachment of the five members, among whom Hampden's eminence and boldness had of course placed him. I quote it, without abridgment, from a small quarto pamphlet of the time.

"MR. SPEAKER,—It is a true saying of the wise man, 'That all things happen alike to all men, as well to the good man as to the bad.' There is no state or condition whatsoever, either of prosperity or adversity, but all sorts of men are sharers in the same: no man can be discerned truly by the outward appearance, whether he be a good subject either to his God, his prince, or his country, until he be tried by the touchstone of loyalty. Give me leave, I beseech you, to parallel the lives of either sort, that we may in some measure discern truth from falsehood; and in speaking, I shall simulate their lives.

"I. In religion towards God. II. In loyalty and due subjection to their sovereign, in their affection towards the safety of their country.

"I. Concerning religion. The best means to discern between the true and false religion is by searching the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament, which is of itself pure, indited by the Spirit of God, and written by holy men, unspotted in their lives and conversations: and by this sacred word may we prove whether our religion be of God or no; and by looking in this glass, we may discern whether we are in the right way or no.

"And looking into the same, I find by this truth of God that there is but one God, one Christ, one faith, one religion, which is the Gospel of Christ, and the doctrine of the prophets and apostles.

"In these two Testaments is contained all things necessary to salvation; if that our religion doth hang upon this doctrine, and no other secondary means, then it is true; to which comes nearest the Protestant religion, which we profess, as I really and verily believe; and, consequently, that religion which joineth with this doctrine of Christ and his apostles, the traditions and inventions of men, prayers to the Virgin Mary, angels, saints, that are used in the exercise of their religion, strange and super-

\* Hist., vol. i., p. 413, 414.

stitious worshipping, cringing, howing, creeping to the altar, using pictures, dirges, and such like, cannot be true, but erroneous, nay, devilish: and all this is used and maintained in the Church of Rome, as necessary as the Scripture to salvation; therefore is a false and erroneous church, both in doctrine and discipline, and all other sects and schisms, that lean not only on the Scripture, though never so contrary to the Church of Rome, is a false worshipping of God, and not the true religion. And thus much concerning religion, to discern the truth and falsehood thereof.

"II. I come now, Mr. Speaker, to the second thing intimated unto you, which was how to discern, in a state, between good subjects and bad, by their loyalty and due subjection to their lawful sovereign; in which I shall, under favour, observe two things.

"(1.) Lawful subjection to a king in his own person, and the commands, edicts, and proclamations of the prince and his privy council.

"(2.) Lawful obedience to the laws, statutes, and ordinances made, enacted by the king and the Lords, with the free consent of his great council of state assembled in Parliament.

"For the first. To deny a willing and dutiful obedience to a lawful sovereign and his privy council (for as Camden truly saith, *the commands of the Lords, privy councillors, and the edicts of the prince are all one, for they are inseparable, the one never without the other*), either to defend his royal person and kingdoms against the enemies of the same, either public or private; or to defend the ancient privileges and prerogatives of the king, pertaining and belonging of right to his royal crown, and the maintenance of his honour and dignity; or to defend and maintain true religion, established in the land, according to the truth of God, is one sign of an evil and bad subject.

"Secondly. To yield obedience to the commands of a king, if against the true religion, against the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, is another sign of an ill subject.

"Thirdly. To resist the lawful power of the king, to raise insurrection against the king, admit him adverse in his religion, to conspire against his sacred person, or any ways to rebel, though commanding things against our consciences in exercising religion, or against the rights and privileges of the subject, is an absolute sign of a disaffected and traitorous subject.

"And now, having given the signs of discerning evil and disloyal subjects, I shall only give you, in a word or two, the signs of discerning which are loyal and good subjects, only by turning these three signs already showed on the contrary side.

"(1.) He that willingly and cheerfully endeavoureth himself to obey his sovereign's commands, for the defence of his own person and kingdoms, for the defence of true religion, for the defence of the laws of his country, is a loyal and good subject.

"(2.) To deny obedience to a king commanding anything against God's true worship and religion, against the ancient and fundamental laws of the land, in endeavouring to perform the same, is a good subject.

"(3.) Not to resist the lawful and royal power of the king, to raise sedition or insurrection

against his person, or to set division between the king and his good subjects, by rebellion, although commanding things against conscience in the exercise of religion, or against the rights and privileges of the subject, but patiently for the same to undergo his prince's displeasure, whether it be to his imprisonment, confiscation of goods, banishment, or any other punishment whatsoever, without murmuring, grudging, or reviling against his sovereign or his proceedings, but submitting willingly and cheerfully himself and his cause to Almighty God, is the only sign of an obedient and loyal subject.

"I come now to the second means to know the difference between a good subject and a bad, by their obedience to the laws, statutes, and ordinances made by the king, with the whole consent of his Parliament. And in this I observe a twofold subjection: in the particular members thereof dissenting from the general votes of the whole Parliament; and, secondly, the whole state of the kingdom to a full Parliament.

"First. I confess, if any particular member of a Parliament, although his judgment and vote be contrary, do not willingly submit to the rest, he is an ill subject to the king and country.

"Secondly. To resist the ordinances of the whole state of the kingdom, either by stirring up a dislike in the hearts of his majesty's subjects of the proceedings of Parliament; to endeavour, by levying of arms, to compel the king and Parliament to make such laws as seem best to them; to deny the power, authority, and privileges of Parliament; to cast aspersions upon the same and proceedings, thereby inducing the king to think ill of the same, and to be incensed against the same; to procure the untimely dissolution and breaking off of the Parliament before all things be settled by the same, for the safety and tranquillity both of king and state, is an apparent sign of a traitorous and disloyal subject against his king and country.

"And thus, having troubled your patience in showing the difference between true Protestants and false subjects and traitors in a state or kingdom, and the means how to discern them, I humbly desire my actions may be compared with either, both as I am a subject, Protestant, and native in this country, and as I am a member of this present and happy Parliament; and as I shall be found guilty upon these articles exhibited against myself and the other gentlemen, either a bad or a good subject to my gracious sovereign and native country, to receive such sentence upon the same as by this honourable House shall be conceived to agree with law and justice."

Mr. Southey thinks\* that this speech inculcates the "doctrine of passive obedience," and Lord Nugent thinks it a very constitutional speech. It is a matter of surprise that so eminent a writer as Mr. Southey, and an intellect so acute, should think it likely, or even possible, for such a man as he thinks Hampden to have been (the fiercest of rebels and the most insincere), placed in the circumstances under which the above is said to have been spoken, to deliver himself of such a "doctrine." What

\* Quarterly Review, before referred to.

advantage was to be gained by it—or, rather, what advantage was not to be lost? On the other hand, Lord Nugent has been wanting in candour, and, taking the argument as he was content to rest it, must be said to have been worsted by his more experienced opponent.\*

It occurred to neither of the disputants that the passages in dispute may have been garbled or incorrectly reported. Of this there cannot be a single doubt. The only writer who copies the speech is Doctor Nalson, whose slavish propensities are well known, and whose "collections" were published by Charles II.'s special command; yet even he cautiously introduces it thus, "I find among the prints of that time." The editors of the old Parliamentary History, though with a strong Royalist tendency, were more honest; and they have refused to admit the speech in its present state into their work, on the express ground that it "was judged, by some learned gentlemen, to be surreptitious."† The outline is likely to have been correct enough, and probably it was this that furnished the interpolator with the hint on which he worked.

The Buckinghamshire petition has been mentioned. It was brought up to London, seven days after the attempt upon Hampden and Pym, by upward of 4000 freeholders, who had ridden up from their county, each with a copy of the recent protestation of the Commons in his hat, to show their devotedness to the Parliament, and to Hampden, their beloved representative. They complained of the "very being of Parliaments endangered by a desperate and unexampled breach of privilege;" and concluded, "in respect of that latter attempt upon the honourable House of Commons, we are now come to offer our service to that end, and resolved in their just defence to live and die." Subsequently a deputation of these bold brave men carried a petition in defence of Hampden to the king himself. A great effect was produced by the timely demonstration ‡

The war began, and Hampden was one of the first in the field. He hastened to Buckinghamshire, and "under the woody brows of his own beauteous Chilterns," published the ordinance to marshal the militia of his native county. He

\* I refer at present to certain pamphlets which followed the appearance of a review of the "Memoirs" in the Quarterly, and in which, I think, to almost every other advantage, Mr. Southey added the eminent use of temper.

† Parl. Hist., vol. x., p. 169.

‡ Hence the Royalist falsehoods respecting it have been numerous. They are all embodied in one of the political impostures of the day:

"Did I for this my county bring  
To help their knight against their king,  
And raise the first sedition?  
Though I the business did decline,  
Yet I conceived the whole design,  
And sent them their petition."

In the same generous spirit Hampden's visits to Scotland are construed:

"Did I for this bring in the Scot?  
(For 'tis no secret now) the plot  
Was Say's and mine together.  
Did I for this return again,  
And spend a winter there in vain?  
I went more to invite them hither.

"Though more our money than our cause  
Their brotherly assistance draws,  
My labour was not lost;  
At my return I brought you thence  
Necessity, their strong pretence,  
And this shall quit the cost."

was received with enthusiasm. The only persons who fell from his side were some members of his own family. This is ever one of the greatest miseries of civil war, terrible as it is for every kind of misery. In a curious pamphlet of the day, a "Discovery of Mysteries," I find the following living and mournful picture of England in her present extremity: "A most unnatural war, the son against the father, and the father against the son: the Earle of Warwicke fighteth for the Parliament, and my Lord Rich, his son, is with the king; the Earle of Dover is with the king, and my Lord Rochford, his son, is with the Parliament: no one brother against another, as the Earle of Northumberland with the Parliament, and his brother with the king; the Earle of Bedford with the Parliament, and his brother with the king; Master Perpoint with the Parliament, and the Earle of Newark with the king; Devereux Farmer with the Parliament, and his brother, Thomas Farmer, together with his brother-in-law, my Lord Cockain, with the king, and the like: and of cosens without number, the one part with the king, and the other with the Parliament: and if they do this in subtlety, to preserve their estate, I say it is a wicked policie to undoe the kingdome, which all wise men should consider." This is indeed a fearful realization of the poet's fancy!

But Hampden himself was the first, in this great hour, to throw aside every relation save those in which he stood to his country, and upon the issue of the contest which had now arrived he cheerfully ventured all. He spared neither purse nor person. He subscribed £2000 to the wants of the Parliament, and accepted the commission of a colonel. A passage from one of Doctor Heylin's articles, however, published in the Mercurius Aulicus on his death, conveys a feeling of the time which was entertained on both sides. "It was advertized this day, that on the death of Mr. Hampden, whom the lower House had joynd as a *coadjutor* with the Earle of Essex, or rather placed as a *superintendent* over him, to give them an account of his proceedings, they had made choice of Sir Henry Vane the younger to attend that service, who, having had a good part of his breeding under the holy ministers of New-England, was thought to be provided of sufficient zeale not only to inflame his excellencie's cold affections, but to kindle a more fiery spirit of rebellion in his wavering souldiers." Be his position what it might, it is certain that he had not been many days in the field before he showed himself a thorough master of the military duties, and "performed them on all occasions most punctually."\* The regiment of infantry with which he entered the war was soon considered to be one of the best in the service of the Parliament.

"The raising of troops," says Lord Nugent, "and the garrisoning and fortifying of towns, proceeded with rapidity. The new levies were formed into regiments and brigades. Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had been sent down to assist Sir John Hotham, began, but with small success, to collect a force which was destined to make head against the Marquis of Newcastle in the north. On Sir William Waller,

\* Clarendon.

who had the command at Exeter, devolved a like charge in the west, where Sir Ralph Hopton, Slanning, and Grenvil occupied the greater part of the country, and some of the small seaports, for the king. Lord Brooke in Warwickshire, Lord Say and his sons in Northamptonshire, the Earl of Bedford in Bedfordshire, Lord Kimbolton and Cromwell in Huntingdon and Cambridgeshire, and Lord Wharton, Arthur Goodwin, Mr. West, Mr. Bulstrode, Mr. Tyrell, and Mr. Richard Grenvil the high sheriff, in Buckinghamshire; Skippon, and Hollis, and Stapleton in Middlesex; and the sheriffs of Essex, Surrey, and Berkshire in their respective counties, formed the militia re-enforcements for the army, which was placed under the chief direction of the Earl of Essex. This became soon the main army of the Parliamentarian force throughout England amounted to about 25,000 men. The whole was at the disposal of the committee of public safety. The divisions were generally placed under the command of such of the chiefs as had served in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, and a few French and German engineers were engaged to superintend the fortifications and the drilling of the artillery. The brigades and single regiments were raised and led by such of the noblemen and country gentlemen as were found combining with their local influence, activity, courage, and genius enough for military affairs to be intrusted with commands. The regiments of infantry, as their clothing became more complete, assumed the colours of their respective leaders—generally such as had been worn by the serving men of the families. Hollis's were the London red-coats; Lord Brooke's the purple; Hampden's the green-coats; Lord Say's and Lord Mandeville's the blue. The orange, which had long been the colour of Lord Essex's household, and now that of his body-guard, was worn in a scarf over the armour of all the officers of the Parliament army, as the distinguishing symbol of their cause. Each regiment also carried a small standard, or cornet, with, on one side, the device and motto of its colonel, and, on the other, the watchword of the Parliament—"God with us." The Earl of Essex's bore the inscription, 'Cave, adsum,' words not well chosen, as, in the course of the wars, they sometimes afforded occasion for jest among the Cavaliers, when his regiment chanced to be seen in retreat, or engaged in levying contributions, or in some such other duties which were distasteful to the parts of the country over which it was moving, and which thus gave a somewhat whimsical air to the warning.\* Some of these mottoes were better chosen and better justified. In the third year of the war, the second son of the Earl of Leicester, Algernon Sidney, inscribed his standard with the words, "*Sanctus amor patriæ dat animum*;" and the motto which was borne at the head of Hampden's regiment resolutely indicated its great leader's course, "*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*."

It appears, from the returns of Lord Essex's army, that soon after the outbreak of the war,

\* I have found several of these jests in the *Mercurius Aulicus*.

it must have consisted of, in the whole, nearly 15,000 infantry and 4500 horse. Of the former there were twenty regiments: the lord-general's body-guard, and the regiments of the Earl of Peterborough, the Earl of Stamford, Viscount Say, Viscount Rochford, Viscount St. John, Lord Kimbolton, Lord Brooke, Lord Roberts, Lord Wharton, John Hampden, Denzil Hollis, Sir John Meyrick, Sir Henry Cholmley, Sir William Constable, Sir William Fairfax, Charles Essex, Thomas Grantham, Thomas Ballard and William Bamfield. The cavalry were in seventy-five troops. These were all raised, as were many of the infantry regiments, at the charge of their commanders. They were the lord-general's life-guard of gentlemen, and the troops of the Earls of Bedford, Peterborough, and Stamford, Viscounts Say, St. John, and Fielding, Lords Brooke, Wharton, Willoughby of Parham, Hastings, Grey of Groby, Sir William Balfour, Sir William Waller, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Sir Walter Erle, Sir Faithful Fortescue, Nathaniel, Francis, and John Fiennes, Oliver Cromwell, Valentine Waughton, Henry Ireton, Arthur Goodwin, John Dabier, Adrian Scroope, Thomas Hatcher, John Hotham, Sir Robert Pye, Sir William Wray, Sir John Saunders, John Alured, Edwyn Sandys, John and Thomas Hammond, Alexander Pym, Anthony and Henry Mildmay, James and Thomas Temple, Arthur Evelyn, Robert Vi-vers, Hercules Langrishe, William Pretty, James Sheffield, John Gunter, Robert and Francis Dowett, John Bird, Matthew Draper, Henry Dimmocke, Horatio Carey, John Neale, Edward Ayscough, John and Francis Thompson, Edward Keighley, Alexander Douglas, Thomas Lydcott, John Fleming, Richard Grenvil, Thomas Tyrell, John Hale, William Balfour, George Austin, Edward Wingate, Edward Bainton, Charles Chichester, Walter Long, Edward West, William Anselm, Robert Kirle, and Simon Rudgeley. Sir John Meyrick was, according to the military phrase then in use, sergeant-major-general of this army, the Earl of Peterborough general of the ordnance, and the Earl of Bedford of the horse.

It was not so easy to equip the men as to raise them. Matchlocks, pikes, and polearms supplied, however, the greater number of the infantry; and the cavalry were altogether better provided. The steel cap and gorget, the back and breast plates, the tassets descending to the knees, the long sword, carbine, and pistols—and, occasionally, the long lances—presented an unobjectionable setting out. The completeness of the defences of Hazlerig's regiment won them the name of the "lobsters;" and that of "ironsides" has been immortally appropriated by Cromwell's men.

Hampden's first muster of his levies was made on the fatal field of Chalgrove, where he afterward received his death wound. While engaged on this his earliest military duty, he illustrated the promptness and decision of his character. On hearing that some of the king's commissioners of array were in the neighbourhood, he suddenly, without dissolving the meeting, withdrew a small detachment from it, surprised the commissioners, and sent them prisoners to London.

The king had found himself, meanwhile, at

of about 10,000 foot, 1500 dragoons, ordinary horse. On first raising his at Nottingham he had but a "ragged" following; but, having gone back to traverse Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, commanding the attendant trained bands, levying forced loans, bringing to his "array" all the lowest and indigent classes of the community, he himself, on halting at Shrewsbury, in the name of the force I have named. It has been denied that, as opposed to the great Charles's army, that of the Parliament was vitally more "substantial" and intelligent, consisting of almost all the inferior gentry, yeomen, and the sober and inhabitable of towns; in a word, of those who had best reason to know the value of rights of liberty and property for which they prepared to shed their blood. On the other hand, Charles had the Church, or those still surviving influences which sustained its power before Pym and Hampden razed the power itself to the dust; he had the Roman Catholic party; he had the peasantry also; and, on either wing, as it were, his army, he held a majority of the mind and the old gentry of England. Many, indeed almost all, had joined him with other feeling than that subtle and delusive of honour which the term loyalty and out of the indescribable instinct of misplaced surely towards any but an absolute sovereign—they argued, that while they were their own in the great Parliamentary struggle for the liberties and laws, the king's were the king's alone. "I am satisfied with the proceedings here," said Lord Robert Spencer to his wife from the camp, in the first months of the war; here wanting daily handsome occasion *where it is not for grinning honour*. For, a man can never be so handsome, unless he is resolved to fight on the Parliament side, without doubt, that a man to fight. *If there could be an expedient to solve the punctilio of honour, I would not here an hour.*" The writer's scruples were easily solved, for he fell fighting under the standard. To the same class of agitations, notwithstanding all the protestations of Clarendon, belong those shrill accents wherewith Falkland so often uttered the word *peace, peace!* He was weary of the times than of the position he found himself, and he had his passion of being "soon out of" them, too, with Sir Edmund Verney, the standard-bearer to Charles. He disapproved the cause in which he had engaged, and he confesses; but "he had eaten of the bread," and honour bound him to the cause. He fell in the first battle.

"Honour" was the bond of this section of the party, the faster and firmer bond which held together the army of the Parliamentary cause, in one compact array, all the yeomanry, the merchants, the men of the law, and a very large and formidable of the peerage and landed gentry of the country. No doubts or scruples attended upon it. It gave a common and elevated

object to the sympathies of all. It gave "life in death" to all the owners of it and sufferers for it.

The civil war had now fairly begun, and much blood was shed in occasional skirmishes on both sides. Hampden was in Northamptonshire with a small brigade of infantry and some guns, accompanied by his fellow-representative for Buckinghamshire, Arthur Goodwin, and his regiment of cavalry. News reached him that Lord Brooke, who had been threatened with a siege in his own castle, was suddenly very close pressed in Warwickshire, and he instantly hastened to his aid. Meanwhile the gallant Brooke, after a noble and high-spirited triumph,\* had begun a march on Northamptonshire, and Hampden's brigade met him at Southam. A little army was thus formed—acting as the right wing to Essex—and the first strong division openly in action. Lord Say, Lord Grey, Denzil Hollis, and Cholmley, were in command along with Brooke and Hampden.

In the middle of the night, the force of Lord Northampton, much more considerable in numbers, approached within two miles of Southam, and the drums beat to arms. "Upon hearing whereof, the soldiers, possessed with joy that their enemies, the Cavaliers, were so near, gave a great shout, flinging up their hats and clattering their arms till the town rang again; and, casting aside all desire of meat and lodgings provided for them, went immediately into the field adjoining to the town, ready for battle, where they continued till the morning."† The enemy appeared at daybreak on the Dunsmore road and lanes adjoining. At eight o'clock the fight began. Hampden, who had taken post with his brigade on some rising ground, charged first; and, after a hot skirmish, the royal troops gave way, and were pursued to the river. This was the first serious skirmish of the war, and Hampden was the first to charge in it.

Essex's movements were, meanwhile, wavering and compromising; and irrevocable mischief might have been done, even thus early, to the cause, but for the wonderful energy of Hampden and Lord Brooke. The eloquence of the latter nobleman's addresses to his soldiers pierced through the mailed bosoms of the dullest among the troops, and inspired them with an ever lively enthusiasm. "If the nobility and bravery of the cause," he told some raw re-enforcements in the hall of his noble old fortress at Warwick, "be not sufficient to animate cowards, and make even the meanest spirits courageous, I know not what possibly can stir up mortal men to put on undaunted resolutions." These young troops marched to the assistance of the main army at Northampton, and were the bravest there! Hampden's activity and unwearied energy were surprising: now at the headquarters of Essex; now leading his brigade in the general advance upon Worcester; now present at the committee of public safety in London; again, in a few days, at Aylesbury, near which, supported by Denzil Hollis, he gave sharp fight to a detachment of the enemy, re-

\* See Nugent's Memorials, vol. ii., p. 224. A most interesting passage.

† "A true and perfect relation," &c., quoted in Lord Nugent's Memorials, vol. ii., p. 226.



pulsed and pursued them to Oxford, and then rejoined Essex. In every action or skirmish, Hampden, perhaps too boldly, exposed his person with such a daring intrepidity as, among thousands of men, raised him to a conspicuous mark above them all.

The first great pitched battle now approached. On a bright and cold morning, the 23d of October, 1642, the King of England found himself, for the first time, opposite the thick and dark masses of the army of the Parliament of England. He was on the brow of a hill, and separated from his enemy by a plain called the "Vale of the Red Horse," at Keynton Field, or Edge Hill, in Warwickshire. He addressed his officers in his tent eloquently and bravely: "If this day shine prosperous unto us," said he, "we shall all be happy in a glorious victory. Your king is both your cause, your quarrel, and your captain. The foe is in sight. Now show yourselves no malignant parties, but with your swords declare what courage and fidelity is within you. I have written and declared that I intended always to maintain and defend the Protestant religion, the rights and privileges of Parliament, and the liberty of the subject; and now I must prove my words by the convincing argument of the sword. Let Heaven show his power by this day's victory, to declare me just, and as a lawful, so a loving king to my subjects. The best encouragement I can give you is this, that, come life or death, your king will bear you company, and ever keep this field, this place, and this day's service in his grateful remembrance." He then rode along the lines, clad in steel armour, and wearing a black velvet mantle over it, on which glittered his brilliant star and George. Never did Charles I. seem so respectable as when about to shed the blood of the bravest and most conscientious of his subjects.

Old Lord Lindsey, his general-in-chief, disgusted with the overbearing insolence of Prince Rupert, acted as though only nominal commander, and put himself at the head of his regiment, with this fervent prayer, "Oh Lord! thou knowest how busy I must be this day. If I forget Thee, do not thou forget me. March on, boys!" When old Major-general Skippon, some days after, was in a similar position, he used language to the troops of the Parliament which was as homely, and proved more effective. "Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily, and fight heartily. I will run the same fortunes and hazards with you. Remember the cause is for God, and for the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children. Come, my honest, brave boys, pray heartily, and fight heartily, and God will bless us."

The armies had confronted each other—10,000 on the side of the Commons, and 12,000 on that of the king—from ten o'clock in the morning, but the fight did not begin till two. The Royalists would not leave their position. The Parliamentarians were the first to advance; and the enemy then gallantly descending into the plain, the battle soon hotly raged on both sides. In the front, with each a pike in his hand, Essex and Lindsey fought with heroic gallantry. Suddenly Prince Rupert made a desperate and impetuous charge, and broke the left wing of the Parliamentarians, who imme-

diately fled. The braver regiments of the right wing, and centre held their ground, charged gallantly in return, and took several of the king's guns. Rupert meanwhile pushed on after the fugitives with his characteristic love of plunder, even as far as Keynton itself, a distance of three miles; when two regiments, led by Hampden, were seen hastening across the enclosures to support the mangled squadrons of flying horse. He had left Stratford-on-Avon the night before, and pushed on with Grantham's regiment, his own green-coats, and five guns, which the men had dragged with difficulty through the deep roads. He formed instantly, and, opening fire on Rupert, obliged him to turn in great confusion. Hampden could not follow.

The king's army were sorely pressed at the time of Rupert's re-arrival among them, and, night closing in, both parties left the field. Lord Lindsey had fallen covered with wounds. Sir Edmund Verney was also slain, and the royal standard was taken and retaken. On the side of the Parliament, two colonels, Charles Essex and Lord St. John, perished; and the entire number of men left dead upon the field is said to have been about 5000. Charles Pym behaved most gallantly. A Parliamentary soldier, dying of his wounds, declared that his deepest grief was having received his death from the hand of his brother. He had recognised him among the royal troops, and turned aside, but not in time to avoid the fatal carbine, which was impetuously discharged from the hand that had never before been raised but in affection.\* Both sides claimed the victory.

Hampden joined Essex early on the following morning, and implored him earnestly to press forward, force the king's position, relieve Banbury, and throw himself at once on the contested line of the road to the capital. Essex was timid and indecisive; he marched, in preference, on Coventry, while the king, taking Banbury in his way without resistance, marched to Oxford, where he halted.

The next movement of Essex, after considerable sluggishness, was upon Northampton, Hampden and Arthur Goodwin leading the advanced guard. Lord Nugent has produced a letter which during the march Hampden wrote from Northampton to the lieutenants of Buckinghamshire to encourage them:

"To my noble friends, Colonel Bulstrode, Captain Grenvil, Captain Tyrell, Captain West, or any of them.

"Gentlemen,—The army is now at Northampton, moving every day nearer to you. If you disband not, we may be a mutual succour to each other; but if you disperse, you make yourselves and your country a prey.

"You shall hear daily from your servant,

"JOHN HAMPDEN.

"Northampton, Oct. 31."

"I wrote this enclosed letter yesterday, and thought it would have come to you then, but the messenger had occasion to stay till this morning. We cannot be ready to march till to-morrow, and then, I believe, we shall. I desire you will be pleased to send to me again as soon as you can, to the army, that we may know what posture you are in, and then you

\* D'Israeli's Commentaries, vol. v., p. 87.

will hear which way we go. You shall do me a favour to certify me what you hear of the king's forces, for I believe your intelligence is better from Oxford and those parts than ours can be.

"Your humble servant.

"JOHN HAMPDEN.

"Northampton, Nov. 1, 1642."

Brentford, meanwhile, was occupied by Hollis's regiment only. A numerous force of cavalry, with some pieces of artillery, under the command of Rupert, unexpectedly fell upon them. Essex was in the House of Lords when the roaring of the cannon reached him. He mounted horse instantly, and rode to the scene of action, where he found the regiments of Hampden and Lord Brooke already to the rescue, and the Royalists retiring, after having done some serious mischief. Five times had Hampden and Brooke charged the streets to open passage for retreat to Hollis's brave and suffering men, and five times were repulsed by overwhelming numbers and with great carnage.

A re-enforcement arrived on the following morning. Hampden proposed then to march 3000 men to Hounslow, and cut off the king's retreat on Oxford, while Essex and the main army attacked him in front. This was agreed to, but he had not proceeded a mile on his gallant errand when he was overtaken by counter orders. Here was another great error. Hampden was obliged to direct his march to Reading. Clarendon himself admits, "There had been, in the secret committee for the carrying on the war, forming those designs, and administering to the expenses thereof, a long debate, with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their army to besiege Oxford, where the king and the court was, rather than Reading; and, if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. Hampden, and all they who desired still to strike at the root, very earnestly insisted upon, without doubt they had put the king's affairs into great confusion; for, besides that the town was not tolerably fortified, nor the garrison well provided for, the court, and multitude of nobility, and ladies, and gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of alarm very ill."\*

These words of Clarendon, "strike at the root," explain the cause of these unhappy differences. Essex remained unimpaired in honour, but he never was for "striking at the root." He had not, like Hampden, when he drew his sword, cast away the scabbard. He never saw himself near to a great victory that he did not tremble; in defeat and disaster alone he stood erect and gallantly.

Hampden, mortified and sorrowful, sat down with his forces before Reading. Some few short months before he had brought home a bride from that pleasant town! This very fact, coupled with a knowledge that the majority of the inhabitants were really well affected to the cause, probably guided him in his course of only firing a few shots into the town, though commanding a view of almost every street. Colonel Lewis Kirke, the father of the infamous Kirke, commanded the Royalist garrison there; and Colonel Urrie, so soon after a renegade, seconded Hampden with a small body of

cavalry. Kirke attempted several sallies, and was repulsed with loss; and at daybreak on the third morning, Hampden and Urrie, judging the garrison fatigued and dispirited, determined to attempt the walls by assault. Accordingly, advancing silently from the trenches with 400 picked men, Hampden, in the gray twilight of the morning, passed the outer and second ditch, and, mounting the rampart, threw himself into the northernmost bastion. A desperate resistance was made, and terrible slaughter accompanied it. Then Hampden, calling forward the reserves, placed himself at the head of a second attack, and again, with fresh men struggling up the walls, renewed the fight on the breast of the main work. Kirke, upon this, drew out the whole garrison, and the "conflict came to push of pike," chief to chief, each at the head of his party, and each cheering his men by desperate achievement. Hampden, however, overpowered by force, must have retired, when Urrie, who had detached himself to the right, pushed between the Cavaliers and the town. The fire from the inhabitants at once ceased; and, after four hours' terrible struggle, and 400 men of the garrison left dead in the place, Kirke abandoned the defence and escaped to Oxford. Hampden remained master of Reading, of many stores, much baggage, and a large number of prisoners.\*

And so closed the first year of the war—brilliant successes, on a comparatively small scale, by Hampden—great opportunities lost by Essex! The king might be said to be victor, because he ought to have been, and was not, vanquished.

Meanwhile Hampden had become more than ever dear to the popular party, and hateful to the court at Oxford. The filth of the "Mercurius Aulicus," poured out upon him by its religious editors, testified to both feelings. About this time I find the following in that loyal publication: "It is advertized by some who have been curious in the observation, that Mr. Hampden, one of the five members so much talked of, hath had many great misfortunes since the beginning of these present troubles, whereof he hath been a principall mover, particularly that he hath buried since that time two of his daughters, one grandchild which he had by a daughter married to Sir Robert Pye the younger, his owne eldest sonne and heir; there being two onely sonnes surviving, whereof the one is said to be a cripple, and the other a lunatike; of which, whatever use may be made by others, 'tis not unfit but that the party whom it most concerns would lay it close unto his heart, and make such use thereof as the sad case invites him to."† Anything more

\* Lord Nugent's Memorials, vol. ii., p. 348. Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer.

† Mercurius Aulicus, 15th week. The same brutal writer observed, on the news of the patriot's early death: "Saturday, June 24. This day we were advertized that Master John Hampden (the principal member of the five) was dead of those wounds he received on Sunday last. If so, the reader may remember, that in the 15th weeke of this 'Mercurius,' we told the world what faire warning Master Hampden had received since the beginning of this rebellion (whereof he was a chiefe incendiary), how he had buried his sonne and heir and his two daughters, two onely sonnes surviving, whereof one was a cripple and the other a lunatike," which, though this desperate man was unwilling to make use of, yet sure it may startle the rest of his faction, especially if they consider that Chalgrove Field

\* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv., p. 36, 40.

horrible than such an attack as this (supposing it true) could scarcely be conceived. It was a gross falsehood, with only so much truth as to give bitter pain to its illustrious object. He had indeed lost his eldest son, and his favourite and beloved daughter, Mrs. Knightley. He was seldom known to smile afterward.

Nothing, however—not even such sorrows—could quench his indomitable activity. He was now almost daily on the road between the advanced posts of the army and London, and was frequently able to discharge, in the same day, his double duties at the army and with Pym in the public committee. The poet Denham, then in the king's service, thus described it, at this time, in one of the lampoons from which I have already quoted :

"Have I so often passed between  
Windsor and Westminster unseen,  
And did myself divide,  
To keep his excellence in awe,  
And give the Parliament the law,  
For they knew none beside?"

Fortunately for Denham and his party, this was not altogether true. Hampden was not able to "keep his excellence in awe." His excellency's timidity still forced him into every kind of error; and so manifest, especially to the Royalists, was the superiority of Hampden, that they attempted, with daring artfulness, to sow dissensions in the troops of the enemy by plain statements of a rivalry for the Parliamentary command. I find the following in the "*Mercurius Aulicus*:" "It was this day reported exceedingly confidently, by some who came from London lately, how it was noised in the citie that the Earle of Essex was to leave the place of generall unto Mr. Hampden, as one more active, and so, by consequence, more capable of the style of excellencie; which, though it proved not so in the event (*as it is not likely*), yet shows it clearly what an ill opinion the principall maintainers of this rebellion have of this said earle, and with how little confidence the common soldiers will be brought to spend their lives under the colours and command of such a generall, of whom they have so manifested a distrust by their common talke, and whom they have so publicly exposed to contempt and scorn in abusive pictures." No doubt it was from this authority that Anthony Wood derived his statement of such an intention of placing Hampden in chief command having been entertained at the commencement of the war. No good authority ever existed for it, happy as the issue might have been for England.

On the occurrence and disclosure of the Waller plot, in which a cousin of Hampden was found dishonourably implicated, a base advantage was taken of the name by the slavish scribes at Oxford, to throw out the vilest insinuations against Hampden's honesty and virtue. I find this alluded to in one of the journals of the Parliament; and the extract is curious and valuable, since it supplies, what has more than once been questioned, the real relationship of Waller's fellow-conspirator to

(where he now received this mortal wound) was the same place where he first mustered and drew up men in arms to rebel against the king. But whether the life and death of the Lord Brooke or Master Hampden be the better lesson against treason and rebellion, let posterity judge."

the patriot. "In this place, that I may not exceed the length of my semanically intelligence, I should return again to speake somewhat more of the discoverie of the plot which I made mention of before; the malevolents cannot endure to heare of any at all, yet some would seeme to admit of it upon condition that Colonell Hampden might be involved as a conspirator therein; and, therefore, hearing that one Hampden was intrusted about it, they have reported that it was Colonell Hampden, or his brother, Mr. Richard Hampden. And lest this report should breed any mistake abroad, and so derogate from the worth of these noble and faithfull gentlemen, I will be bold to speake a word or two of their pedigree, so farre onely as will cleare the matter. Mr. Alexander Hampden that is committed was sonne to Sir Edward Hampden of Northamptonshire, and, travelling into the Low Countries, became cross-bearer to the Queen of Bohemia, and since the warres came over into England, and remained in the king's armie till hee was sent with a message to the Parliament, and before hee was returned back with an answer the plot was discovered. It is true they were brothers' children, and it is too frequent, in these times especially, that those which are neare of blood are one against another."\*

Meanwhile Hampden had just achieved one of his most valuable services to the cause, in forming with Pym that celebrated association of counties to which Cromwell was afterward chiefly indebted for his most brilliant successes. At this time, suddenly, Lord Northampton attacked his regiment, and was repulsed with loss. The next affair he was engaged in—the assisting Grenvil to recover Brill Hill, a post of great strength, between Aylesbury and Thame—was unsuccessful. "*Mercurius Aulicus*" made much of this; and, returning to the subject a second and third time, I find every week some correction of an error he had fallen into in describing the "*businessse and successe*" at Brill. "For whereas, by the first intelligence which was given from thence, it was advertized that the forces brought before the towne were conducted by Mr. Arthur Goodwin, and that Captain Grenville, the last years sheriff of Buckinghamshire, had been killed in the enterprise; it proved, on further information, that the commander of the rebells was not Colonell Goodwin, but one as goode as hee, *per omnia*, viz, Mr. Hampden, the other of the two excepted in his majestie's pardon for the countie of Buckingham; and that Grenville was not killed outright, but mortally wounded in the belly, so that it was conceived he could hardly escape it."

The Royalists had now a series of successes. Lord Wentworth, the young and gallant son of the great Lord Strafford, distinguished himself, and the noble and good Lord Brooke was slain by a musket shot in the brain, fired from the Cathedral tower of Litchfield, as he was directing the advance of a body of troops up a street leading towards the close. This was an irreparable loss; and a loss more fatal still was now near at hand.

Some serious discontents occurred about this period in the regiments which held Reading.

\* King's Pamphlets, 117, 4to.

consequence of an ague breaking out in that town. Hampden's regiment took part in them. He hurried instantly from Westminster, where he was at the time, and, by his prompt boldness and frank courage, reduced the mutineers to perfect discipline.\* His spirit wearied, however, after some great enterprise, which Essex dared not attempt. Deeply sorrowful, yet quiet in obedience, as became the place he filled, he waited on in hope. The soldiers are said, and with much probability, to have now clamoured for him as their leader; but the only notice Hampden took of this was worthy of his noble and generous mind. He placed himself in more frequent communication with Essex, and seemed to counsel him and promote his views. But counsel from Hampden continued vain in that quarter still; vain as when, on four different occasions—after Edgehill, after Brentford, after the attack on Reading, and now after the fall of Reading—its rejection had possibly baffled the immediate and final decision of the war. The time had now come when no more counsel could be given, and none rejected more.

The renegade Urrie, thoroughly versed in the country and the habits of the Parliamentary army, now planned the expedition which ended in the eventful fight of Chalgrove. He gave the treacherous information that two regiments of the forces he had left lay exposed to attack at Wickham. Prince Rupert, acting on this, attacked those regiments unexpectedly—at Postcombe first, and then at Chinnor; slew or took them "to a man," committed infinite cruelties, and marched back upon Oxford. Hampden had, on the preceding day, strongly represented to Essex the danger to which this part of the line was exposed, and urged the necessity of strengthening it by calling in the reserve pickets from Wycombe.

It was now too late for this, but not too late, in Hampden's active and resolute thought, to prevent farther danger. "He had obtained in only life," says Lord Nugent, "from the habits of the chase, a thorough knowledge of the passes of this country. It is intersected in the uplands with woods, and deep, chalky hollows, and in the vales with brooks and green lanes, the only clear roads along the foot of the hills from east to west, and these not very good, being the two ancient Roman highways, called the Upper and Lower Ikenild Way. Over this district he had expected that some great operation would be attempted on the king's part, to force the posts round Thame, and turn the whole eastern flank of the army. To this neighbourhood he had, the evening before, repaired, and had lain that night in Watlington.† On the first alarm of Rupert's irruption, he sent off a troop to the lord-general at Thame, to advise moving a force of infantry and cavalry to Chis-

elhampton Bridge, the only point at which Rupert could recross the river. Some of his friends would have dissuaded him from adventuring his person with the cavalry on a service which did not properly belong to him, wishing him rather to leave it to those officers of lesser note, under whose immediate command the pickets were. But, wherever danger was, and hope of service to the cause, there Hampden ever felt that his duty lay. He instantly mounted, with a troop of Captain Sheffield's horse, who volunteered to follow him; and, being joined by some of Gunter's dragoons, he endeavoured, by several charges, to harass and impede the retreat, until Lord Essex should have had time to make his dispositions at the river. Towards this point, however, Rupert hastened, through Tettsworth, his rear-guard skirmishing the whole way. On Chalgrove Field the prince overtook a regiment of his infantry; and here, among the standing corn, which covered a plain of several hundred acres (then, as now, unenclosed), he drew up in order of battle. Gunter, now joining three troops of horse and one of dragoons, who were advancing from Easington and Thame over Golder Hill, came down among the enclosures facing the right of the prince's line, along a hedgerow which still forms the boundary on that side of Chalgrove Field. The prince, with his life-guards and some dragoons, being in their front, the fight began with several fierce charges. And now, Colonel Neale and General Percy coming up, with the prince's left wing on their flank, Gunter was slain, and his party gave way. Yet every moment they expected the main body, with Lord Essex, to appear. Meanwhile Hampden, with the two troops of Sheffield and Cross, having come round the right of the Cavaliers, advanced to rally and support the beaten horse. Every effort was to be made to keep Rupert hotly engaged till the re-enforcements should arrive from Thame. Hampden put himself at the head of the attack; but, in the first charge, he received his death-wound. He was struck in the shoulder with two carbine balls,\* which, breaking the bone, entered

\* "On the king's part, in this action, were lost, besides few common men, no officers of note, but some hurt: on the enemy's side, many of the best officers, more than in any battle they fought; and among them (which made the news of the rest less inquired after by the one, and less lamented by the other) Colonel Hampden, who was shot in the shoulder with a brace of pistol bullets, of which wound, with very sharp pain, he died within ten days, to as great a consternation of all that party as if the whole army had been defeated and cut off."—*Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, vol. iv., p. 81, 82, *restored text*. In a second passage of this restored text, portions of which seem to have been struck out by Clarendon himself, there is a second allusion to the wounded, after which the writer proceeds. "Of which Mr. Hampden was one, who would not stay that morning till his own regiment came up, but put himself a volunteer in the head of those troops who were upon their march, and was the principal cause of their precipitation, contrary to his natural temper, which, though full of courage, was usually very wary; but now, carried on by his fate, he would by no means expect the general's coming up, and he was of that universal authority that no officer paused in obeying him. And so in the first charge he received a pistol shot in his shoulder, which broke the bone, and put him to great torture; and after he had endured it about three weeks, or less time, he died, to the most universal grief of the Parliament that they could have received from any accident: and it equally increased the joy for the success at Oxford, and very reasonably; for the loss of a man, which would have been thought a full recompense for a considerable defeat, could not but be looked upon as a glorious crown of a victory." Is it possible, after this, to credit

\* Lord Nugent's Memorials, vol. ii., p. 412. Coates's papers, May 28.

† "It is traditionally said that a military chest of money was left at the house of one Robert Parlow, where Hampden lay that night, and that it was never called for after, by which means Parlow was enabled to bequeath a liberal legacy to the poor of that parish. On every anniversary of his funeral, November 19th, a bell tolls in Watlington from morning till sunset, and twenty poor men are provided with costs. These particulars I derive from the intelligent Mr. John Badcock, for forty years a resident at Pytton and its neighbourhood, but now of St. Helen's, who wrote in 1816 a very ingenious little history of Watlington."

his body, and his arm hung powerless and shattered by his side. Sheffield was severely wounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Overwhelmed by numbers, their best officers killed or taken, the great leader of their hopes and of their cause thus dying among them, and the day absolutely lost, the Parliamentarians no longer kept their ground. Essex came up too late; and Rupert, though unable to pursue, made good his retreat across the river to Oxford."

Immediately after this melancholy day, "a true relation" of the affair was published in London. I present it, without abridgment, from the king's collection of pamphlets. When it appeared Hampden yet lived, and hope was entertained of his recovery:

"Upon Monday last it was informed, by divers letters, and severall persons that came from the armie, to this effect, namely, That on Saturday last, three or four troopes of the king's forces having wheeled about from Abington to Wallingford, and from thence towards Stoken Church, under the hills neare to Tetsworth, they came unto a towne three miles from Thame, called Chinner (at which place the lord-generall, with his maine forces, consisting, as it is credibly informed, of very neare 30,000 able fighting men, were quartered), it being upon the edge of Buckinghamshire, at which place were quartered about 400 of the Parliament's forces, the greatest part whereof were forces that lately came to assist his excellencie in the Parliament's service, which came out of Bedfordshire and Essex; and missing of the Parliament's scouts, they came to the said towne, and gave a sudden assault against the Parliament's forces there, and cut off some of their sentinells, and entered the towne, and, according to their barbarous and destructive manner, fired the same in divers places. But, before I proceed in the further relation of this businesse, I may not forget the valour and courage of the Parliament's forces which were in this towne; for they charged the enemy with as much courage and resolution as could be expected or performed by men being unexpectedly assaulted, and continued fighting with them many houres. Upon this assault of the enemy, an alarm was given at the lord-generall's quarters at Thame, upon which divers troopes of horse were designed to sally forth upon this expedition; and amongst those colonells and commanders that were, at an instant, willing to hazard their lives upon this designe, Colonell Hampden (who is a gentleman that hath never beene wanting to adventure his life and fortunes for the good and welfare of his king and countrey) may not be forgotten, who, finding of a good troope of horse (whose captain was at that time willing), desired to know whether they would be commanded by him upon this designe; whereupon the officers and common souldiers freely and unanimously consented, and proffered to adventure their lives with this noble gentleman, and showed much cheerfulness that they could have the honour to be led by so noble a captain. And so the said Colonell Hampden, and some other colonells and captaines, came

the statement which has been made of Charles's affected sympathy, and offer to send his own surgeon to Hampden!

with a considerable partie of horse with all expedition, to assist the rest of their forces, which as aforesaid were quartered at Chinner; and as soon as the Cavaliers perceived that some of the lord-generall's forces were come in from Thame, they presently fled from Chinner backe againe towards Tetsworth, and were then pursued by Colonell Hampden and the rest of the lord-generall's forces that came upon this designe about two miles, in which pursuit there were many of the king's forces killed and taken prisoners. In which retreat this is observable, that the Cavaliers (as it appeared afterwards) had plotted, in a perfidious manner, to have intrapped the Parliament's forces, and to have killed or taken them all prisoners. But it pleased God to prevent their plot; for in the way, Prince Rupert, who, with about 1000 horse, lay in ambush readie to fall upon the Parliament's forces, as they were in pursuit of the first victory, appeared, and gave a hot charge upon the Parliament's forces; but, although the Earle of Essex's forces were scarce ten for one that were at this time in the battle, yet they gave them a brave volly of shot, and slew many of the enemy's forces as well at this place, which was neare Tetsworth, as at Chinner, and for some time, it being Sunday morning, held them fight without the losse of many men; but at last, the enemy having intelligence that some regiments of foot were coming from Thame of the lord-generall's forces, they retreated towards Abington, and durst not fight till they came in, for the foot forces are a great amazement unto them.

"Having thus farre in a generall manner declared the truth of this businesse, it rests, in the next place, that I enter into some particulars concerning the same, for the better satisfaction of the kingdome, whose expectation thirsteth after the same. I dare not delude with false and fabulous matter, and therefore I shall (being the first relater hereof) omit uncertaine reports, rather than commit that to writing which hereafter may be questionable; and therefore I shall be more sparing therein, and write onely those things which are authenticke; which that I may doe, First, it is certaine that Colonell Hampden, that noble and valiant gentleman, received a shott with a bullet behind in the shoulder, which stuck between the bone and the flesh, but is since drawne forth, and himself very cheerfull and heartie, and is, through God's mercy, more likely to be a badge of honour than any danger of life.

"Serjt. Major Gunter, a gentl. of the Parliament's side, was slain, and Capt. Buller (as it is thought) taken prisoner: some other prisoners were taken on the Parliament's side; but, in regard the particulars of the fight were not knowne when the intelligence came from the armie, I shall omit to particularize any more of them.

"On the enemy's side was slain Capt. Legge (who was once taken prisoner by the Parliament's forces, and made an escape); and it is said that Col. Urrie, which was heretofore employed in the Parliament's service, and was the last weeke in London, is either killed or taken prisoner. Thomas Howard is also taken prisoner by the Parliament's forces, with divers

other gent. of qualitie, besides common souldiers.

"The certaine number that were slaine on either side I shall not at this time relate, for that it was not knowne in the armie when the post that brought this tidings came from thence; but it is reported that there was an equal losse on both sides, there being 400 slaine on both sides.

"A great part of the towne of Chinner was burnt by the king's forces; by which doings, compared with what hath bene certified out of other parts, we may see that killing, burning, and destroying of all that is deare to us, is the religion, lawes, and propertie of the subject they seeke for."

Essex himself immediately wrote to the speaker of the House of Commons; and, anxious to preserve the immediate records of this memorably mournful event, I have extracted this letter, dated the day after Hampden received his wound, from the same sources:

"Sir,—There being some of my horse that had an encounter with the enemy yesterday, being Sunday, I have thought fit to give the House an account of the particulars of it, knowing howe apt many are to report things to our disadvantage.

"About two of the clock on Sunday morning, the enemy, with about 1200 horse, and a great bodie of dragoons, felle into a towne called Porcham [Postcombe], where one troope of horse (being Coll. Morley's) was quartered, of which they took the greatest part, and from thence went not farre to another village called Chinner, where they beate up some of the new Bedfordshire dragoons, and took some of them prisoners, and three of their colours; and some of the officers behaving themselves very well, and defending the houses wherein they were, they set fire to the towne. These being out quarters, the alarm came where Major Gunter lay with three troopes, viz., his owne, Captaine Sheffield's, and Captaine Crosse's, whom he presently drew out, and marched towards the enemy. Colonell Hampden being abroad with Sir Samuel Luke, and onely one man, and seeing Major Gunter's forces, they did go along with them. Col. Dalbier, the quartermaster-generall, did likewise come to them. With these they drew neare the enemy, and finding them marching away, kept still upon the reare for nearely five miles. In this time there joyued with them Captaine Sander's troope, and Captaine Buller, with fiftie commanded men, which were sent to Chinner by Sir Philip Stapleton (who had the watch here that night at Thame), when he discovered the fire there, to know the occasion of it; he likewise sent one troope of dragoons under the command of Capt. Dundasse, who came up to them. There were likewise some of Col. Melve's dragoons that came to them. At length our men pressed them so neare, that, being in a large pasture ground, they drew up, and notwithstanding the inequality of the numbers, we having not above 300 horse, our men charged them very gallantly, and slew divers of them; but while they were in fight, the enemy, being so very strong, kept a bodie of horse for his reserve, and with that bodie wheeled about and charged our men in the reare, so that, being

incompassed and overborne with multitudes, they broke and fled, though it was not very farre; for when I hearde that our men marched in the reare of the enemy, I sent to Sir Philip Stapleton, who presently marched towards them with his regiment, and though he came somewhat short of the skirmish, yet seeing our men retreat in that disorder, he stopt them, caused them to draw into a bodie with him, where they stood about an houre, whereupon the enemy marched away. In this skirmish there were slaine fortie and five on both sides, whereof the greater part were theirs.

"They carried off the bodies of divers persons of qualitie. On our side Major Gunter was killed, but some say he is prisoner, and so hurt; a man of much courage and fidelitie, his bravery engaging him and his small partie too farre. Col. Hampden put himself in Captaine Crosse his troope, where he charged with much courage, and was unfortunately shott through the shoulder. Sir Samuel Luke thrice taken prisoner, and fortunately rescued. Capt. Crosse had his horse killed under him in the midst of the enemy, and was mounted by one of his owne men, who quitted his owne horse to save his captaine.

"Capt. Buller was shott in the neck, who showed very much resolution in this fight, taking one prisoner after he was shott. Monsieur Dalbier, with Captaine Bosa, and Capt. Ennis, did likewise carry themselves very well. Wee likewise lost two colours, Major Gunter's and Captaine Sheffield's. No prisoners of qualitie were taken by the enemy but Capt. Sheffield's brother. Prince Rupert was there in person, and the renegado Urrie. Wee took prisoner one of the Earle of Berk's sonnes; Capt. Gardiner, the late recorder's sonne of London; and Capt. Smith, with some others of qualitie, and divers prisoners.

"Sir, this is the true relation of what passed in this businesse. I rest

"Your assured friend,

"Essex.

"Thame, 19th of June, 1643."

The graphic touches of the following, taken from one of the Parliament newspapers, will complete the sad narrative: "In the late skirmish with the Cavaliers between Thame and Oxford, my lord-generall's owne letter, in print, expresses the particulars where five troopes of the Parliament's forces charged fifteen troopes of the enemy's, and did, with their pistols and carbines, at the first charge, doe great execution; but the enemy, when they begun to close, having long rapiers and swords, a foot and halfe longer than ordinary, did therewith much annoy the Parliament souldiers, except that great-spirited little Sir Samuel Luke, who so guarded himself with his short sword that he escaped without hurt, though thrice taken prisoner, yet rescued, and those to whom he was prisoner slaine. The third time he was taken prisoner, one of his owne men, seeing two lead away his master a-foot, with his carbine he killed one of them, and runne the other through with his sword, and mounted Sir Samuel upon one of their horses, and brought him cleare off, for which his noble master gave him £100, as he well deserved it. Colonell Hampden and Sergeant-major Gunter were hurt at

the first charge, Colonell Urrie, that renegade, crying, 'That's Hampden,' 'That's Gunter,' 'That's Luke,' which made the enemies so fierce upon our commanders. This false-hearted Urrie, that hath so long served the Parliament under pretence of affection, and hath been privy so much to the counsells of the armie, communicating from time to time to the Cavaliers at Oxford the designs of the Earle of Essex, about three or four days after he runne away to Oxford, knowing the quarters of the Parliament's armie, commanded a partie of the Cavaliers, and so betrayed the Parliament's forces in the said skirmish."

The Royalists soon received the welcome news of this dreadful day. "One of the prisoners," says Lord Clarendon, "who had been taken in the action, said 'that he was confident Mr. Hampden was hurt, for he saw him ride off the field before the action was done, which he never used to do, and with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his horse,' by which he concluded he was hurt." It is a tradition, Lord Nugent adds, in an affecting passage of his Memorials, "that he was seen first moving in the direction of his father-in-law's (Simeon's) house at Pyrton. There he had in youth married the first wife of his love, and thither he would have gone to die. But Rupert's cavalry were covering the plain between. Turning his horse, therefore, he rode back across the grounds of Hazeley in his way to Thame. At the brook which divides the parishes he paused a while; but it being impossible for him, in his wounded state, to remount, if he had alighted to turn his horse over, he suddenly summoned his strength, clapped spurs, and cleared the leap. In great pain, and almost fainting, he reached Thame, and was conducted to the house of one Ezekiel Browne, where, his wounds being dressed, the burgeoons would, for a while, have given him hopes of life. But he felt that his hurt was mortal; and, indulging no weak expectations of recovery, he occupied the few days that remained to him in dispatching letters of counsel to the Parliament in prosecution of his favourite plan. While the irresolute and lazy spirit which had directed the army in the field should continue to preside in the council of war, Hampden had reason to despair of the great forward movement to which he had throughout looked for the success of the cause; and now the re-enforcements which were pouring into Oxford from the north, and the weakened condition of the Parliament, made the issue of this more doubtful. His last urgent advice was to concentrate the position of the army covering the London road, and provide well for the threatened safety of the metropolis, and thus to rouse the troops from the mortifying remembrance of their late disasters to vigorous preparations, which yet might lead, by a happier fortune, in turn to a successful attack."

But, after nearly six days of cruel suffering, his bodily powers no longer sufficed to pursue or conclude the business of his earthly work. About seven hours before his death he received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, declaring that "though he could not away with the governance of the Church by bishops, and did utterly abominate the scandalous lives of some

clergymen, he thought its doctrine in the greater part primitive and conformable to God's word, as in Holy Scripture revealed." He was attended by Dr. Giles, the rector of Chinner, with whom he had lived in habits of close friendship, and Dr. Spurstow, an independent minister, the chaplain of his regiment. At length, being well-nigh spent, and labouring for breath, he turned himself to die in prayer. "O Lord God of hosts," said he, "great is thy mercy, just and holy are thy dealings unto us sinful men. Save me, O Lord, if it be thy good will, from the jaws of death. Pardon my manifold transgressions. O Lord, save my bleeding country. Have these realms in thy special keeping. Confound and level in the dust those who would rob the people of their liberty and lawful prerogative. Let the king see his error, and turn the hearts of his wicked counsellors from the malice and wickedness of their designs. Lord Jesu, receive my soul!" He then mournfully uttered, "O Lord, save my country. O Lord, be merciful to . . . ." and here his speech failed him. He fell back in the bed and expired.\*

He was buried among the hills and woods of the Chilterns. Many troops in the neighbourhood followed the beloved body to its grave, in the parish church adjoining his mansion. With arms reversed, drums and ensigns muffled, and heads uncovered, they marched with what remained of the illustrious patriot to his last resting-place, singing the 90th Psalm as they went, and the 43d as they returned.

The "Weekly Intelligencer" published an interesting article the week after his death, which is here subjoined: "The losse of Colonell Hampden goeth neare the hearte of every man that loves the goode of his king and countrey, and makes some conceive little content to be at the armie now that he is gone. It offers me an opportunitie to present you with some more weekly intelligence, which I intend to continue. The memorie of this deceased colonell is such that in no age to come but it will more and more be had in honour and esteeme: a man so religious, and of that prudence, judgement, temper, valour, and integritie, that he hath left few his like behind him. His bitterest enemies could never fasten any action of disrepute upon him, but one (as they called it), which I conceive was for his eternall honour, that he was too zealous a Christian (as by their pamphlets at Oxford appeares), which, if it be a sinne, then of all sinnes in this world the Cavaliers are least guiltie of it. What man of this kindome deserved more of the Commonwealth (when it was almost treason to say I will stand for my libertie) than this gent. did, when he (alone) stood for the subject's libertie and propertie, choosing, rather than to pay 40s. to the prejudice of the subject, to spend £1000 in the lawfull defence thereof, viz., in the great intollerable tax of ship-money (in the times of peace, when there was no need of it, but that the designs of the times were to break the ice to drive us under an arbitrary government); and I appeale to the consciences of the malignants

\* Clough's Narration.—[In the Ashmole Museum is a locket of plain cornelian, which, it is said, Hampden wore on his breast. On the silver rim these words are inscribed:

"Against my king I never fight,  
But for my king and country's right."—G.]

if they did not honour him then above all the subjects in the kingdome? Master Hoborne (though now through other respects of another minde) was then one of his chiefe champions to pleade his and the kingdome's case; for his temper and prudence in the carriage of that businesse he was admired of all men, and God (contrary to the designes of man, and the countenance of great lords and courtiers now at Oxford, then present to awe the judges at the time of the argument of that case) produced good effects to the kingdome, and damned ship-money in the opinion of the people, whatever the opinion of some of the judges were. Howe hath this gentleman carried himselfe since this Parliament begun! Constant to defend our religion and libertie, for which cause alone (for no other cause yet appears to the world) he with four others was accused of high treason by Master Herbert, first the queene's attorney, then the king's, who, being afterwards questioned for it in the presence of both houses of Parliament, did publickly declare that though he accused them of high treason, whereby their lives lay at stake, their estates might become forfeit, and their posteritie branded with infamy, yet he had no more cause, prooffe, or reason to accuse Master Hampden, or any of the other four members, than to accuse the child unborne; only his master commanded him to do it, and the king offered to pass a bill to cleare him and them, though since refused; and by his last proclamation of the 16th of June instant to dissolve this Parliament, passes by *one of the five members* in the particular exception, notwithstanding the said accusations. I will add only a worde more concerning him (though too much of his worth cannot be said), that his whole indeavours since the Parliament begun was for the publike, not regarding his private in any kinde. He wisely foresaw the designes of the counsell about the king to introduce a tyrannicall government, and thereby to set up poperie, and was sensible of the correspondency of counsells in the distractions of the three kingdomes (as both houses have voted); and that, all former plots and designes against Scotland and this present Parliament failing, the said counsells resolved on the bloodie rebellion in Ireland, and the destroying this Parliament by the sword, as their last refuge to bring to pass their designes, which encouraged him timely to contribute his advice to the kingdome to be in a posture to defend themselves; and least it should be thought to oppose the king or to injure him, these wordes have I seene in writing, which upon an occasion he used in Parliament, viz., Perish may that man and his posteritie that will not deny himselfe in the greatest part of his fortune (rather than the king shall want) to make him both potent and beloved at home, and terrible to his enemies abroad, if he will be pleased to leave those evil counsells about him, and take the wholesome advice of his great counsell the Parliament! And with this dutifull and loyall heart to his prince, and endeavour to bring him to his Parliament for his country's good, he sacrificed his life; and said, before he died, that if he had twentie lives, all should goe this way, rather than the Gospell of our salvation (nowe so much fought against) should be trampled under foot."

And in an article of the "Weekly Accompt," written on the same sad occasion, some circumstances are added to our previous knowledge of the patriot: "Speaking of the affaires of Buckinghamshire, it puts me in remembrance of Master Hampden, that noble patriot of his country, whose losse is infinitely lamented in all places; for it is well knowne to the whole kingdome howe much he suffered for the good of his country, and that he endured for a long time together (about sixteen yeares since) close imprisonment in the Gatehouse about the loan money, which indangered his life, and was a very great meanes so to impair his health that he never after did looke like the same man he was before. And did he not spend a great summe of money out of his owne estate in defence of the kingdome's right in that great case of ship-money? And, to be brieft, as he was indued with more than ordinary parts of wisdom, knowledge, and understanding, so was he as carefull to improve and make a right use of them, so that (like Zachary and Elizabeth) he walked unblameable in all his conversation. That very day which he received that fatal wound he was just fiftie yeares of age. During the time that he lived after, which was just a weeke, he showed a wonderfull measure of patience and meaknesse, being full of divine sentences, speaking as if he felt no pain; saying it was nothing but what he dayly expected, and that he had long prepared against that time; and continued of perfect memorie, cheerfull spirit, constant in the cause, and encouraging others unto the last; and departed without feeling any pain at all, going out of a sweet slumber into a quiet sleepe. He was carried from Thame to Hampden, and interred in his father's tomb."

These extracts from the now scarce and valuable records of the time may be closed with some lines from an "elegie," not utterly unworthy of the theme, written by a friend and "fellow-soldier" of Hampden. They embody a picture of the great soldier himself in the excitement of battle.

"Though my malicious fate debarred my will  
From waiting on your valour, when the shrill  
And haute trumpet bade your honour goe  
With disadvantage 'gainst the subtle foe;  
When treacherie and odds, crowned with successe,  
Did triumph over our unhappinesse:  
Yet give me leave, Renowned Dust, to send  
My gratefull muse in mourning to attend,  
And strew some cypresse on your martial hearse.

Was he not pious, valiant, wise, and just,  
Loyall and temperate? Everything that must  
Make up a perfect harmonie? Yee know  
His constant actions have declared him so.

So was he truly valiant. I have seene  
Him 't the front of 's regiment in greene,  
When death about him did in ambush lye,  
And whizzing shot like shoures of arrowes flye,  
Waving his com'ring sterle, as if that he  
From Mars had got the sole monopolie  
Of never-failing courage: and so cheare  
His fighting men!

Farewell, beloved in Parliament and field,  
Farewell, thy souldier's faithfull broken shield!"

And now, to complete the information which has been collected in these pages concerning one of the greatest men of the English history, the character which Clarendon has drawn of him in unfading colours may, without hesita-



tion, be added. No one who has glanced through this work can be at a loss to separate the just from the unjust.

"He was a gentleman of a good family in Buckinghamshire, born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world he indulged to himself all the license in sports, and exercise, and company which was used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterward he retired to a *more reserved and melancholy society*," yet preserving his own natural cheerfulness and vivacity, and, above all, a flowing courtesy to all men: though they who conversed nearly with him found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the Church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen and of some introducements of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country than of public discourse or fame in the kingdom before the business of ship-money; but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage throughout this agitation was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him most narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony, and the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced him than the service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived), the eyes of all men were fixed on him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it; and I am persuaded his power and interest at that time were greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man in his rank hath had in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

"He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information and instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he left his opinions with those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them; and even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenuous and conscientious person. He was, indeed, a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity—that is, the most absolute faculties to govern the people—of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parlia-

ment he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours than to inflame them; but wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned that that moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he begat many opinions and notions, the elucidation whereof he committed to other men, so far disguising his own designs that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness, which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of England, and what farther was entered into afterward in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government in Parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privacy of this gentleman.

"After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered, his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently any expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual if they were made, and was, indeed, much more relied on by that party than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel on all occasions most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp, and of a personal courage equal to his best parts, so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend, and as much to be apprehended where he was so as any man could deserve to be, and therefore his death was no less congratulated in the one party than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna might well be applied to him: 'he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief.' His death, therefore, seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation."

In other words, the death of the noble and fearless Hampden, while it plunged every honest English heart into the depths of sorrow, revived in the tyrant Charles and his slavish ministers their hope of being able to trample into the dust once more the laws and liberties of England.

\* [This has been already alluded to, and probably refers to his devotion to legal pursuits.—C.]

## SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER.—1612–1662.

**HENRY VANE**, the eldest son of Sir Henry Vane, of Hadlow, in Kent, was borne in the year 1612. His family could trace itself back to the earliest times of the English history.\* They sprang from Howel ap Vane, of Monmouthshire, whose son, Griffith ap Howel Vane, married Lettice, daughter of Bledwin ap Kenwyn, lord of Powis. Six generations after this mark the date of the battle of Poitiers, where the then representative of the family, Henry Vane, received knighthood on the field as the reward of great bravery. After the lapse of five more generations, one of the branches of the family altered the name to Fane, which was retained by the descendants of his second son, while the issue of his fourth son, John, who had inherited the manor of Hadlow, and other estates in Kent and elsewhere, in consequence of the eldest son dying without issue, resumed in the second generation the old name of Vane. The eldest son of this last-named John was unwarily drawn into Sir Thomas Wyatt's insurrection, but pardoned, on the score of youth, by Mary, and afterward elected to two of Elizabeth's Parliaments. Henry Vane, the father of the subject of this memoir, was his eldest grandson, and it was by him the ancient name was resumed.

Sir Henry Vane the elder is described by Clarendon as a busy and a bustling man, and a rapid glance over the chief incidents of his life will show the correctness of the description. He was born in 1589, and received knighthood from James I. in 1611. He travelled afterward for three years, and mastered many foreign languages. On his return to England, he was elected to the Parliament of 1614 by the city of Carlisle, and from this period, during many years, exerted considerable influence in the cabinets of James and Charles. James had appointed him, soon after his entry into the House of Commons, cofferer to the prince, who continued him in the same office on his own accession to the throne, and made him one of his privy council. In the Parliaments of 1620 and 1625, he continued to sit for Carlisle; and he served in every subsequent Parliament to the time of his death, having been elected for Thetford in Norfolk, Wilton in Wiltshire, and for the county of Kent. As a diplomatist, he appears justly entitled to high praise; in other matters, it may not be unjust to use the words of Clarendon, that he had "credit enough to do his business in all places, and cared for no man, otherwise than as he found it very convenient for himself."† In 1631 he had been appointed ambassador extraordinary to renew the treaty of friendship and confederacy with Christian of Denmark, and also, in a similar character, to conclude on a firm peace and alliance with Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden. Both these treaties were of great importance to the power and the commercial interests of

England, and he concluded both auspiciously. He returned home in 1632, and in 1633 gave a princely entertainment, at his castle of Raby, to Charles, then on his way to Scotland to be crowned, as he did again on a more fatal occasion, in 1639, when the king was marching with his melancholy "expedition to Scotland," in which Sir Henry Vane himself had the command of a regiment. In the latter year he was made comptroller of the household, and some months after this appointment received the highest seat in Charles's administration, that of principal secretary of state. The latter years of his life associate themselves with the fortunes of his illustrious son.

The mother of the famous Sir Henry Vane was Frances Darcy, of an old family in Essex. She had many other children, of whom the second son, Sir George Vane, was knighted in 1640, and seated himself in retirement at Long Melton, in the county of Durham, while Charles distinguished himself as a diplomatist under the Commonwealth, when envoy to Lisbon. One of her daughters married Sir Thomas Honeywood,\* of Essex, a man of learning and a good soldier; another, Sir Francis Vincent, of Surrey; a third married Sir Thomas Liddel, of Ravensworth, an ancestor of the present Earl of Ravensworth; while the eldest became the wife of Sir Thomas Pelham, the ancestor of those families which are now represented by the Duke of Newcastle, the Earl of Chichester, and Lord Yarborough. It may be worth adding, that the present earldom of Westmoreland is held by the lineal descendant of that branch of the Vane family who retained the assumed name of Fane, and that the present Duke of Cleveland, William Harry Vane, is the lineal descendant of the great statesman whose life will occupy these pages. A dukedom was given, in 1632, as the reward of a disinterested advocacy of popular principles—rewarded, in 1662, by a scaffold!†

Such were the brilliant auspices which ushered Henry Vane into the world. The representative of a long line of illustrious ancestors, the immediate heir to great wealth, and, as it were, to the favour of the princes whom his father served, a broad and bright path stretched itself out before him, lighted by honours and enjoyments, and leading to luxury and power.

\* See Wood's *Fasti Oxoniensis*, part ii., p. 167, ed. Bliss.

† It is scarcely necessary to say that allusion is here made to William Harry Vane, baron Raby of Raby Castle, and duke of Cleveland, known, before the accession of his present titles, as the Earl of Darlington, and also as the Marquis of Cleveland. He had an enormous interest at stake in the existence of the rotten boroughs, and yet voted in the House of Lords for their extinction on the memorable 4th of June, 1632, when that great measure of reform was consummated which his illustrious ancestor—the statesman whose life is written in these pages—had been the first to propose to Parliament. He received his dukedom early in the following year, with the addition of the very barony of Raby, in appropriating which, two centuries before, Lord Strafford had given such mortal offence to the elder Sir Henry Vane. The authorities for the pedigree of the Vanes will be found in the *Bing. Brit.*, vol. vi., p. 3969; and in *Collins's Peerage*, vol. iv., p. 290.

\* Ludlow states them to have been originally of the diocese of Durham. *Memoirs*, vol. ii., p. 110.

† *History of the Rebellion*, vol. i., p. 216, Oxford, 1826 (the only correct edition).

He received his education at Westminster school, under the care of Lambert Osbaldiston, and was school-fellow with Arthur Hazlerig, Thomas Scot, and others whom active participation in public affairs subsequently rendered famous.\* Here, yielding for a time to the impulses of his youth and station, he entered wildly into the gayeties of both, and they soon showed him, by the light of sudden and awful contrast, a fiery sincerity in his soul, which had nothing in common with such things, but marked its owner out for serious and great achievements, and whispered to him, even then, of the possible regeneration of mankind. He shall describe the first dawning of this change in his own words, as he described it in after years to the multitudes who had assembled to see him die: "I was born a gentleman; had the education, temper, and spirit of a gentleman, as well as others; being, in my youthful days, inclined to the vanities of this world, and to that which they call *good fellowship*, judging it to be the only means of accomplishing a gentleman. But, about the fourteenth or fifteenth year of my age, which was about thirty-four or five years since, God was pleased to lay the foundation or groundwork of repentance in me, for the bringing me home to himself, by his wonderful rich and free grace, revealing his Son in me, that, by the knowledge of the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom he hath sent, I might, even while here in the body, be made partaker of eternal life, in the first fruits of it."† His father appears to have remonstrated bitterly against his unworldly change. "Yea," observes Sikes, "this change and new steering of his course contracted enmity to him in his father's house."‡ And in the year after its occurrence he was sent as a gentleman commoner to Magdalen College, Oxford, where it is possible his father may have hoped that in such a nursery of dissipation and fantastic forms the youth might be

induced to abandon his untoward turn for seriousness and the realities.

Such a hope, if ever entertained, was doomed to very decisive disappointment. "At about sixteen years of age," says Anthony à Wood, "he became a gentleman commoner of Magdalen Hall, as his great creature, Henry Stubbe, hath several times informed me; but, when he was to be matriculated as a member of the University, and so consequently take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, he quitted his gown, put on a cloak, and studied, notwithstanding, for some time in the said hall." He then quitted Oxford for the Continent, and, passing through France, spent some time in Geneva,\* where his strong tendency to the dispute and discussion of spiritual matters, it will readily be supposed, found little check or hinderance. He brought back with him to England, Clarendon tells us, "a full prejudice and bitterness against the Church, both against the form of the government and the liturgy, which was generally in great reverence, even with many of those who were not friends to the other."

Great was the consternation, meanwhile, of the now worthy comptroller of his majesty King Charles's household, the elder Vane. The open disaffection of his son in matters of religion could be concealed no longer: useless had been all threats and persuasions on that score; still more useless the endeavour to tame a yet stronger tendency to Republicanism, by bringing the youth within reach of the king. The presence chamber of Charles† had no charms for one to whom the house and heart of Pym were open. A last effort was made, and with a like result. The bishops took the matter in hand. "It was suggested," says his friend Sikes,‡ "by the bishops to the then king, concerning him, 'that the heir of a considerable family about his majesty was grown into dislike of the discipline and ceremonies of the Church of England, and that his majesty might do well to take some course about him.' On this, the then Bishop of London took him to task, who seemed to handle him gently in the conference, but concluded harshly enough against him in the close." Such a conference, and such a close to it, may be well imagined. The supreme self-confidence of Laud, lashing itself into imperious and passionate wonder against the calm and immovable reason of the young Republican recusant, is precisely what was likely to have been, and was also an exhibition in no way likely to increase the Church's claims to obedience or respect in the person of her most eminent prelate.

These opening passages of the life of Vane are decisive evidences of his greatness. What

\* Wood's Ath. Ox., vol. iii., p. 578, ed. Bliss.

† Vane's speech on the scaffold, from a pamphlet "printed in the year 1662." A very extraordinary publication of the same year, to which I shall have very frequent occasion to refer, and which was written by one of Vane's associates, thus described this change in his habits and way of life: "He was born a gentleman. My next word is so much too big for that, that it may hardly seem decorous to stand so near it. He was a chosen vessel of Christ, separated (as Paul) from his mother's womb, though not actually called till 14 or 15 years' standing in the world ('twas longer ere Paul was called); during which time, such was the complexion and constitution of his spirit, through ignorance of God and his ways, as rendered him acceptable company to those they call good fellows (yet, at his worst, restrained from that lewdness intemperance sometimes leads into, which he hath been oft heard to thank God for), and so long he found tolerable quarter amongst men. Then God did, by some signal impressions and awakening dispensations, startle him into a view of the danger of his condition. On this, he and his former jolly company came presently to a parting blow." The title-page of the very singular and valuable book from which the above extract is taken runs in these words: "Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane, Knight; or, a short Narration of his earthly Pilgrimage, together with a true Account of his purely Christian, peaceable, spiritual, Gospel Principles, Doctrine, Life, and Way of worshipping God, for which he suffered Contradiction and Reproach from all sorts of Sinners, and at last a violent Death, June 14, Anno 1662. To which is added, his last Exhortation to his Children, the Day before his death. Printed in the Year 1662." The author was George Sikes, a bachelor in divinity, and fellow of Magdalen, in Oxford, where Vane studied, and, it may be supposed, their intimacy commenced. He was a thorough enthusiast, with all the sincerity and faith, though without the knowledge and various power, of Vane himself.

\* Clarendon, vol. i., p. 326, Oxford edition of 1826.

† A favourite story of the ribald Royalist prints against young Vane had its origin in these efforts of his father to conquer his popular and Republican tastes, by bringing him into personal contact with the king. On one occasion, the youth was left alone by his father (purposely, no doubt) in the royal presence chamber, when Charles suddenly approaching, Vane as suddenly, resolute to avoid him, hid himself behind the arras. Charles, perceiving a motion in the hangings, poked with the stick he always carried at that part of the room, till Vane was obliged to come forth, and "retired in confusion." This was an insult, say the jealously judging Royalist writers, which the young Republican never forgave.

‡ In the publication referred to above *Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*.

he afterward became he had evidently willed already. To the mind of such a man, what is Temptation, or what Chance? In no case would they seem to have gone so nearly to overrule and determine the destiny of a man as in this case of the "son and heir" of the favourite minister of Charles I. But the power of Genius is the greatest power that the world has tested yet, and this Vane had. Impelled and sustained by it, he "waved and whistled off ten thousand strong and importunate temptations," and dashed the "dice-box of Chance" from her jewelled hand.

While his father, ignorant what course to hold with him, looked round in fear lest a hostile position, maintained resolutely, might ultimately weaken and embarrass his own influence at court, young Vane suddenly announced his determination at once to leave his country, and seek the liberty of conscience denied him here in the new world that had risen beyond the waters of the wide Atlantic. Shortly after, the Rev. Mr. Garrard had a choice piece of news to write to the lord-deputy of Ireland, which he worded thus, with his usual gossiping mixture of truth and falsehood: "Mr. Comptroller Sir Henry Vane's eldest son hath left his father, his mother, his country, and that fortune which his father would have left him here, and is, for conscience' sake, gone into New-England, there to lead the rest of his days, being about twenty years of age. He had abjured two years from taking the sacrament in England, because he could get nobody to administer it to him standing. He was bred up at Leyden; and I hear that Sir Nathaniel Rich and Mr. Pym have done him much hurt in their persuasions this way. God forgive them for it, if they be guilty!"\*

When, twenty-seven years having passed, Sir Henry Vane addressed the English people and posterity from a scaffold, he thus described, in words never to be forgotten, the cause which moved him to this voluntary exile: "Since my early youth, through grace, I have been kept steadfast, desiring to walk in all good conscience towards God and towards man, according to the best light and understanding God gave me. For this, I was willing to turn my back upon my estate; expose myself to hazards in foreign parts; yea, nothing seemed difficult to me, so I might preserve faith and a good conscience, which I prefer before all things; and do earnestly persuade all people rather to suffer the highest contradictions from man, than disobey God by contradicting the light of their own conscience. In this it is I stand with so much comfort and boldness before you all this day."

America then stood forward, to the imaginations of the enthusiastic and the young, no less than to the oppressed consciences of worn and persecuted men, in the light of a promised land. The progress of her colonization had excited the utmost interest and curiosity throughout Europe; the fortunes of her first emigrants, glimmering back into the world they had left through the infinite wildernesses and over the vast and dismal ocean which now divided them from it, were strained after by their friends with painful earnestness and wonder; and, at each successive ship that left with pilgrim pas-

sengers to her shores, the admiration and amazement of men increased, that not of the poor, the unfortunate, or the lowly were these voluntary exiles, but rather, in the majority of instances, the most refined and accomplished examples of the civilization of the age. Not alone the scholar and the philosopher, but the wealthy, the high born, and the nobly bred, were thus seen willingly abandoning the classic quiet, the splendour, the refinement of their homes, urged and sustained by those grand designs and hopes which, having told them that mankind were born for a better system of government and a purer shape of society than existed in the Old World, now pointed out to them an opportunity of testing these exalted aspirations in the new and strange lands which had started up so suddenly beyond the vast and dismal ocean. The work, thus begun by pure philanthropists, was carried out to an extraordinary extent by Laud's terrible system of Church government; and, for many months before Vane so suddenly formed his resolution of exile, successive multitudes of sufferers for conscience' sake had been driven from their native country to take refuge in New-England, as the last home that was left for religion or for liberty.

In glancing at the infancy of the American colonies, even thus briefly, several considerations of great interest suggest themselves as to the peculiar forms and habits of society which were of necessity incident to that early state, and the intellectual influences which again, as a matter of course, sprang out of these forms. It will be a matter of importance to follow them, as far as we may, in their probable or possible effects upon the mind of Vane. The extraordinary spectacle of two extreme points of human progress brought back into direct contact, which awaited his landing on the American shores, could hardly be presented to such a mind without an effect scarcely less extraordinary. There he had to see a reunion of the city and the wilderness, a junction in the same men of the habits which belong to the highest advances of refinement, and to the most rude and primitive condition of humanity. In log-houses he would have to seek, not vainly, the most studiously polished manners of civilization: for "the same person whose evenings were spent in the studies of philosophy, learning, and religion, was engaged during the day in the midst of the forest, or floating in a bark canoe;"\* toiling in labours which were the occupations of the rudest and most barbarous ages, the employments of the period when

"Nature first made man,  
And wild in woods the noble savage ran."

Vane was not suffered to depart without many peevish remonstrances from his father; but it is said the king interfered at last, and intimated a wish for the absence of the young Republican.†

A characteristic circumstance awaited his presence on board the passage-ship. The Puritans and Nonconformists already assembled

\* Sparks's American Biography.

† Neal's History of New-England, vol. i., p. 144. Neal adds, that Vane's design, "as he pretended," was to begin a settlement on the banks of the river Connecticut. And see Mather, book iii., p. 77.

\* Strafford's Letters, vol. i., p. 463.

for the same distant voyage, instead of welcoming their illustrious fellow-exile, shrank from him with coldness and suspicion. He was the son of a minister of the king; he had a face that beamed with lustrous imagination; and he wore long hair! "His honourable birth," says his friend Sikes, "long hair, and other circumstances of his person, rendered his fellow-travellers jealous of him, as a spy to betray their liberty, rather than any way like to advantage their design." The old, vulgar, and never-failing resource, when we can find no better objection to a man! Clarendon has a remark of the same kind in his history: "Sir Harry Vane had an unusual aspect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his father and mother, neither of which were beautiful persons, yet made men think there was somewhat in him of extraordinary; and his whole life made good that imagination."\* A few short and pithy words out of Sikes's rhapsody furnish no bad result to that style of objection in the case of the Puritan voyagers: "But he that they thought at first sight to have too little of Christ for their company, did soon after appear to have too much for them."

Vane landed at Boston, in New-England, in 1636, and was admitted to the freedom of Massachusetts on the 3d of March in the same year. Whatever his first reception by the colonists may have been, his character and his powers very speedily attracted universal attention; and it became the theme of wonder and admiration with them all, that such a man, so fitted by his talents and his position to sway the destinies of men in courts and palaces, should "choose the better part" with the remote and unfriended exiles of the obscure wildernesses of Massachusetts. In 1636, after a very short residence among them, and while he had not yet completed his twenty-fourth year, "Mr. Vane" was elected governor of the colony.

Clarendon describes the population of Massachusetts at this time, garbling truth with falsehood, as "a mixture of all religions, which disposed the professors to dislike the government of the Church; who were qualified by the king's charter to choose their own government and governors, under the obligation 'that every man should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy,' which all the first planters did, when they received their charter, before they transported themselves from hence; nor was there, in many years after, the least scruple among them of complying with those obligations: so far men were, in the infancy of their schism, from refusing to take lawful oaths." In the same passage of the history, Vane's election and government are thus described: "He was no sooner landed there but his parts made him very quickly taken notice of; and very probably his quality, being the eldest son of a privy-counsellor, might give him some advantage, inasmuch that, when the next season came for the election of their magistrates, he was chosen their governor, in which place he had so ill fortune (his working and unquiet fancy raising and infusing a thousand scruples of conscience, which they had not brought over with them, nor heard of before), that, he unsatisfied with them, and they with him, he

transported himself into England, having sowed such seed of dissension there as grew up too prosperously, and miserably divided the colony into several factions, and divisions, and persecutions of each other, which still continue, to the great prejudice of that plantation; inasmuch as some of them, upon the ground of their first expedition, liberty of conscience, have withdrawn themselves from their jurisdiction, and obtained other charters from the king, by which, in other forms of government, they have enlarged their plantation, within new limits adjacent to the other."\* Nor by Clarendon alone has Vane's administration been thus spoken of, but by writers of better faith and a nobler purpose, whom it is difficult to imagine wilfully lending themselves to the propagation of error.†

A simple detail of the short administration of Vane, derived from various sources, all of them above suspicion,‡ will be the best answer to statements of this kind. It is true that that administration was in its duration brief and stormy, and not successful in its result; but greatness, truth, and goodness are of more value than length of years, than quiet, or success.

Vane had many serious difficulties to contend against, even before a single act of his government was known. The principal persons in the colony had been already gravely prejudiced against him by the extraordinary enthusiasm he had called forth among the great and general body of the settlers; for there is no worse crime than the power of awakening the enthusiasm of multitudes, in the eyes of those who have no such power. The day on which he assumed office saw a formidable party arrayed against him, determined, on no better grounds than this, to embarrass his government at every step. The influences which operated at that early time in the annals of Massachusetts, and particularly disposed the people, always prone to controversy, to be torn and divided by the factions and intrigues which might be set afloat in the young colony, were, of course, favourable to the success of the design.

Nevertheless, in Vane's discharge of the first and most ordinary duties of the station of chief magistrate, he manifested a firmness, energy,

\* History of the Rebellion, vol. i., p. 327, 328.

† See Mather, book iii., p. 77; Neale, vol. i., p. 144; and the works of R. Baxter, *passim*. Mather has the following remark: "Mr. Vane's election will remain ablemish to their judgment who did elect him while New-England remains a nation; for, coming from England a young, unexperienced gentleman, by the industry of some who thought to make a tool of him, he was elected governor; and, before he was scarce warm in his seat, fell in with the sectaries, and sacrificed the peace of the state to them, leaving us a caveat that all good men are not fit for government." Baxter, in his life, after speaking of Vane in the thoughtless phrase he too often adopted towards him, indulges the following utterly fictitious statement of his unpopularity in New-England: "He was fain to steal away by night, and take shipping for England, before his year of government was at an end." (Abridgment, p. 98.) The entire untruth of this will be shown.

‡ Winthrop's History of New-England, the edition by Savage; Hutchinson's Collection of Original Papers; the second series of an extensive American work of history, called the "Massachusetts Historical Collections," and including, in its 6th and 7th volumes, Hubbard's "General History of New-England;" and, lastly, a Life of Vane, as "fourth governor of Massachusetts," by an eloquent and accomplished American writer, Mr. Charles Wentworth Upham, published a few years since in the course of a series of American biographies, and to which I feel most happy in confessing several important obligations. His admirable sketch of the Hutchinsonian controversy has been, in particular, a great assistance to me.

and wisdom truly remarkable in one of his early age and previous history. "He adapted himself," says Mr. Upham, "readily to his situation; made himself acquainted with the interests and relations of the colony; and concerted the operations of the government, which, in reference to the Indians, were particularly interesting at that period, with promptitude, skill, and effect." Men of great learning and old experience surrounded him; but in every measure of resource or ready practical wisdom he rose above them all; while in the intricate and profound discussions that occurred during his administration, embracing as they did the most perplexed questions of theological metaphysics, he bore his part in a manner which at once placed him on a level with the first divines of that age, and well deserved the praise of "wisdom and godliness," which his famous competitor and successor in the government, Winthrop, unreservedly bestowed upon him.\*

The announcement of his election had been received with immense enthusiasm by the people; and, to increase the demonstrations of popular satisfaction, a salute was fired by the shipping in the harbour. Fifteen large vessels were at that time in port. Some few days after the firing of this salute, a deputation of the leading men of the colony waited on Vane, and represented to him that the presence of such a large force of foreign vessels was in itself a formidable and disagreeable circumstance in the condition of a feeble settlement, which could not rely on the sympathy of the mother-country any more than it could upon the friendship of other powers. Whatever the motives for such a representation may have been, there was justice in it, and this Vane acknowledged at once. It was at least a matter of no doubt with every reflecting person, that the influence of the manners and habits of the officers and men of these ships could not be other than injurious to the morals and social condition of the inhabitants of the town.

A prevention of the evils, therefore, that might have sprung from such a source, was the first act of the government of Vane. Within a week after his election, he took measures to this end, which decidedly illustrate his tact in affairs, and his "skill and success in managing men." He invited all the captains of the ships to dine with him; and, taking advantage of the generous dispositions that are born of a good dinner, laid the whole case before them. The conversation is described to have been conducted with infinite frankness and the friendliest spirit on both sides; and the natural result was, that the captains consented, "readily and cheerfully," to the agreement proposed by Vane, and which ran thus: "First, that all inward-bound vessels should come to anchor below the fort, and wait for the governor's pass before coming up to the town; secondly, that, before discharging their cargoes, their invoices should in all cases be submitted to the inspection of the government; and, thirdly, that none of their own crews should ever be permitted to remain on shore after sunset, except under urgent necessity.†

The very next incident of Vane's government furnishes a striking illustration of his own character, no less than the character of the men he had to deal with, and who were necessarily associated with him in the government. It was in itself of little intrinsic importance, but it afforded the first occasion of active opposition to the young governor.

The mate of an English ship, called the *Hector*, then lying at anchor in Boston harbour, in an excess of loyal indignation because the king's colours were not displayed at the fort (which was not then the custom), declared, one day, on the deck of his vessel, and in the presence of many of the inhabitants of the town, then visiting her, that the colonists were all "traitors and rebels." The expression was quickly communicated from the ship and circulated through the town: a violent excitement against the mate was the immediate and very natural consequence; and so high did it run at last, that it became necessary to take official cognizance of the offence that had provoked it. Vane accordingly sent for the captain of the ship, and, after acquainting him with the affair, despatched a marshal, accompanied by other officers of the law, to arrest the offender. The crew, however, refused to deliver up the mate in the captain's absence, upon which the captain himself accompanied the marshal to the vessel, when the mate was at once surrendered, and made an ample and satisfactory apology to the civil authorities. But, the dignity of the colony vindicated, another care presented itself to the scrupulous thoughts of Governor Vane, scarcely less important than that called forth by the insult so atoned for, since it involved what might possibly be the just and well grounded feelings of conscientious men.

He had seen that some circumstances connected with the transaction I have just described had been "taken very much to heart" by the general body of officers of British vessels in the port, and he now at once summoned them to a conference with himself and the magistrates of the colony, in which he requested a free expression of whatever had occurred to them. They observed, in reply, with much courtesy and temper, that it was more than likely the circumstances of the recent dispute might be made known to the authorities in England, and represented there in such a manner as to create a prejudice against the colony, and bring its loyalty into suspicion; and that, therefore, as sincere friends of the colony, it would be very agreeable to them could they be enabled to say that they had seen the king's colours flying in Boston.

For the captains a courteous and fair request, but for the conscience-suffering, recusant Puritans a most distressing dilemma! On the one hand, it was clear, as Mr. Upham urges, that for a colony, holding its very being under a charter from the crown, to refuse to acknowledge the king's sovereignty by displaying his flag, and that, too, when it was requested for the purpose of rescuing its loyalty from misrepresentation, would look like a very unreasonable procedure, and almost seem to justify the expressions for which the mate had been humbled and punished.\* But then, on the oth-

\* Upham, p. 169.

† Winthrop's History of New-England, Savage's ed., vol. I., p. 167. Upham's Life, p. 111.

\* American Biography, p. 113.

er hand, it would have filled the whole country with horror had the flag been hoisted, for on that flag was represented the PAPAL cross—an abomination no Puritan could bear; and Endicott himself, one of the leading emigrants, whose daring hand had before torn it from the royal ensign,\* was one of the board of magistrates who were so politely requested to hoist that very ensign, cross and all!

A lucky accident seemed to offer the hope of escaping both horns of this dilemma; they could not hoist the king's flag, for there were no such colours in the whole colony.† The captains, unfortunately, had a resource at hand. They offered to lend or give a set of the king's colours to the colony to be displayed on the occasion. Vane now saw that all chance of evading the question was quite shut out, and urged upon the magistrates the necessity of meeting it fairly and openly. This reasonable answer was accordingly returned: that although they were fully persuaded that the cross in the colours was idolatrous, yet, as the fort belonged to the king, they were willing that his own flag should fly there.

The conference thus closed, however, was doomed to be reopened the following day with greater violence. The case and its result had been submitted in the evening to the consideration of the clergy, a practice exacted from the government on all disputed questions, and the proceedings of Vane and the magistrates did not meet their approbation. It was thought a grave error to have sanctioned, upon any terms whatever, the display of the king's flag, that badge of Romish superstition, over Puritan soil; and the court was therefore again assembled, and the captains summoned to appear next morning, when the previous minute of the board was reconsidered, and, after a stormy debate, a majority of the magistrates voted to refuse what they had granted the day before. Vane now interfered with his authority as governor of the colony; and in a temperate but earnest remonstrance, after vindicating the strength and purity of his own religious faith, pointed out to the assembled magistrates that that must be a very far-fetched and excessive scruple, not to say an absurd or capricious one, which would induce them to refuse to recognise the king's authority in his own dominions, on his own fort, by a ceremony innocent in itself, and

which was requested for the avowed purpose of preserving peace and harmony, and preventing a misunderstanding between the colony and the people of England, under circumstances that would certainly be highly injurious, and, it was possible, might become even ruinous to the colony. The magistrates, with one exception, remained unmoved by this appeal; the jealousy of Vane, which had for some time rankled in the breasts of the leading settlers, had now found an outlet; and even Winthrop, the founder and patriarch of the colony, a man of eminence and excellent dispositions, was induced to place himself at the head of the obstinate objectors. Upon this, Vane, supported only by the magistrate alluded to, Mr. Dudley, announced his determination to avail himself of his privilege as governor, and, under a protest against acknowledging the idolatrous sign upon the flag, to display it from the fort on his own personal responsibility and that of Mr. Dudley.\*

This was the commencement of that hostility to the young governor which, availing itself not long after of the fury of a theological controversy, ultimately brought his administration to a close. But will it now be doubted, in these days of reason and toleration, which of the parties were in the right? which course was the fairest, the most just, the most enlightened? It appears to me, that by the light which is thrown on Vane's character, even thus early, by an incident of this sort, we may reduce to fine and eloquent sense many passages in Sikes's tribute to his friend, which have hitherto passed for absurd and incoherent rhapsodies. Two may be quoted here.

"His principles, light, and wisdom were such, that he found the bare relation of his utmost aims among his fellow-labourers would in all probability so expose him to censure from all parties and sizes of understanding, as would disable him for doing anything at all. He was therefore for small matters rather than nothing, went hand and hand with them, step by step, their own pace, as the light of the times would permit. He was still for quitting the more gross disorders in church and state, corruptions in courts of judicature, popish and superstitious forms in religion and ways of worship, for what he found more refined and tolerable. But he ever refused to fix his foot, or take up his rest, in any form, company, or way, where he found the main bulk of professors avowedly owning but such outward principles of life and holiness as to him evidently lay short of the glory, righteousness, and life hid with Christ in God. He was still for pressing towards the mark. *He was more for things than persons, spirit than forms.* This carriage of his, *all along in New-England and in Old,* exposed him as a mark for the arrow from almost all sorts of people, rendering him a man of contention with the whole earth. Yet was he all along a true son of peace, a most industrious and blessed peacemaker to the utmost of his power, *for the reconciling all sorts of conscientious men, whatever variety of persuasion or form he found them in, to one another and to Christ.*" Refuting again, in another passage, the common report and "general reproach" that was cast upon Vane, that "he was a man of con-

\* American Biography, p. 113.

† Mr. Upham remarks, upon the curious circumstance that not a single royal ensign could be found in Massachusetts in 1636, that it indicates the substantial independence of the colony at that early period. It did not attract the notice, and was therefore out of the reach of the royal power; and not merely of the royal power, but of the very insignia of that power. The people would not have anything among them which would tend in the least degree to remind them of the hierarchy or the throne. Mr. Upham adds: "When, in the course of the present year (1634), a British vessel of war arrived in the harbour of Salem, in Massachusetts, and it was proposed, according to international usage, to observe the civility of displaying from the vessel the flag of the United States, and from the town the flag of Great Britain, it was found necessary to borrow colours for the occasion from the British vessel herself. This circumstance was noticed as indicating the absence of all relations between the port of Salem and Great Britain at the time of its occurrence. A similar indication was given, as just related, in 1636; and the inference is more than fanciful; it is just and obvious, that the actual connexion between the colony of Massachusetts and the mother-country, at the beginning, was scarcely greater than that of the town of Salem with England at the present day."

\* Savage's edition of Winthrop, i., 167. Upham's Life.

tion from his youth up, wherever he came or had to do, in New-England or in Old," Sikes thus continues: "He was no humoursome, conceited maintainer of any perverse or irrational opinions, but a most quiet, calm, composed speaker forth of the words of truth and soberness at all seasons, upon all occasions, and in all companies. He was full of condescension and forbearance, hating nothing more in his very natural temper than wrangling and contention. He would keep silence even from good (though his sorrow was stirred by it, and the fire burned within while he was musing) in case that either wicked or but shortsighted good men were before him that he perceived could not bear more spiritual and sublimated truths. He became all things to all men, that he might by all means save some. His heart was of a right scripture latitude; stood fair and open for any good, but no evil. *All sorts of conscientious inquirers after truth found a friendly reception with him; yea, he was in a constant readiness to perform any warrantable civilities to all men. Anything that was good he owned and cherished in the honest moral heathen, legal Christian, or spiritual believer; and he sought opportunity by honest insinuations to catch them with guile,* and lead them forward into more excellent truths."

In such passages as these, a divinely beautiful character is depicted, and one which the reality will not be found to fall short of.

Vane's great influence with the people of the colony enabled him for some time to withstand effectually the hostility of its chiefs; and we find that early in July he started on a tour through the towns on the northern and eastern parts of the Bay, and made a public entrance into Salem on the 9th of that month, amid every demonstration of affection and enthusiasm. Mr. Upham states that he sought upon the spot in vain for any records of this great event, as no doubt it was considered by the people of that ancient town; but in their absence he indulges a picture of the scene, as fancy and probability might delineate it.\* Such a picture would have little interest for the English reader, uninstructed in the distant locality, but the simple idea which suggests itself to the mind of the general character of a progress such as this of Vane must have been, includes many considerations of interest. We cannot refrain from speculating on the effect likely to have been produced on the extraordinary mind of the chief actor in the pageant, as he moved along the winding streets of a succession of straggling quiet villages, then for the first time, perhaps, alive and stirring with a great emotion—all eyes gazing—and all hearts excited—as the son of the chief minister of the English king, self-banished from a palace to a wilderness, thus passed along, invested with all the power that the dwellers in his chosen exile had to give; "old men and matrons, young women and children of every age, thronging round the door-stones and gathered at the windows," before which the procession pursued its line of march; while, through the slight breaks of the surrounding woods, might be caught glimpses of the neighbouring Indians, assembled at intervals to watch the passing show, and gazing

at all its strangeness with an interest and wonder but poorly concealed beneath the constrained and sullen silence which resented the white men's intrusion.

Soon after Vane's return to Boston, the occurrences which led to what is called the Pequot war commenced, of which it is only necessary to observe, that by the influence of Vane, exerted in various ways, many of the Indian tribes were withheld from joining in hostilities against the English. In nothing were Vane's wisdom and benevolence more strikingly illustrated than in the course of justice and conciliation he invariably pursued towards that noble race of men. We find that on his invitation, on the 21st of October in this year, the sachem of the Narragansetts came to Boston, accompanied by two sons of Canonius, Cutshamakin, another sachem, and twenty other Indians, and that these gallant sons of the forest were treated by Governor Vane with marked kindness and attention. They dined in the same room and at the same table with himself, and after a long and friendly conference, the result was a treaty of peace and amity with the English. When the object of their visit was accomplished, they marched back to their native wilds, having been attended to the borders of the town, at the order of Governor Vane, by a file of soldiers, who were instructed to give them at parting the salute of a volley of musketry.\*

Meanwhile, the religious controversy, to which allusion has been made, raged to an extraordinary extent, and assumed a more and more serious aspect. Before proceeding to its description, it may be as well to state, that in the latter part of the summer letters had been received from Vane's family in England, urgently pressing his immediate return, and that he had laid them before the council, with a request that he might be permitted to resign office. He discerned then, no doubt, to what the religious controversy was fast tending. But such obstacles appear to have been thrown in his way, and especially by the remonstrances of the Boston Church, of which he was a member, that he abandoned his purpose, and consented to remain in the government.

In describing that fierce religious dispute, the Antinomian controversy, which was now suddenly seen raging with a passionate fury throughout the colony, that swept away every other interest from the feelings and thoughts of the people, I shall chiefly avail myself of the facts that have been collected with so much knowledge and zeal by the American biographer of Vane.† The few writers who have alluded to it, with the single exception of the latter, in despair of explaining the dispute, have been fond of passing it over as an absurd and unmeaning strife about words, altogether unworthy of the regard of posterity. It is very true that, as the controversy grew hot, new points were developed, and new aspects of the question presented, and new terms introduced, so that, to a merely superficial observer, the

\* Savage's edition of Winthrop, i. 198. Upham's Life.—(This is a model book for the biography of past days. Its research, candour, and discrimination entitle it to general confidence. Mr. Upham's book should be in the hands of every student of American and English history.—C.)

† American Biography, p. 122, 140.

\* American Biography, p. 118-120.



whole affair might seem at last to have become enveloped in impenetrable clouds of technical phraseology and unintelligible distinctions. But to the wise and studious inquirer it is scarcely necessary to observe that there has seldom been such a dispute merely about words, or that men have not almost always meant something, and understood what they meant, in matters about which they have been, as in this case, deeply and zealously affected. In the case before us, Mr. Upham truly observes, "principles of the highest consequence were involved, much light was elicited, and a great progress made by some of the parties in Christian knowledge; and it is due to the fame of our ancestors to rescue this controversy from the charge of being a ridiculous and stupid war of words, and to vindicate the claim it justly presents to the character of a dignified and important discussion." It is more especially due to the truth and intelligibility of the picture I am anxious to present of the character and intellect of Vane.

During his administration, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a very remarkable and accomplished woman, arrived from England, and became a member of the Boston Church. Her husband was a gentleman of respectable standing; and her brother-in-law, who accompanied her, Mr. Wheelwright, bore a highly estimable character as a Christian minister. "She was possessed of extraordinary talents, information, and energy. Her mind was prone to indulge in theological speculations, and the happiness of her life consisted in religious exercises and investigations. She was perfectly familiar with the most abstruse speculations of the theology of the day. In keenness of perception and subtilty of reasoning she had no superiors, and her gifts as a leader of devotional exercises were equally rare and surprising." It was the fortune of this singular woman to kindle a religious strife in the infant Commonwealth of Massachusetts, which has secured to her name a lasting memory there, and rendered her the heroine of a passage in the American history as wonderful and tragical as any it contains.

It was the custom in Boston at the period of her arrival for the brethren of the church to meet every week for the purpose of impressing still more deeply upon their minds the discourses and other exercises of the previous Sunday. Following out this custom, Mrs. Hutchinson very soon instituted weekly religious meetings for females; and so attractive and interesting did she make them, that almost all the ladies in the place attended. The exercises were conducted and superintended by Mrs. Hutchinson herself, and it soon followed, as a matter of course, that she exerted a controlling and almost irresistible influence upon the whole community.\*

The clergy of the colony, startled at first, were not long in discovering the danger that threatened them. Here was a power suddenly brought to bear upon the religious feelings and views of the people, irresponsible to them, wholly beyond their control, and withdrawing from their reach that very portion of society which is always, perhaps, the chiefest source of such authority and influence as theirs. Of the reli-

gious opinions which prevailed generally among these clergy, it will be enough to say that the doctrines, as professed by the Reformed churches, were received with almost unanimous consent by their order throughout New-England, while they permitted themselves to regard with very great jealousy and aversion the exercise of free inquiry, whenever it in any way threatened to lead to results different from their own. Their views of Mrs. Hutchinson's particular case were not likely to be propitiated by the very disagreeable comparisons, to say the least of them, which her powers and talents were likely to provoke among the people.

Mrs. Hutchinson, in her turn, was neither wise nor considerate in the style and manner she adopted. To say nothing of the somewhat unbecoming position in which, as a woman, she placed herself, it soon became obvious that one of her great objects in these weekly audiences was to utter disparaging criticisms upon the discourses of the preceding Sunday or lecture-day, to circulate imputations against the learning and talents of the clergy, and even to start suspicions respecting the soundness of their preaching. Anything like moderation, where a system of personality has been once adopted, is a thing vainly looked for, and now not a day passed which did not, in the matter of these attacks, add to Mrs. Hutchinson's offences and indiscretions, and tend to drive beyond all fair and reasonable ground the hostilities of which she had become the object. The ministers, the magistrates, all the leading men in the colony, rose in array against her, and, not confining their animosity to the point on which she was in the wrong, and might easily have been shown to be in the wrong; not satisfied with proceeding against her as a contentious and busy calumniator and disturber of the peace, they imputed to her grossly and openly what was then considered the darkest crime in the catalogue of depravity, and demanded against her criminal penalties of the deepest dye. She was a HERETIC, they said, and must be crushed by the punishment due to heresy. At this point Vane interfered—the ever gallant and generous defender of the rights of faith and conscience—and a sharp religious controversy was soon fairly developed, which of course led to crimination and recrimination, "introduced innumerable questions of doubtful disputation, and finally wrapped the whole country in the raging and consuming flames of a moral and religious conflagration."\*

The real and substantial points at issue, in the discussion of the truth or falsehood of her doctrines, shall now be laid before the reader, apart from the cloud of words and (not to speak it irreverently) cant phrases which enveloped them. Mrs. Hutchinson's opponents were doubtless the aggrieved parties, and might as surely have kept that vantage ground; but they surrendered it when they chose to impugn her doctrines rather than her conduct; and it is no matter of difficulty to us, profiting by the diffusion of the blessed principles of religious liberty and toleration, to determine on which side of the controversy truth and justice lay. Vane and Mrs. Hutchinson were far in advance of their age.

\* Upham, p. 124.

\* Upham, p. 127.

One of her favourite topics ("whether selected with a design, at the beginning, of diminishing the confidence of the people in their ministers cannot now be determined"), on which, in her weekly meetings, she dwelt very often and very largely, was the proposition that the existence of the real spirit of the Gospel in the heart of a man, even if that man should happen to be a minister of extraordinary gifts, could not be inferred with certainty from the outward displays of sanctity. She simply paraphrased, in fact, the language of the apostle, who hath told us that a man may speak with the tongue of angels, and have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and have all faith so as to remove mountains, and bestow his goods to feed the poor, and give his body to be burned, and still be nothing in a religious and spiritual view. The Saviour himself hath said that men may prophecy and cast out devils, and do many more wonderful works in his name, and be rejected and disowned by him at last.

But it was soon suspected, and it is to be feared, says Mr. Upham, "upon too good grounds, that Mrs. Hutchinson was aiming at a particular object in dwelling so pointedly and so much upon this proposition. And when it once became a prevalent opinion that she was actuated by personal designs, it can be easily conceived how intolerably provoking her discourses must have been. It was a period of great formality and austerity in religion. The outward manifestations of piety were much greater than they have been since. Every minister and every professor of religion was expected to give evidence in his whole manner of life, in his most familiar conversation, in his movements, dress, countenance, and even in the tones of his voice, that he was not of the world. It followed of course—it would have been unjust had it not—that the evidence thus demanded by public opinion was very much relied on by the people. The praise of holiness and spirituality was freely and confidently bestowed upon the sanctimonious and austere. But Mrs. Hutchinson's doctrine cut up the whole matter by the roots, destroyed the very foundation upon which her reputation had been made to rest, poisoned the fountains of confidence, and, in consequence of the personal and satirical design imputed to her, had a direct tendency to make men suspect of hypocrisy all whom they had before been disposed to revere for their piety." Most true is all this, and most grave and difficult of answer must have been a charge founded on improprieties of conduct which were evidently fraught with mischief to many of the best interests of the colony,\* but

\* In such a state of society as these colonies presented, it was beyond everything expedient to impress the people with an implicit veneration and respect for their ministers, and this had been done to a degree altogether unreasonable and excessive, and far beyond the point to which it was really and justly merited by that, on the whole, pious and excellent class of men. To have gone against Mrs. Hutchinson for disturbing, as it were, this necessary equilibrium in the government, would have been the wise course, and, in the main, impossible of resistance: but the accusation of heresy, on the other hand, raised up defenders of her doctrines everywhere throughout the colony, among people even who understood them least, and carried agitation and division into every church and family throughout the province. Mr. Upham gives the following extract from a pamphlet entitled "A short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the

such a charge would not satisfy her unwise opponents, who, eagerly seizing a remote and very false pretext for the accusation of heresy, prosecuted her for maintaining (to use the formal terms in which the complaint was laid) that "sanctification is no evidence of justification."

Never was the natural tendency of angry disputants to push each other to extremes so fully exemplified as on this occasion. From the proposition that the outward expressions of sanctity are not infallible evidences of the in-

Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines that infected the Churches of New-England," and ascribed to a clergyman (the Rev. Thomas Weld, of Roxbury) of great influence at the time. It conveys some idea—though, of course, a partial one—of the form in which the controversy was conducted, the origin of the difficulty, the charges alleged against Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, and the spirit of the parties: "But the last and worst of all, which most suddenly diffused the venom of these opinions into the very veins and vitals of the people in the country, was Mistress Hutchinson's double weekly lecture, which she kept under a pretence of repeating sermons, to which resorted sundry of Boston and other towns about, to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once; where, after she had repeated the sermon, she would make her comment upon it, vent her mischievous opinions as she pleased, and wreaths the Scriptures to her own purpose; where the custom was for her scholars to propound questions, and she (gravely sitting in the chair) did make answers thereto. The great respect she had at first in the hearts of all, and her profitable and sober carriage of matters for a time, made this her practice less suspected by the godly magistrates and elders of the church there, so that it was winked at for a time (though afterward reproved by the Assembly and called into court); but it held so long until she had spread her leaven so far, that, had not Providence prevented, it had proved the canker of our peace and ruin of our comfort. These opinions being thus spread, and grown into their full ripeness and latitude, through the nimbleness and activity of their fomenters, began now to lift up their heads full high, to stare us in the face, and to confront all that opposed them; and that which added vigour and boldness to them was this, that now by this time they had some of all sorts and quality, in all places, to defend and patronize them; some of the magistrates, some gentlemen, some scholars and men of learning, some burgesses of our General Court, some of our captains and soldiers, some chief men in towns, and some men eminent for religion, parts, and wit, so that wheresoever the case of the opinions came in agitation, there waited not patrons to stand up to plead for them; and if any of the opinionists were complained of in the courts for their misdemeanors, or brought before the churches for conviction or censure, still some or other of that party would not only suspend giving their vote against them, but would labour to justify them, to side with them, and protest against any sentence that should pass upon them, and so be ready not only to harden the delinquent against all means of conviction, but to raise a mutiny, if the major part should carry it against them; so in town meetings, military trainings, and all other societies, yea, almost in every family, it was hard if that some or other were not ready to rise up in defence of them, even as of the apple of their own eye. Now, oh their boldness, pride, insolency, and alienations from their old and dearest friends; the disturbances, divisions, contentions they raised among us, both in church and state; and in families, setting division betwixt husband and wife! Oh the sore censures against all sorts that opposed them; and the contempt they cast upon our godly magistrates, churches, ministers, and all that were set over them, when they stood in their way! Now the faithful ministers of Christ must have dung cast upon their faces, and be no better than legal preachers, Bala's priests, popish factors, scribes, pharisees, and opposers of Christ himself! Now they must be pointed at, as it were with the finger, and reproached by name. Such a church-officer is an ignorant man, and knows not Christ; such a one is under a covenant of works; such a pastor is a proud man, and would make a good persecutor, &c. Now, after our sermons were ended at our public lectures, you might have seen half a dozen pistols discharged at the face of the preacher (I mean, so many objections made by the opinionists in the open assembly against the doctrine delivered, if it suited not their new fancies), to the marvellous weakening of holy truths delivered. Now you might have seen many of the opinionists rising up, and contemptuously turning their backs upon the faithful pastor of that church, and going forth from the assembly when he began to pray or preach."—See also *Baxter's Life*, p. 74, and *Somerset's Tracts*, vii., 109.

ward residence of the Christian spirit, Mrs. Hutchinson was driven to speak disparagingly of external and visible morality, and her opponents, on the other hand, to assign too high a value to it; until at last the two watchwords or countersigns of the controversy became, in theological phrase, a *covenant of faith* and a *covenant of works*.\*

Nor was this all. Mrs. Hutchinson availed herself of some points of difference between the two ministers of the Boston Church, Mr. Cotton and Mr. Willson; and either because there was a corresponding peculiarity in the preaching, or by an adroit stroke of policy aimed at securing the support of the most powerful minister in the colony, this ingenious and extraordinary woman used to explain what her distinguishing principle was, by saying that Mr. Cotton preached a covenant of faith, but that Mr. Willson and the other ministers were under a covenant of works. The result may be easily imagined. Mr. Cotton, whether from a motive of flattered vanity or sincere preference, continued Mrs. Hutchinson's faithful and zealous champion till she left the province, while Mr. Willson and the other ministers, not caring to confine their rage within the bounds of a decent or Christian propriety, went about inflaming the people with the most dreadful invectives against their antagonist, and impressing upon them, in many instances not without success, that such blows aimed at their ministers inflicted a serious stain on the character of their parishioners.

One other opinion fastened on Mrs. Hutchinson in the course of the controversy, and this the most important, as it was the most alarming to the faith of the churches, remains to be explained. She was charged with entertaining the doctrine that "the Holy Spirit dwells in every believer." She held that by the expression Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost, as used in the Scriptures, is meant such an actual communication of the Spirit of God to the believer's heart, that it becomes the abode of those sentiments of love, truth, purity, and piety, which bear the impress of a divine source, and constitute those who experience them sons of God, as partakers of the divine nature, and one with God, as the Saviour was one with him. As this idea was sifted during the course of the controversy, it became apparent that it would necessarily end in the belief that the Holy Spirit was not so much a divine person as a divine influence; and the dread which was entertained of such a consequence increased very much the general impatience to bring the controversy to a close as speedily as possible, by putting down Mrs. Hutchinson with the strong arm of law. Winthrop, in his journal, tells us that "the question proceeded so far by disputation (in writing, for the peace' sake of the Church, which all were tender of), as at length they could not find the person of the Holy Ghost in Scripture, nor in the primitive churches three hundred years after Christ."†

Mr. Upham very truly observes that it is important to connect this latter and more formidable proposition with Mrs. Hutchinson's views of the worth of outward expressions of sanctity.

They seem to explain each other, and to interpret jointly that elemental system of faith which the modern term of Christianity will perhaps best comprehend, and which, however unpalatable to a formal and sanctimonious condition of society and manners, would provoke no hostility from enlightened Christians now, of whatever denomination. Mrs. Hutchinson believed, in fact, that it was the dwelling of the Holy Spirit in the believer's heart—that is, the possession and exercise of the pure, and genuine, and divine spirit of Christianity in the soul itself—which constituted *justification*, or made a person acceptable to God; that the external and formal indications of piety, or *sanctification*, might appear where this inward spirit was not experienced, and that, in such cases, they were utterly worthless; and, lastly, that the great end of the religion revealed in the Scriptures was not so much to make our conduct sanctimonious, our outward deportment correct, or to bring us under a covenant of works, as to include us under a covenant of grace, by imparting to our souls the Holy Spirit of God.

A discussion which embraced the truth or falsehood of such doctrines as these could not but be felt of serious importance by a man of Vane's pure mind and lofty character; for, in fact, considered thus, the questions at issue embraced the primary and essential principles of Christianity, and under one form or other, have constituted the leading topics of investigation and debate in every age of the Church, from the gathering of the first general councils in the primitive centuries up to the present hour. It is useless to attempt to ridicule the "Hutchinsonian or Antinomian discussion," or to express astonishment that "men of sense and learning could ever have been engaged in it." Many of the doctrines it implied were the ruling principles of the life and the faith of Vane, and it is by the affected contempt of such things that his intellect and character have hitherto suffered in the shortsighted estimation of our historians. Let me pause for an instant to prove this to the reader.

Sir Henry Vane the younger was, in the only true and comprehensive sense of that word, a Christian. A master of all the abstrusest points of the science of religion, his intellect and frame of mind were of that enlarged description, that, while he held his own views in a high and spiritual sense, "he sought to imbibe truth from every system of faith and every form of religion." "Christian faith was not to him a mere intellectual and barren system of speculative opinions; not one article of faith was permitted to be of that character in his mind. But around every doctrine of Scripture his noble genius, exuberant imagination, and hallowed affections gathered a living and life-giving spirit of warmth, and love, and energy." He was a zealous man; but knowledge regulated his zeal, and charity tempered it. He was called a fanatic, because he was the most strenuous advocate that religious liberty ever possessed. He was called a wild, unintelligible visionary, because through life he never ceased to urge, with all the strength of his passions and the subtlety of his intellect, a UNIVERSAL TOLERATION of sects and opinions. It was his profound and all-wise,

\* American Biography, p. 136.

† Savage's edition of Winthrop, i., 306.

maxim, whether in civil or religious polity, that every one should be perfectly free, and every one perfectly equal, in the eye of the law. All exclusive privileges, whether of church or state, he utterly abhorred; and equally did he abhor every form of bigotry or persecution, whether "exercised by political or ecclesiastical institutions, by societies or individuals," while of all these principles he emphatically proved the sincerity by carrying them out into practice, "without partiality or exception, even when their operation was in favour of those whose sentiments he most disliked;" for, dreading the power of the pope, great in that day, and opposed to the Church of Rome, he yet flung all his energies into the support of Catholic emancipation, careless of the rage of his Protestant contemporaries, and of the denunciations of Richard Baxter himself: nor be it ever forgotten, that when John Biddle, the founder of the denomination of Unitarian Christians throughout England, was arraigned for publishing his opinions, the younger Sir Harry Vane, the enthusiastic champion of the Genevan Calvinists, stepped forth in his defence, and laboured with untiring zeal to protect him from the blind intolerance of the age.\* To the last hour of his life, as through all its changes and vicissitudes, he maintained the same faith which in her days of danger and persecution threw its shield before Mrs. Hutchinson.

Observe the following description of the divisions and conflicting parties in Christendom, which is quoted by Sikes from one of Vane's religious essays: "There are many churches in the world that make a profession of the name of Christ, under several forms and denominations, according to the variety of judgments, and interests of the rulers and members thereof. There is a church called catholic or universal, headed by the pope, who pretends to be Christ's vicar. There are also national churches, headed either by a civil magistrate, as the Church of England, or by general assemblies, as the Church of Scotland hath been, with other reformed churches. There are also particular, independent congregational churches, distinguishing themselves into a variety of sects, and diversity of judgments and opinions, as well about the way and order of the word in matters of worship, and the service of God, as in what they hold fundamental in matters of faith. These all make up one body as to the owning and upholding a church in some outward visible form, who, notwithstanding all their differences, and protestings against one another, do generally agree together in one mind as to the preferring of the church in name, show, and outward order, before what it is in spirit and truth, as it is the real and living body of Christ. Hence it is that the true Church indeed, the very living, real, spiritual members of Christ's body, have been for many hundred years a dispersed, captivated people, under all worldly powers, civil or ecclesiastical, and

never been suffered to use or enjoy a freedom in their communion together, and in the purity of God's service and worship, but are upon one pretence or other restrained by human laws, and suppressed as heretics, schismatics, fanatics, and such as turn the world upside down; while those that have the repute and credit to be the church or churches of Christ, under some one of the forms and outward orders before mentioned, have the powers of the world on their side, and are contending one with another who shall be uppermost, and give the rule of conformity in doctrine, worship, and church order to all the rest, by compulsion and persecution! But the days are now hastening apace wherein the living members of Christ's body shall be made manifest, in distinction from all those that have the name to live but are dead."\*

I have described this great statesman's faith as that of UNIVERSAL TOLERATION. Not to Christian sects and professors alone did he extend his charity, but to men of all opinions and all religions; to the "honest moral heathen," as we have seen his friend Sikes express it, no less than to the "legal Christian." And he did this because Christianity was with him a spiritual religion, the vital essence of which can live in the hearts of its followers alone. To him the substance of true religion was moral and spiritual excellence; and, wherever he could find that, wherever that appeared, whether in the minds and characters of Gentiles or of Jews, he recognised a fellow-Christian, although its possessor lived in an age or country which had not known or heard of the very name of Christ. Men enrolled in the same political struggle with himself would ask him the meaning of such latitudinarian backsliding, and were answered by the startling but most noble question, How dared he to exclude the heathen from his charity, since in doing that he might shut out those whom Christ, the great head of the Church, would possibly, at the final day, acknowledge and welcome as his own? Let the reader take to his heart the following divine passage of the "Retired Man's Meditations," a work which will be described hereafter: "But, indeed, this assertion is so far from straitening or lessening the number of those that are the true heirs of salvation, that it rather discovers how they may lie hid, as they did in Elijah's time, out of the observation of visible professors (AMONG THOSE THAT THEY EXCLUDE AS HEATHENS), and be comprehended by Christ, their spiritual head, when as yet they may not have their spiritual senses brought forth into exercise, so as to apprehend him, but may be babes in Christ, walking as men undistinguished from the rest of the world; and although they may, in that respect, seem to be men in the flesh, yet they may live according to God in the spirit, and find acceptance in the be-

\* Upham's Life. Orme's Life of Baxter, i., 82. Toulmin's Life of Biddle, 33; and see the 13th and 18th volumes of that admirable periodical, the Monthly Repository, p. 257 and 347, which now, under the accomplished management of Mr. Leigh Hunt, a writer of genius, and the most Christian-hearted of men, sustains the reputation it acquired under the editorship of one of the most eloquent and philosophical writers of the day, the Rev. Mr. Fox.

\* In another passage of a similar kind the same faith receives emphatic illustration: "These keen conscientious, that cannot afford a good word for the true circumcision, are eager about the outward circumstances of worship, time, place, and the like. Christ reproves them in his answer to the woman of Samaria at Jacob's well: 'neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father, but in spirit and in truth.' Neither in this form nor that, but excluded out of all synagogues has the true Church and spouse of Christ been worshipping God this twelve hundred years and upward, in a mourning, persecuted, wilderness condition."

loved one, while they themselves may either be WITHOUT LAW, EXERCISING A CHASTE NATURAL CONSCIENCE, or may be, under the law, believers so zealous of the law as to fly in the face of Paul himself for witnessing a higher light than they have yet experience of or can bear."<sup>\*</sup>

And as these principles guided him when his life began, and through all the hard years of his public struggles sustained him, so in the hour of death they were his comfort and refuge. "Whatever you do," he said to his children, on their last interview with him in the Tower, the evening before his execution, "whatever you do, be not conformed to this world in the spirit, way, principles, affections, no, nor religion thereof. Amid the great variety of churches and ways of worship that this world abounds with, be not by any means induced or forced to observe and become subject to the ordinances of man in things pertaining unto God. Give unto God the things that are God's. Give also unto Cæsar the things that are his. If he unlawfully require more, do you lawfully refuse to obey him. Let him then take his course; wherein any deal proudly, God will be above them. If one church say, 'Lo, here is Christ;' another, 'Lo, there!' and the trumpet that's blown in both give but an uncertain sound, look up to Christ himself with the spouse in the Canticles, and say, 'O thou, whom our souls do love, tell us where thou feedest, and makest thy flock to rest at noon, under the scorching heat of man's persecuting wrath.' If rightly sought to and waited on, he will by his spirit infallibly direct you to the true shepherds' tents; to those spiritual pastors and assemblies that walk in the footsteps of his ancient flock, even in the faith, spirit, and way of Abraham. . . And, as I would have you to quit all false churches, whatever curious dress, insinuating appearance, or refined form they shine forth in, so much more yet would I have you to loathe and depart from all manner of profaneness and common debauchery, whatever countenance or encouragement it may have round about you in the land of your nativity!"<sup>†</sup> Through the prison walls that then encompassed Vane, the barbarous dissonance of Bacchus and his revellers had already reached, even as it pierced the blind solitude that compassed Milton round!

Vane's advocacy of Mrs. Hutchinson, then, was only in accordance with the principle which governed every passage in his life; it was no "working and unquiet fancy," as Clarendon describes it, nor humour of "young inexperience," as better friends to truth than Clarendon have been induced to urge: it was simply the result of those settled philosophical convictions which, thus early developed, remained with him his whole life after, that forced Vane into the front rank of this religious controversy, as the chief friend and supporter of the remarkable woman with whom it originated. He espoused her cause, and defended her with all the warmth and enthusiasm of his own character.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Retired Man's Meditations, 4to, 213.

<sup>†</sup> I shall have to return to this affecting address, which there is reason to suppose was taken down by Sikes at the moment of its delivery. He appears to have been the only person present besides the family of Vane.

<sup>‡</sup> I need scarcely add, that, supposing his opinions had

So supported, and with the additional aid of the Rev. Mr. Cotton's zeal, Mrs. Hutchinson for a time held equal ground with her enemies; but as the contest proceeded, the proportion of numbers turned out heavily against her. The celebrated founder, father, and first governor of the colony, Winthrop, conducted the opposition, and was supported with the hottest zeal by Mr. Wilson and all the other ministers of the country, by all the churches but that of Boston, and by a considerable and very active minority there. With every day that passed, her position, including that of her supporters, became more and more dangerous. She had provoked, in all its most fearful fires, the *odium theologicum*, and it burned with an equal fury against all who dared to countenance or to tolerate the opinions she was charged with holding.

The crisis arrived at last. The day of the annual election came round; and the party always hostile to Vane, re-enforced in strength and numbers by the party whose hostility he had brought down in his support of Mrs. Hutchinson, all assembled, and massed themselves together at the appointed place and time. A terrible storm of excitement was the result. Among other notable circumstances, the Rev. Mr. Wilson clambered up into a tree, and harangued the electors in a speech which, as it is described, could surely never have been endured in those grave times, and in one of his calling, except during the prevalence of a most engrossing and almost maddening excitement. The end was, that Winthrop was elected governor, and Vane, and all Vane's friends, left out of office.

The Boston people, ever devotedly attached to Vane, at once declared their unmoved confidence and faith in him by electing him, with others of his most zealous friends, to represent them in the general court. More passionate than discreet, the Winthrop party in the Assembly pronounced the election void. The people of Boston, spirited and independent then as they have been ever since, with indignation at such a gross outrage on their rights of suffrage, returned the same men back to the House by a new election the very next day. The successful party, meanwhile, once seated in the colonial government, lost not a day in beginning in fearful earnest to put down by *main force* the Hutchinsonian heresy, and to cut off

been less in accordance, or even utterly at variance, with her own, he would yet have been bound, by his theory of non-interference in matters of religious belief, to take part with her against her prosecutors. "He was always," says his friend Sikes, "against the exercise of a coercive magisterial power in religion and worship, because of the single rule, power, and authority that Christ himself claims as his peculiar prerogative in and over the hearts and consciences of all men. How grossly inconcinnous must it needs appear even to the common reason of all mankind, that such as take upon them to be magistrates and rulers, whether the people will or no (as it often falls out), yea, or though freely chosen, should give the rule to all others' consciences in point of religion, when they many times have no religion at all in themselves, nor any other conscience but a dead or seared one, hardened in the most brutish vilenesses that the basest of men can be guilty of. But if the magistrate do plausibly pretend to something of religion, what a changeable thing will religion be at this rate! as Sickle as the magistrate's judgment, at least as his person, for the next ruler may be of another persuasion; as this nation hath experienced off and on, between popery and the Protestant profession, in Henry VIII., Edward VI., and in the two queens Mary and Elizabeth."

brever all means of its farther growth. The first step taken with this view was a startling one — no less than to prevent, by absolute means, the introduction into the colony of persons who were at all likely to favour Mrs. Hutchinson or her doctrines. Many such persons being expected to arrive from England about that time, a law was passed which imposed a heavy penalty upon any person who should receive into his house a stranger coming with intent to reside, or let to such a one a lot or habitation, without, in every instance, obtaining particular permission of one of the standing council, or two of the assistant magistrates; and, by the same act, a large fine was to be levied upon any town which should, without such permission, allow strangers a residence.

A grosser violation of the rights of the colonists, considered in the abstract, could not be imagined than under such a law as this. Vane at once declared against its injustice and enormity, and appealed to the people. The inhabitants of Boston, with whom his influence always bore its natural and fair proportion to their own independence, took up the matter so warmly, that they refused to meet Governor Winthrop, after the usual customs of respect, when he entered the town on his return from the session of the Legislature; and at last the public mind generally, and in all parts of the colony, showed so much discontent on the subject of the law, that Governor Winthrop was driven to the necessity of a formal public appeal in its behalf and his own. A warm controversy ensued, in which Vane was his chief and most formidable opponent.

This discussion is only to be alluded to here in so far as it illustrates the character of Vane as a statesman, so long misunderstood, and, by writers of English history, so unjustly handled. It is in proof, during its progress, that he was the first to declare, at this early period of his life, and at the greatest personal hazard, that the theory on which New-England had been planted and was proposed to be maintained was absolutely visionary and impracticable. We shall find always, in the course of this memoir, that he whose wildness and enthusiasm are the favourite topics of the history of the time, was, in strict truth, the most clear-headed and the most practical of politicians. He could never understand what was meant, as applied to the case of New-England, by a settlement of religious liberty in a peculiar sense alone, and subject to conditions which destroyed it in fact.\* He held that they

who in a large society had contended for the rights of conscience when they were themselves sufferers, could not, upon any pretext, in a society however small, turn against others, and, upon points of speculative difference, violate *their* rights of conscience because they had acquired the power and the opportunity to do it. The result proved Vane to have been right. He had hit the true principle of religious liberty, which, in its great and comprehensive wisdom, never dawned upon the minds of the first planters of New-England; and he was the first English statesman to declare and to act upon that principle up to its very fullest extent. He heralded the way for Milton, for William Penn, for Locke, for the great Fox, and for his noble kinsman (in our own time, the most generous and constant asserter of the rights of conscience) Lord Holland.\*

A few extracts from Vane's answers to Winthrop will satisfactorily establish this. The latter having issued an elaborate "Defence of an Order of Court made in the year 1637," explaining its "intent" and illustrating its "equity," Vane at once published a reply, under the title of "A brief Answer to a certain Declaration, made of the Intent and Equity of the Order of Court, that none should be received to inhabit within this Jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates."

The introduction of Winthrop's argument consisted of the following definition of a "com-

posed purpose to rear up their children in the faith they cherished; and they rejoiced in having, as they thought, devised a scheme of society, in which, far removed from all who differed from them, they might enjoy their own institutions and profess their own principles, without giving or suffering molestation, and free from all division or dissent. But, without considering the difficulty of excluding persons of discordant opinions coming from abroad, it was utterly in vain to attempt to bring any system of education to bear with such complete effect upon a whole people as to prevent difference of opinion among their descendants. It was, however, a beautiful vision, and, upon the whole, very creditable to those who indulged it. While we cannot lament that it failed of being realized, it is impossible not to sympathize with our fathers in the disappointment they so bitterly experienced, when, after all their sacrifices, and toils, and privations, and sufferings, and before they had got comfortably settled in their new abode, they discovered, to their amazement, that they had not escaped the differences and dissensions which they so much dreaded. It seemed hard that, after having left Christendom, country, and home itself, and effected a lodgment in a far-off wilderness, where their only hope was a peaceful harmony of opinion, beyond the reach of oppression, and rescued from all temptation to oppress—it was indeed hard to be pursued and tormented by those very disputes which they had sacrificed their very all to avoid. It ought not to be wondered at, as a strange or inconsistent thing, that they used every effort to drive from their territory those who advocated discordant opinions, and that they employed every device to prevent their introduction. In so doing they did not violate, but, on the contrary, fully acted out the principles upon which they emigrated to America and planted the colony. The law to which we have just referred [the law described in the text] was but an expression of those principles, and indicated the only probable policy by which they could be developed and preserved."

\* The best statement of the case in that view, and the most enlightened defence of Winthrop's policy, are given by Mr. Upham. We quote it in justice to both parties: "In their own country they were oppressed and in various ways afflicted in the exercise of their consciences, and in the expression and enjoyment of their own religious principles and way of worship. They saw no prospect of a remedy, because it was then universally supposed that, in order to live in peace and liberty, Christians must agree in sentiment and speculation. Such an agreement was manifestly impossible in the Old World. They were therefore led to conceive the plan of withdrawing from Christendom into a wilderness beyond the ocean, where, without disturbing others, they themselves might enjoy 'freedom to worship God.' It did not occur to their imaginations that any, besides those who sympathized with them in views and feelings, would voluntarily join them in encountering the perils of the deep and the sufferings of a new settlement on a foreign and savage shore. It was their solemn and most sa-

\* As this volume is passing through the press, Lord Holland's signature again appears alone to one article of a protest on the subject of religious liberty, which appears to me to condense into a few words its most comprehensive principles. His lordship protests against the municipal officers' Declaration Bill (as he had ten years before protested against the bill it proposed to remedy the defects of) because he "cannot directly or indirectly sanction the opinion that any particular faith in matters of religion is necessary to the proper discharge of duties purely political or temporal." A collection of Lord Holland's protests would be an invaluable text-book of statesman-like reasoning, of pure constitutional doctrine, and of the most generous and convincing sentiments.

mon weale or body politike," such as the colony of Massachusetts was: "the consent of a certain company of people to cohabit together under one government, for their mutual safety and welfare." To this, however, Vane decisively interposes a mention of the restrictions which limit so convenient a definition, and render it by no means so apt a plea for the arbitrary legislation of such a "government." He reminds Winthrop that his definition is at the best but a description of a commonwealth at large, and not such a commonwealth as *this* (as is pretended), which is not only CHRISTIAN, but dependant upon the grant also of our sovereign; for so are the express words of that order of court to which the whole country was required to subscribe. "Now," he continues, "if you will define a Christian commonwealth, there must be included such a consent as is according to God; a subjecting to such a government as is according to Christ. And if you will define a corporation incorporated by virtue of the grant of our sovereign, it must be such a consent as the grant requires and permits, and in that manner and form as it prescribes, or else it will be defective. The commonwealth here described [in Winthrop's definition] may be a company of Turkish pirates as well as Christian professors, unless the consent and government be better limited than it is in this definition; for sure it is that all pagans and infidels, even the Indians here among us, may come within this compass. And is this such a body politic as ours! Our Commonwealth, we fear, would be twice miserable, if Christ and the king should be shut out so. Reasons taken from the nature of a commonwealth not founded upon Christ, nor by his majesty's charters, must needs fall to the ground, and fail those that rely upon them. *Members of a commonwealth may not seek out all means that may conduce to the welfare of the body, but all lawful and due means*, according to the charter they hold by, either from God or the king, or from both; nor may they keep out whatsoever may appear to tend to their damage (for many things appear which are not), but such as, upon right and evident grounds, do so appear and are so in truth."

Winthrop had insisted very strongly on the following argument as decisive in his favour: "The churches take liberty (as lawfully they may) to receive or reject at their discretion; yea, particular towns make orders to such effect; why, then, should the Commonwealth be denied the like liberty, and the whole more restrained than any part?" To this Vane replied, in the true spirit of the great founder of Christianity: "Though the question be here concluded, yet it is far from being soundly proved; yea, in truth, we much wonder that any member of a church should be ignorant of the falseness of the groundwork upon which this conclusion is built; for, should churches have this power, as you say they have, to receive or reject at their discretion, they would quickly grow corrupt enough. *Churches have no liberty to receive or reject at their discretions, but at the discretion of Christ*. Whatsoever is done in word or deed, in church or commonwealth, must be done in the name of the Lord Jesus. Neither <sup>1</sup>ath church nor commonwealth any other than

ministerial power from Christ, who is the head of the Church, and the prince of the kings of the earth. After that Cornelius and his company had received the Holy Ghost, whereby the right which they had to the covenant was evidenced, it is not now left to the discretion of the Church whether they would admit them thereunto or not. But can any man forbid them water? saith Peter. He commanded them to be baptized. There is the like reason of admission into churches. When Christ opens a door to any, there's none may take liberty to shut them out. In one word, there is no liberty to be taken, neither in church nor commonwealth, but that which Christ gives, and is according unto him." Carrying out these noble and exalted views, Vane thus described what ought to be, by statesmen, the proper treatment of heretics: "As for scribes and Pharisees, we will not plead for them; let them do it who walk in their ways; nor for such as are confirmed in any way of error; *though all such are not to be denied cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed*. ISHMAEL SHALL DWELL IN THE PRESENCE OF HIS BRETHREN."

Then, towards the conclusion of this very striking pamphlet, he sums up his argument in these words: "This law we judge to be most wicked and sinful, and that for these reasons: 1. Because this law doth leave these weighty matters of the Commonwealth, of receiving or rejecting such as come over, to the approbation of magistrates, and suspends these things upon the judgment of man, *whereas the judgment is God's*. This is made a groundwork of gross popery. Priests and magistrates are to judge, but it must be according to the law of God. *THAT LAW WHICH GIVES THAT, WITHOUT LIMITATION, TO MAN WHICH IS PROPER TO GOD, CANNOT BE JUST*. 2. Because here is liberty given by this law to expel and reject those which are most eminent Christians, if they suit not with the disposition of the magistrate; whereby it will come to pass that Christ and his members will find much worse entertainment among us than the Israelites did among the Egyptians and Babylonians, than Abraham and Isaac did among the Philistines, than Jacob among the Shechemites; yea, even than Lot among the Sodomites. *These all gave leave to God's people to sit down among them*, though they could not claim such right as the king's subjects may. Now that law, the execution whereof may make us more cruel and tyrannical over God's children than even these, must needs be most wicked and sinful."

The profound and generous spirit of these passages, the force and beauty of their scripture illustration, cannot be admired too highly. But Winthrop, strongly supported by the most powerful influences in the colony, was enabled to hold his ground, and Vane, baffled in his best hopes and purposes, resolved for England.\* He took his passage in August, 1637; not "fain to steal away by night," as Baxter would have it, but openly, nay, with marks of honour from his friends, which even his enemies were obli-

\* "He had not been long in New-England," says his friend Sikes, "before he ripened into more knowledge and experience of Christ than the churches there could bear the testimony of. Even New-England could not bear all his words, though there were no king's court or king's chapel. Then he returns for Old England."

ged to take part in, and accompanied by the young Lord Ley, son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, who had come over a short time before to see the country. A large concourse of the people of Boston attended him, with every form of affectionate respect, to the vessel's side, which he ascended amid the strongest demonstrations of love and esteem for his person, and admiration for his character and services. A parting salute was fired from the town, and another from the castle; and as he sailed from the shores of New-England, he left behind him a name which, as years went on, became more and more endeared to the people; a name which is venerated there to this day; and gives a kind of religious interest to the small house in Boston which is still pointed out as one of his places of residence with an honourable gratitude and pride.\*

Nor did Vane's interest in America, any more than the better influences of his character and name, pass away with his passage from her shores. During the remainder of his life, through all its power and all its suffering, he forgot not her. By his aid, when governor of Massachusetts, the famous Roger Williams had succeeded in obtaining a deed of Rhode Island from the native princes, and one of his first acts after his return to England was to exert himself to procure the first charter of that colony. "It was not price and money," says that most celebrated Puritan, "that could have purchased Rhode Island, but it was obtained by love—that love and favour which that honoured gentleman, Sir H. Vane, and myself had with the great sachem Miantonomo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansetts in the Pequot war. This I mention, as the truly noble Sir H. Vane had been so good an instrument in the hand of God for rescuing this island from the barbarians, as also for procuring and confirming the charter, that it may be recorded with all thankfulness."† And not in words alone did Roger Williams exhibit his gratitude; he gave more solid and enduring proofs of it in carrying out Vane's own great principles of religious liberty in the settlement of the colony of Rhode Island, which soon presented, single and alone, faithful among the faithless, the grand example of Christian toleration in its only complete and wise aspect, as applied not only to Christians, but to all men, of whatever religion or form of faith. Deep was the interest Vane thenceforth took in that colony; and when, in long after years, at the very busiest and most anxious period of his public life, he had received reason to suspect that something of a contentious and intolerant spirit was stealing insensibly into the hearts of some of its active leaders, he at once wrote them a letter (dated the 8th of February, 1653), expressing

his regret at the intelligence, and urging them to a more consistent practice of the great principles upon which their society was founded. An answer was drawn up by Roger Williams, and signed by the principal people of Providence, which shows with what truly Christian sentiments Sir Henry's friendly and faithful remonstrances were received. It concludes by expressing the hope "that, when we are gone and rotten, our posterity, and children after us, shall read, in our town records, your pious and favourable letters and loving kindness to us."\*

In these after years he wrote to Winthrop too, his old and active enemy, in the same spirit as to those who had supported him. From the high places of political influence and power, as in his young and unimportant days, he used the same arguments to Winthrop to induce him to save the country he presided over from the destructive effects of religious bigotry and intolerance. He wrote to him† entreating him to

\* Hist. Coll., x., 20, note.

† This letter will be found in Hutchinson's Collections, p. 137. I cannot refrain from adding here, while yet detained on the subject, an admirable sketch, which is furnished by Mr. Upham, of the closing passages of Mrs. Hutchinson's life, after the departure of Vane. It cannot fail to have a melancholy interest for those who are interested in the great statesman her fortunes connected her with, and who, admiring, as they must, her genius, her firmness, and perseverance, must deplore her sufferings, and the bloody tragedy which brought those sufferings to a close. After Vane's departure, the controversy he had taken part in was, by the direct application of mere power, extinguished and extirpated. Mr. Wheelwright was banished, and the same sentence was carried into execution against Mrs. Hutchinson, after an examination and trial, in which she exhibited the most extraordinary degree of talent, learning, skill, and fortitude. She at once removed after this with her family to Rhode Island, where, under the protection of Roger Williams, her conduct did not incur reproach, although she continued faithful to her principles; neither did any injury or inconvenience, as Williams wrote to Vane, result from her influence there. "How clearly," justly pursues Mr. Upham, "does this illustrate the important maxim, that no heresy need be regarded as dangerous to the state when the state does not meddle with it! Upon the death of her husband she transferred her residence to Long Island, where, in the year 1643, her sufferings and persecutions were brought to an end in a manner so awful and tragical as would have softened the hearts, we might suppose, of the bitterest foes, and have buried forever all feelings of anger and bigotry in one wide-spread and profound sentiment of pity and sorrow. She and all her family, consisting of sixteen persons, were murdered by the Indians, with the exception of one daughter, who was carried into captivity. Such was the fate of Anne Hutchinson, one of the most remarkable persons of her age and sex—learned, accomplished, and of an heroic spirit. Her genius was as extraordinary as her history was strange and eventful. Her abilities were equalled only by her misfortunes. With talents and graces which would have adorned and blessed the private spheres, within which they ought to have been confined, she aimed to occupy a more public position, and to act upon a more conspicuous theatre; and the consequence was, that she was hated where she would otherwise have been loved; a torrent of prejudice and calumny was made to pour over her; an entire community was thrown into disorder and convulsions for years; a most cruel persecution drove her from the pale of civilization; and she fell, at last, beneath the bloody tomahawks of murderous savages. Immediately after her exile from Massachusetts, the floodgates of slander were opened against her character. Every species of abuse and defamation was resorted to, and tales of calumny were put into circulation so extravagant, disgusting, loathsome, and shocking, that nothing but the blackest malignity could have fabricated, or the most infuriated and blinded bigotry have credited them. (Mather's "Magnalia," book vii., c. iii., § xi.) Every mouth seemed to be open to asperse her, and every heart hardened against her; and when the news of her tragical death arrived, it was readily believed and proclaimed that it was a judgment of God upon her sinful heresies, and the people seemed almost to take satisfaction in reflecting upon the dreadful fate which had befallen her in the distant wilderness to which she had been driven by their intolerance. In contemplating the furious and desperate virulence of the colonists towards

\* Mr. Upham tells us that "Governor Vane's house stood, as we are informed by Hutchinson (i., 55, note), on the side of the hill above Queen-street," between the sites of the houses of Mr. Jonathan Phillips and the late Mr. Gardiner Greene. On his departure from America he presented the estate to Mr. Cotton, in whose family he had resided, and with whom he had formed a "great friendship," founded upon sympathy of opinions and congeniality of spirit. It has been supposed that Sir Henry Vane assisted Mr. Cotton in preparing the "Abstract of the Laws of New-England," published at London in 1641.—Hist. Coll., v., 172, note.

† Mr. Upham, Hist. Coll., ix., 194, 2d series.



exhort the Congregational churches in America to exhibit such an example of the spirit of peace, charity, and forbearance as would alone tend to promote the great cause of Christian liberty and truth in the older world. Winthrop himself appears by this time to have become sensible of the greatness, justice, and truth of Vane's character; and we find him, accordingly, in speaking of a difficulty in which, in 1645, some New-England men were involved in the admiralty courts in London on account of their connexion with certain proceedings of the government of Massachusetts, and which was of such moment that the bonds they were required to give amounted to four thousand pounds, seizing the opportunity of doing honour to certain active and disinterested exertions of Sir Henry Vane in their behalf, and adding that, "although he might have taken occasion against us for some dishonour which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him here, yet both now and at other times he hath showed himself a true friend to New-England, and a man of a noble and generous mind."\*

Such is a faithful history of Vane's colonial residence and administration; and it may be safely left thus to the impartial and just-minded to determine whether, far from depreciating his powers as a public man, as hath been too rashly concluded, it does not, on the contrary, give additional interest and lustre to all that is great, or noble, or wise in the history of his life. He now appears upon a wider scene once more, and Garrard thus writes to the lord-deputy: "Henry Vane, the comptroller's eldest son, who hath been governor in New-England this last year, is come home; whether he hath left his former misgrouded opinions for which he left us, I know not."†

Nor could the gossiping Garrard, with all his zealous curiosity, ascertain for many months any better knowledge on this point. Vane lived in retirement for a considerable time after his return. The interval not unfitly prepares us, after the strange and turbulent scenes we have just gone through, for that resolved and deliberate strengthening of his purposes and powers which, in hours of quiet retreat and lofty study, we may suppose to have been now his principal aim, and his noblest preparation for that glorious career of suffering and of service on which he was soon to enter in his native country. In this interval, too, "with his father's approbation," he married Frances, the daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, of Ashby, in Lincolnshire.

Public affairs had meanwhile advanced to the crisis which forced the king once more upon the detested resource of a Parliament, in April, 1640, and in this Parliament, influenced secretly, it is supposed, by Pym, "young Mr. Vane" consented to sit. He was at once returned for

the borough of Kingston-upon-Hull—worthiest predecessor, in the representation of that place, to honest Andrew Marvel.

This step appears to have given great alarm at court, both to his father and the king. Means were at once taken to propitiate the possible hostility of the young and resolute statesman. "By his father's credit with the Earl of Northumberland, who was lord-high-admiral of England," says Clarendon, "he was joined presently and jointly with Sir William Russel in the office of treasurer of the navy (a place of great trust and profit), which he equally shared with the other."\* His father's credit may indeed have had some share in this appointment, but the manifest purpose for which that credit had been called into request, and the eager sanction the appointment received from the king, were displayed in an additional honour conferred on him two or three months afterward, when he received the dignity of knighthood from the hands of Charles. From this time he generally passed by the title which he has made so famous, Sir Harry Vane the younger, or the more formal one of Sir Henry Vane, of Raby Castle, knight.†

Still no movement appeared on the part of the newly-appointed minister of co-operation in the principles of the government. He was frequently observed, on the contrary, in the society of Pym and Hampden, and it is a remark of Clarendon that at this time "nothing was concealed from him, though it is believed that he communicated his own thoughts to very few." He was waiting his time, now very near.

In November, 1640, again elected for the borough of Kingston-upon-Hull, Sir Henry Vane the younger sat down at Westminster, a member of the ever-memorable Long Parliament. From that instant his course was plain, and never swerved from. "In the beginning of the great Parliament," says one who had watched him well, the honest and able Ludlow, "he was elected to serve his country among them, without the least application on his part to that end; and in this station, he soon made appear how capable he was of managing great affairs, possessing, in the highest perfection, a quick and ready apprehension, a strong and tenacious memory, a profound and penetrating judgment, a just and noble eloquence, with an easy and graceful manner of speaking. To these were added a singular zeal and affection for the good of the Commonwealth, and a resolution and courage not to be shaken or diverted from the public service."‡ Soon, indeed, were these great characteristics made manifest.

\* Vol. i., 328.

† Anthony & Wood, iii., 579.

‡ I may in this place subjoin what is said of his general conduct henceforward, in the extraordinary "life" by Sikes. "This worthy patriot was freely chosen, without any seeking of his, to serve as a Burgess for the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, in that Parliament which sat down November 3, 1640. About thirteen years did he indefatigably labour therein for his country's relief, against manifest oppressions and public grievances that were upon it, and wellnigh ten years more he hath patiently suffered, as either a useless or pernicious person, because of his destructive constitution to the peace and interest of tyranny. During the Long Parliament, he was usually so engaged for the public, in the House and several committees, from early in the morning till very late at night, that he had scarce any leisure to eat his bread, converse with his nearest relations, or at all to mind his family affairs. Were I indeed furnished with the tongue of the learned, the pen of a ready writer, I should think it advisable to let the usefulness and success of his

Mrs. Hutchinson, we discern a striking illustration of the destructive influences of bigotry and persecution upon all the most valuable sentiments of humanity. The lesson which it becomes us to derive from the history of their persecutions. Indeed, no excellence of principle, no strength or refinement of intellect, could be a sufficient guard against the debasing power of intolerance, which is to be cruel to persecute another for his own sake."

\* Winthrop, vol. ii., p. 245.

† Clarendon's Letters and Despatches, ii., 116.

His conduct in the affair of Lord Strafford's trial has been alluded to in a previous memoir.\* He furnished the most material evidence against the earl. The circumstance may be stated here in the words which, according to Clarendon, were used by Pym, in describing it to the House of Commons. "That, *some months before the beginning of this Parliament*, he had visited young Sir Henry Vane, eldest son to the secretary, who was then newly recovered from *madness*: that they being together, and *condoling the sad condition of the kingdom*, by reason of the many illegal taxes and pressures, Sir Harry told him, if he would call upon him the next day, he would show him somewhat that would give him much trouble, and inform him what counsels were like to be followed to the ruin of the kingdom: for that he had, in perusal of some of his father's papers, accidentally met with the result of the cabinet council upon the dissolution of the last Parliament, which comprehended the resolutions then taken. The next day he showed him a little paper of the secretary's own writing, in which was contained the day of the month, and the results of several discourses made by several counsellors, with several hieroglyphics, which sufficiently expressed the persons by whom those discourses were made. The matter was of so transcendent a nature, and the counsel so prodigious with reference to the Commonwealth, that he desired he might take a copy of it, which the young gentleman would by no means consent to, fearing it might prove prejudicial to his father. But when he (Mr. Pym) informed him that it was of extreme consequence to the kingdom, and that a time might probably come when the discovery of this might be a sovereign means to preserve both church and state, he was contented that Mr. Pym should take a copy of it, which he did in the presence of Sir Henry Vane, and, having examined it together, delivered the original again to Sir Henry Vane."†

This famous paper, it is scarcely necessary to repeat in this place, contained old Vane's notes of a council, at which Strafford had recommended the introduction of the Irish army to reduce England to obedience. When they were produced by Pym in Westminster Hall, an extraordinary sensation was created, and the

cause of Strafford was, for the first time, felt to be hopeless. It is, perhaps, worth while adding the sequel of the scene in the House of Commons after Pym's announcement, always bearing in mind that it rests on no better authority than Clarendon's. Sir Henry Vane the younger, he says, rose after Mr. Pym, corroborated his statement, and added "that his father, being in the North with the king the summer before, had sent up his keys to his secretary, then at Whitehall, and had written to him (his son) that he should take from him those keys which opened his boxes where his writings and evidences of his land were, to the end that he might cause an assurance to be perfected which concerned his wife; and that he having perused those evidences, and despatched what depended thereupon, had the curiosity to desire to see what was in a red velvet cabinet which stood with the other boxes, and thereupon required the key of that cabinet from the secretary, as if he still wanted somewhat towards the business his father had directed; and so, having gotten that key, he found, among other papers, that mentioned by Mr. Pym, which made that impression in him, that he thought himself bound in conscience to communicate it to some person of better judgment than himself, who might be more able to prevent the mischiefs that were threatened therein, and so showed it to Mr. Pym, and being confirmed by him that the seasonable discovery thereof might do no less than preserve the kingdom, had consented that he should take a copy thereof, which to his knowledge he had faithfully done, and thereupon had laid the original in its proper place again, in the red velvet cabinet. He said he knew this discovery would prove little less than his ruin in the good opinion of his father; but, having been provoked by the tenderness of his conscience towards his common parent, his country, to trespass against his natural father, he hoped he should find compassion from that House, though he had little hopes of pardon elsewhere." The elder Vane, who had, throughout the whole of this scene, shown extraordinary symptoms of pain and vexation, now rose, remarked severely on the conduct of his son, and added "that it was true, being in the North with the king, and that unfortunate son of his having married a virtuous gentlewoman, daughter to a worthy member then present, to whom there was somewhat in justice and honour due, which was not sufficiently settled, he had sent his keys to his secretary, not well knowing in what box the material writings lay, and directed him to suffer his son to look after those evidences which were necessary; that by this occasion, it appeared, those papers had been examined and perused which had begot much of this trouble." This scene, adds Clarendon, whose object throughout is to leave an impression that the elder Vane had secretly supplied the papers to his son for the mere purpose of revenging himself of a private spleen against Strafford, "was so well acted, with such passion and gravity between the father and the son, that many speeches were made in commendation of the conscience, integrity, and merit of the young man, and a motion made that the father might be

public acts all along that Parliament, till forcibly dissolved, speak for themselves. That race of action being run, not without much struggling, contradiction, and misreports the while, he comes to his suffering scene. He was for several years rejected, persecuted, and imprisoned by his apostatized friends, that had gone to the house of God in company with him, who at length, to complete their persecuting work upon him, delivered him up, to be hunted to death by his professed foes, enemies of all righteousness, God's and man's too." \* Life of Strafford, p. 125.

† Clarendon's History, i., 399-400, Oxford ed. of 1826. It is an extraordinary instance of Mr. D'Irasieli's forgetfulness, where his violent partialities intrude, that in characterizing the statement in the text as an artfully-turned party tale, got up to infer that there was "no premeditated plot" in this case between the Vane's to revenge a family hatred against Strafford (a charge which the Royalist writers are very fond of), he endeavours to cast doubt and reproach upon the allegations of the "severe indisposition" of the younger Vane, and his alleged "reluctance" in suffering Pym to take a copy, by saying that he can find no authority for them excepting in Brodie's History of the British Empire! "Mr. Brodie," remarks Mr. D'Irasieli, "is my sole authority for this statement!" Yet Clarendon must have been turned over, page by page, sentence by sentence, with infinite and most curious zeal by Mr. D'Irasieli! Clarendon is the very text on which the "commentaries" are written.

\* Clarendon, i., 400, 401.

enjoined by the House to be friends with his son; but for some time there was, in public, a great distance observed between them." The distance which was observed between them is spoken of by other writers, of better faith and purer purpose than Clarendon, as the result of sincere dissatisfaction on the part of the elder Vane at the course to which his son had now irrevocably pledged himself; and of the exact truth of the details given in the preceding speeches, no writer of authority has ventured to express a doubt.\* The only remaining matter that is in any way questionable may be safely left to the judgment of the reader—whether young Vane was strictly authorized in the step he took, upon discovering, by the indulgence of a pardonable curiosity, the memorable paper in question. Not only, it appears to me, was he fully justified in the course he followed, but none other was open to him, save at the peril of betraying the best interests of his country. So it was considered then by the most rigidly conscientious men,† and so all right-judging men must consider it now. The truth of the contents of that memorable paper is not disputed by Clarendon himself, and was confirmed by the evidence of Northumberland and Bristol, and even of Usher and Juxon.‡

In every great measure of the Commons the name of the younger Vane now prominently appears; and, pending the trial of Strafford, he had carried up the impeachment§ which disabled the power of Laud, the once terrible enemy of toleration. In all matters of religious reform he more especially distinguished himself: he was one of the greatest supporters of the famous "root and branch" petition against prelacy; in the committee of which Hyde was chairman he spoke with masterly effect in favour of the bill against episcopal government;|| and when the famous Assembly of Divines assembled at Westminster to deliberate on the state of the Church and the interests of religion, being requested by the House of Commons to take upon himself the duty of one of its lay members, he rendered himself conspicuously eminent in the consultations of that most grave and learned body,¶ not only by his theological attainments, but by the singular subtlety and skill with which he addressed them to the loftier purposes of government; and, in the

faith of those opinions which have already received such striking illustration in these pages, sought to impress upon his more sectarian colleagues the necessity of associating with the popular principle in civil affairs, an extreme and universal toleration of religious differences. In this noble policy, by his powers of irresistible persuasion, he eventually won over some of the most celebrated of these men.\*

The progress of public affairs, up to the erection of Charles's standard at Nottingham, has been discussed in detail in the memoir of Pym. The extraordinary legislative achievements that had already distinguished the hitherto short existence of this immortal Parliament shed no small portion of their lustre on the name of the younger Vane. In the impeachments which broke down the terrible power of Strafford and of Laud, and which disabled forever such men as Bishop Wren, Bishop Pierce, Secretary Windebank, Lord-keeper Finch, and the slavish judges of ship-money, their meaner associates, young Vane had made his powers conspicuous. In the triennial bill, the constitutional settlement of taxation, the destruction of despotic courts, the abolition of the king's prerogative of dissolution, in all those potent measures which, with a terrible hand, had driven out from the English government "evil counsellors, profligate judges, arrogant bishops, and sycophant churchmen," young Vane had gone hand in hand with the man from whom he had received his first political lessons, and on whose pure and lofty principles, on whose long life devoted with unequalled fidelity and virtue to the service of his country, he desired to model his own. The period to Pym's exertions was fast arriving, but they had found their worthiest "supplement and completion" in the younger Sir Harry Vane.†

When the final appeal to arms was made, he surrendered the patent of office he held from Charles, but he was reappointed treasurer of

\* Clarendon (vol. v., p. 15, 16) speaks of the growing influence of the Independents in the Assembly of Divines.

† In the discussions respecting the command of the militia, which immediately led to the civil war, Vane showed remarkable activity and determination; and a curious anecdote is told by Echard (p. 527) on that head, which, without vouching for its authenticity, it may be worth while to subjoin. He took it, he says, "from an anonymous writer of noted curiosity and reputation." It occurred on the occasion of the last message from the Parliament respecting the militia, delivered to the king at Theobalds, and to which he returned the passionate and fiery answer which forbade all farther accommodation. Young Vane was one of the committee of the two Houses appointed to deliver the message. The answer, says Echard, "being suddenly and with unusual quickness spoken by the king, they were much daunted; and presently retired themselves to take into consideration the terms of it, that there might be no difference in the reporting it to the several houses. As soon as the committee was set, the Earl of Newport called out his brother, the Earl of Warwick, to speak with him, who speedily returned with this account from the Earl of Newport, 'That the king was then too pressed to give a more satisfactory answer; but that he was confident they should have such a one, if they would but defer their departure for a small time.' To this the whole company seemed to assent with much cheerfulness, when suddenly young Sir Harry Vane, a dark enemy to all accommodation, declared himself to wonder at it, and said, 'Is there any person here who can undertake to know the Parliament's mind; whether this which we have, or that which is called a more satisfactory answer, will be more pleasing to the Houses? For my part, I cannot; and if there be any that can, let him speak.' To this no man was so bold as to give an answer; and so, having agreed upon their report, they departed; which shows how easily one subtle ill-disposed person may overthrow a general good intention."—(P. 527, 528.)

\* Whitelocke, who was intimately acquainted with all the circumstances, and by no means a violent enemy to Strafford, or a violent friend to the Vanes, distinctly corroborates every part of Pym's statement. "Secretary Vane being out of town, sent a letter to his son, Sir Henry Vane the younger, then in London, with the key of his study, for his son to look in his cabinet for some papers there to send to his father. The son looking over many papers, among them alighted upon these notes, which being of so great concernment to the public, and declaring so much against the Earl of Strafford, he held himself bound in duty and conscience to discover them. He showed them to Mr. Pym, who urged him and prevailed with him that they might be made use of in the evidence against the Earl of Strafford, as being most material and of great consequence in relation to that business."—*Memorials*, April 12, 1641.

† The old covenanter Baillie describes young Vane's conduct throughout with fervent praise, and says his manner was remarkable, and that of a most "gracious youth."

‡ See Hallam's *Const. Hist.*, ii., 145 (note).

§ See Laud's Diary—Rushworth's Collections, iii., 1087.

|| The report which remains of this speech is obviously imperfect and unsatisfactory, but is given, as it stands in the pamphlets of the day, in the appendix (D) at the end of this article.

¶ *Biog. Brit.*, art. Vane, vi., 3991; and see Scobell's Collection of Acts, p. 43.

the navy by the Parliament; and its duties, which he had before transacted jointly with Sir William Russel, were now committed to him alone.\* Sir Gilbert Gerard, the member for Middlesex, was appointed at the same time treasurer to the army. The orderly conduct of the affairs of Parliament required these appointments; and it is not one of the least memorable characteristics of the time, that it was only in such cases of absolute necessity that any appointments by the Parliament were made. Those particulars only were meddled with that were indispensable to the objects they had in view, and everything else was left as it stood.

A memorable circumstance is to be noted in connexion with this reappointment. The fees of Vane's office were great in the time of peace, but in war he had found them enormous. They are stated by many writers to have been little less than thirty thousand pounds per annum.† Yet now, on surrendering the patent which he had received for life from Charles I. (and for the purpose of enabling him to do so, Whitelocke‡ tells us, the House passed an ordinance at his own earnest request), he stipulated, in regard to the great necessities of his country, that a thousand a year should be secured to the deputy who executed the ordinary routine of the office ("an agent he had bred up to the business"), and that the rest of its emoluments should be paid in to the public treasury. From this rare and most virtuous act of self-denial we date the method of a fixed salary, which was afterward continued in that office. Of its author, who practised many more such actions,§ most truly it has been remarked that he was no less superior to the allurements of ambition; and it may perhaps be ascribed to the entire absence of such views that another person in the sequel (Cromwell), "fitted better for the rude intercourse and the sordid dispositions of the mass of mankind," got the start of him in the political race. In goodness, in real greatness, Vane had the advantage still.

The severe reverses suffered by the Parliament during the second year of the civil war are known to the reader.‖ Hampden slain, the strength of Pym declining with almost every hour, the train of disasters which had followed each other upon the field—everything seemed to render it not impossible to the superficial

observer that the Parliament might soon be laid prostrate at the feet of the king. Yet let it not be imagined that the men on whom the chief conduct of affairs had now devolved, the Vanes, the Cromwells, the Martens, the St. Johns, ever for an instant seemed to dread this, or lost even momentarily their presence of mind, or any of the resources which depend on that greatest endowment of statesmen. They had a glorious faith in the cause they had embarked in, and they knew the wonderful aid which, in the very last resort, might still be relied on in such a cause. The defence of the liberties of a country is never to be despaired of. Even at this time in question, when brilliant successes waited on Charles, the astonishing power of the Parliamentarians appeared to guaranty a certainty of ultimate victory on their side. They would not be defeated. Bands and regiments of armed men sprang up in succession as if out of the earth. "The fervour and determination of the adherents of the Parliament was so intense as to assume, in a great degree, the features of gayety and hilarity. The sentiments of the adverse party, arising from an implicit veneration for monarchical institutions, or bent to take a prey, could not enter into rivalry with the emotions of men, and in some measure of women, engrossed in the cause of their religion, and fighting for everything that elevates the human heart, and makes life worth the possessing." They shrank abashed from the comparison.

For the immediate necessities of the hour, however, one expedient, it was evident, must now be adopted. Scotland had been hitherto kept aloof from the English quarrel, in which it was well known she sympathized (for it was in its material features the same as that she herself had been so recently and so successfully engaged in), and to which, indeed, she had openly manifested no slight leaning. But up to this time the pride and delicacy of the English patriots withheld them, for obvious reasons, from claiming her assistance. Had it been possible, they would still have desired to engage no distant party in this great domestic struggle; but when the present unexpected crisis arrived, which involved the possible defeat of the liberal cause in England, and, by consequence, its imminent endangerment in the neighbour countries, these considerations were laid aside, and the chief leaders of the Parliament resolved upon an embassy to the North, to bring the Scottish nation into the field.

The conduct of this embassy was a matter of the highest difficulty and danger. The Scots were known to be bigoted to their own persuasions of narrow and exclusive church government, while the greatest men of the English Parliament had proclaimed the sacred maxim that every man who worshipped God according to the dictates of his conscience was entitled to the protection of the state. But these men, Vane, Cromwell, Marten, and St. John, though the difficulties of the common cause had brought them into the acknowledged position of leaders and directors of affairs, were in a minority in the House of Commons, and the party who were their superiors in number were as bigoted to the most exclusive principles of Presbyterianism as the Scots themselves. Denzil Hollis

\* Journals of August 8-10, 1642.

† See Biographia Britannica, vi., 2991; Ludlow's Memoirs, ii., 111; Collins's Peerage (art. Earl of Darlington), v., 303.

‡ Memorials, p. 232.

§ "In the beginning of that expensive war (as unwilling to make a prey of his country's necessities), he resigned his treasurer-ship for the navy, causing the customary dues of that office to be converted into a salary of a thousand per annum. The bare poundage of all expenses that way, which in times of peace came to about three thousand, would have amounted to near twenty thousand by the year during the war with Holland. Were his personal circumstances, and the condition of his family affairs at that season and since, well known, it would render this piece of self-denial the more memorable. Some inconsiderable matter, without his seeking, was allotted to him by the Parliament in lieu thereof. He had also long before this, upon the self-denying ordinance (little observed by others), refunded five-and-twenty hundred pounds for public uses, being the moiety of his receipts in the said office from such time as the Parliament had made him sole treasurer, who, before the war, was joined with another person." Such is the mention of some of those acts of true patriotism by Vane's intimate friend, Sikes, who had the best opportunities of knowing all the circumstances, and of appreciating the extent of the noble self-denial.

¶ See Life of Pym, p. 222-229.

stood at the head of this inferior class of patriots; Glyn, the recorder of London, and Maynard, were among its ablest supporters. Waller and Massey in the army, Sir Philip Stapleton and Sir John Clotworthy, ranged themselves under the same banners; and the celebrated Prynne, and Clement Walker, his inseparable and not less libellous associate, were "flaming Presbyterians." The most eminent of the Parliamentary nobility, particularly Northumberland, Essex, and Manchester, belonged also to this body; while the London clergy, and the metropolis itself, were almost entirely Presbyterian. These things considered, there was, indeed, great reason to apprehend that this party, backed by the Scots, and supported with a Scottish army, would be strong enough to overpower the advocates of free conscience, and "set up a tyranny not less to be deplored than that of Laud and his hierarchy, which had proved one of the main occasions of bringing on the war."\* Yet, opposing to all this danger only their own high purposes and dauntless courage, the smaller party of more consummate statesmen were the first to propose the embassy to Scotland.

"The idea of such an embassy," says Mr. Godwin, "had been brought forward in the lifetime of Hampden; and on the 20th of July, 1643, the commissioners set out from London. They were four; and the man principally confided in among them was Vane. He indeed was the individual best qualified to succeed Hampden as a counsellor in the arduous struggle in which the nation was at this time engaged. In subtlety of intellect and dexterity of negotiation he was inferior to none; and the known disinterestedness of his character, and his superiority to the vulgar temptations of gain, gave him the greatest authority."† It is worth notice, that on the very same day on which Vane set out for Scotland, St. John was named to be added as a member to the committee of government, commonly called the committee for the safety of the kingdom, and this has suggested the idea that he was selected as a person on whom Vane could peculiarly depend. The shortsighted Presbyterians knew not the formidable power insensibly making head against them.

Clarendon, while he eulogizes Vane's genius in describing this embassy, uses all his insidious artifice to blacken its motives and its character: "Sir Harry Vane," he says, "was one of the commissioners, and therefore the others need not be named, *since he was all in any business where others were joined with him.* He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, while he had himself *vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, *and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension*; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hampden, he was inferior to no other man in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability than that he was chosen to cozen

and deceive a whole nation, who excel in craft and cunning, which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute Presbytery to an extirpation, and very near brought their purpose to pass.\*

A serious difficulty occurred in Vane's departure from London. He was obliged, with the other commissioners, to proceed for Scotland by sea, probably in consequence of the defeat of Lord Fairfax, and the temporary ascendancy of the Earl of Newcastle in the north of England. He was dismissed in London on the 20th of July, and did not reach Edinburgh before the 9th of August following.† Thus for twenty days he was perhaps out of the reach of any intelligence respecting the affairs of the Commonwealth. This was the most critical period in the whole history of the war; the period in which there was, for the moment, the greatest appearance that Charles would gain decisively the advantage over the Parliament, and be able effectually to extinguish the cause of liberty in this country. Vane had sailed to negotiate an aid for the English Legislature engaged in hostilities against their prince, and it was not certain that the first news that would reach him when he entered the harbour of Leith might not be that he had no constituents to represent. In these anxious and critical circumstances, Mr. Godwin has speculated on the character of his thoughts and resolutions. "During this suspense," says that historian, "he seems to have preserved all his serenity. He did not believe that, judged as the cause of Charles had been, and condemned by the most sober and enlightened portion of the people of England, it would be possible to put down the spirit of liberty. He persuaded himself that, even if the Cavaliers gained possession of the metropolis and dispersed the Parliament, their triumph would be short. And we may be very sure that he was sustained through all by the verdict of his conscience, and the holy zeal he entertained for a cause which, as he believed, comprised in it everything that was valuable to the existence of man."

Immediately on his arrival in Edinburgh the negotiation commenced, and what Vane seems to have anticipated at once occurred. The Scots offered their assistance heartily on the sole condition of an adhesion to the Scottish religious system on the part of England. After many long and very warm debates, in which Vane held to one firm policy from the first, a solemn covenant was proposed, which Vane insisted should be named "a solemn league and covenant," while certain words were inserted in it on his subsequent motion, to which he also adhered with immovable constancy,‡ and

\* Vol. iv., p. 392.

† Other accounts state the 7th. See *Eng. Brit.*, vi., 3991; and *Rushworth*, v., 466.

‡ I subjoin an account of these debates from Echard, who never gives authorities, and is therefore seldom to be relied on. The spirit attempted to be fixed on Vane in the present account is merely a paltry imitation of Clarendon; but the facts may be correct enough: "The main of it was managed by the superior cunning and artifice of Sir Henry

\* Godwin's *Hist. of Com.*, i., 176.

† *Hist. of Com.*, i., 121.

which had the effect of leaving open to the great party in England, to whose interests he was devoted, that last liberty of conscience which man should never surrender, and which he had from the first resolved that nothing in this agreement should exclusively withhold them from. In the clause relating to the "preservation of the king's person," he inserted the words "in preservation of the laws of the land and liberty of the subject;"\* and by a simple phrase in the memorable article relating to religion, effected a saving retreat for the supporters of a just toleration.

The treacherous intrigues of the Duke of Hamilton were equally foiled on this remarkable occasion by Vane. He and some of his brother Royalists had secretly stimulated the more enthusiastic Covenanters to stickle for extreme conditions. They insisted, in consequence, according to Clarendon, on a committee to be selected from the Parliament of both kingdoms, to whom was to be intrusted the conduct of the war: it was imagined that the pride of the English nation would never subscribe to this stipulation. The friends of Hamilton were completely outwitted here, as on every other point. Vane offered no objection, secure in the harmlessness of such a stipulation before the energy and power of his own dauntless party, which he knew, as long as the war lasted, would sustain itself in that place of supremacy which in times of danger and doubt is ever conceded to superior minds.

The famous article respecting religion ran in these words: "That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the Reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the Word of God, and the example of the best Reformed churches; and we shall endeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confessing of faith, form of church government, directory for worship, and catechizing; that we, and our posterity after us, may as brethren live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy (that is, church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, arch-

deacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy)." Vane, by this introduction of "according to the Word of God," left the interpretation of that word to the free conscience of every man. On the 17th of August the solemn league and covenant was voted by the Legislature and the assembly of the Church at Edinburgh. The king, in desperate alarm, sent his commands to the Scotch people not to take such a covenant. In reply, they "humbly advised his majesty to take the covenant himself."†

The surpassing service rendered by Vane on this great occasion to the Parliamentary cause, exposed him to a more violent hatred from the Royalists than he had yet experienced, and Clarendon has used every artifice to depreciate his motives and his sincerity. In various passages of his history he adverts to the subject. In the following, the truth is very evasively stated: "Sir Harry Vane (who equally hated Episcopacy and Presbytery, save that he wished the one abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the kingdom) carefully considered the covenant, and after he had altered and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he and his fellow-commissioners signed the whole treaty;" but shortly after we have this distinct falsehood deliberately given: "And he who contributed most to it, the league and covenant, and, in truth, was the principal contriver of it, and the man by whom the committee in Scotland was entirely and stupidly governed, Sir Harry Vane the younger, was not afterward more known to *abhor the Covenant* and the Presbyterians than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then as much as ever he did afterward."

Vane never "abhorred" the Covenant, though he abhorred the paltry advantages and tyrannies which were afterward, under its sanction, sought to be practised by the Presbyterians. He held the league and covenant in its only true and just acceptance, to be ever sacred—a mutual guaranty between two nations, that for one great common object each should sustain the rights of the other until perfect liberty had been gained for both.‡ Till the very close of his life he professed a devotion he had never swerved from to all that was noble, and just, and good in that memorable league, while he never scrupled to record his impressive dissent from the numerous and desperate endeavours that were made by the Scots and the Presbyterians to wrest it to "other ends than itself warranted." "Nor will I deny," he said to his judges in the course of his melancholy trial, "nor will I deny but that, as to the manner of the prosecution of the Covenant to other ends than itself warrants, and with a rigid oppressive spirit (to bring all dissenting minds and tender consciences under one uniformity of church discipline and government), it was utterly against my judgment; for I always esteemed it more

Vane, who, as Dr. Gumble tells us, was very earnest with the Scots to have the whole called a league as well as a covenant, and argued it almost all night, and at last carried it. He held another debate about Church government, which was to be according to the example of the best Reformed Churches; he would have it only according to the Word of God; but after a great contest, they joined both, and the last had the precedence. One of his companions afterward asking him the reason why he should put them to so much trouble with such needless trifles, he told him, "he was mistaken, and did not see enough into that matter, for a league showed it was between two nations, and might be broken upon just reasons, but not a covenant. For the other, that Church government according to the Word of God, by the difference of divines and expositors, would be long enough before it be determined, for the learned held it chiefly for Episcopacy; so that when all are agreed, we may take in the Scotch Presbytery."—P. 588.

\* Ledlow's Memoirs, i., 79.

\* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 77.

† Henry Marten, it will be found, held the same opinion though in his case perhaps the opinion was pushed to the extreme. See post, Life of Marten.

agreeable to the Word of God, that the ends and work declared in the Covenant should be promoted in a spirit of love and forbearance to differing judgments and consciences, that thereby we might be approving ourselves in doing that to others which we desire they would do to us, and so, though upon different principles, be found joint and faithful advancers of the Reformation contained in the covenant, both public and personal." Beautiful, indeed, and conceived in the only true Christian spirit, is this definition of the Covenant—in that divine and tolerant faith it was projected and signed by Vane. Some of the last words spoken by him on the scaffold, and in which he made a most touching allusion to the Marquis of Argyle, show even more deeply that among the last and strongest feelings left to him in this world was the desire that, in reference to this great action of his life, he should leave behind him an unstained name.\*

Vane did not return to London after his mission until October 26.† In the interval he had formed a very great intimacy and confidence with the Marquis of Argyle. Clarendon has celebrated this friendship, and makes out that their sudden attachment had its origin in the strong sympathy felt by each for a like depth and mystery of purpose he discovered in the other. It is certain that a subtler or more refined spirit than Argyle's existed only in the breast of Vane, and though the Scottish statesman was a staunch friend to Presbytery, yet he and the great English leader had soon discovered one point in which they fully agreed; a repugnance to half measures, an aversion to the conducting the war in an irresolute and temporizing spirit, and "a determination to push the advantages obtained in the field as far as they would go."

The solemn league and covenant remained to be adopted in England. The Scottish form of giving it authority was followed as far as possible. It was referred by the two Houses to the Assembly of Divines, which had commenced its sittings on the 1st of the preceding July, being called together to be consulted with by the Parliament for the purpose of settling the government and form of worship of the Church of England. This assembly, already referred to, consisted of 121 of the clergy; and a number of lay assessors were joined with them, consisting of ten peers, and twenty members of the House of Commons. All these persons were named by the ordinance of the two Houses of Parliament, which gave birth to the assembly. The public taking of the Covenant was solemnized on the 25th of September, each member of either House attesting his ad-

herence by oath first, and then by subscribing his name.\* The name of Vane, subscribed immediately on his return, appears upon the list next to that of Cromwell.†

The results of this masterly effort of statesmanship were soon manifest. An army of 20,000 men was raised and marshalled in Scotland, and crossed the Tweed on the 19th of January following, to act with the forces of the Parliament.

The disastrous loss to the popular party of the great services of Pym (the last of which had been the introduction of the system of excise into this country,‡ an idea borrowed from the financial proceedings in Holland) had now devolved upon Vane the chief conduct of civil affairs. His energy was remarkable: in public and in private, on the floor of the House and in its committees, in council with the committees at Derby House, or in watchful earnestness on the field of battle, Sir Harry Vane the younger was acknowledged the foremost man of the time.

At the opening of the campaign in 1644, strengthened by the accession of the army from Scotland, 14,000 men had been raised under the Earl of Manchester, and his lieutenant-general Cromwell, for the associated counties in the eastern quarter of England. Upon these forces, Vane, distrustful of the power, if not of the sincerity of Essex,§ fixed hopes of the most sanguine kind. We find him upon the scene of action with Manchester in June, 1644, assisting him with his advice, and urging movements of policy which soon won for that division of the army the peculiar confidence of the people. Vane had already in his view an army of a "new model." An interesting remark is made by Mr. Godwin on the presence of the statesman thus in the camp of Manchester. "It gives," he says, "an additional quickness to our feelings, in the midst of these warlike proceedings, to look into the camp of the Parliamentarians, to draw back the canvass of their tents, and contemplate the soldier and the statesman, busied as they were in anticipating the future, in providing for all occasions, and endeavouring to place the mass of yet unformed events under the guidance of human prudence and intellect. In this camp, which was now traversing Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, and proceeding to York, we might see, among others, Manchester, deficient neither in the qualities of a gentleman nor the valour of a soldier, the most well-tempered and courteous of mankind, firm in purpose, yet ever gentle and conciliating in his manners; Cromwell, the future guide and oppressor of the Commonwealth, daring everything, and accomplishing whatever he dared to desire; and Vane, ever

\* "My life, estate, and all, is not so dear to me as my service to God, his cause, to the kingdom of Christ, and to the future welfare of my country; and I am taught according to the example, as well as that most Christian saying, of a noble person that lately died after this public manner in Scotland: 'How much better is it to choose affliction and the cross, than to sin or draw back from the service of the living God into the ways of apostacy and perdition.' That noble person, whose memory I honour, was with myself at the beginning and making of the solemn league and covenant, the matter of which, and the holy ends therein contained, I fully assent unto, and have been as desirous to observe; but the rigid way of prosecuting it, and the oppressing uniformity that hath been endeavoured by it, I never approved."—*Speech upon the scaffold.*

† *Commons' Journals.*

\* Godwin, i., 181. *Journals of Commons*, Sept. 22. Whitelocke, p. 74.

† Rushworth, v., 480. Echard, p. 585.

‡ See *Journals*, May 17, 1643. Dagdale, *View of the Troubles*, p. 120. Godwin, iii., 486. This circumstance had escaped me when engaged on the life of that great statesman.

§ Essex well knew this, and that the influence of Vane was undermining his hold upon the Parliament. Clarendon remarks (iv., 524-5), "The Lord Roberts, though inferior in the army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of Essex; and the earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with Sir Harry Vane, whom of all men the earl hated, and looked upon as an enemy."

profound in thought and sagacious in purpose, desiring the true advantage and happiness of all within the sphere of his influence, and embracing in his capacious mind all the elements of public safety and substantial improvement. These men, now so cordially united, were in no long time to be shaken asunder, each actuated with different sentiments, each pursuing an object which the other two regarded with fixed disapprobation."

Vane seldom remained long from the seat of government, however, for there his presence was daily becoming more and more essential. The Presbyterians, rallying with the better aspect of affairs in the field, once more showed a formidable front of remonstrance and discontent in the debates of the House of Commons. He was not daunted by this; he had already looked greater dangers in the face on the eve of the league and covenant, and yet dared to proceed. He knew from the first the consequences of that great measure which he would sooner or later have to cope with, and he was prepared for the struggle now.

The Presbyterians declared their resolution to stand upon uniformity in church government. Laud and his system had passed away, and they now came forward with their own. The excommunicating canons of diocesan Episcopacy had been driven out of England; the pillars of the Archbishop of Canterbury reeked no more with human mutilations; but now came in the Presbyterians, not less exclusive or intolerant, and impressed with no less horror of the blasphemy and perniciousness of sects, than the former. Its chief distinctions were the comparative moderation of its emoluments, and the plainness of its garb. The clergy of the Church of Scotland were habited with something of the same unambitious sadness as we see in paintings of the fathers of the Inquisition. "But this," says the historian of the Commonwealth, with earnest and impressive eloquence, "is in certain respects a disadvantage. He that lords it over me, and would persuade me that he is not of the same ignoble kind as myself, ought, perhaps, to be clad in robes, and covered with ermine and gold. It is some mitigation of my sufferings. I should be glad to be deluded and dazzled to the last. It seems natural that human beings should prefer, like the widow of Benares, to die amid the clangour of trumpets, and the soft breathing of recorders, to the perishing by the deformed and withering blow of undisguised cruelty."

And so might Vane have thought, and Cromwell, and Milton; for on that principle they acted, in a resolute opposition to the Presbyterian policy. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that these great men were what is called "Independents," or to be considered as belonging in themselves merely to another Christian sect; for Vane himself, in matters appertaining to religion, was indeed, what Clarendon has striven to convert into a term of reproach, "a man *above* ordinances." His pure religious faith has already received illustration in these pages—the extraordinary incidents of his early life must be supposed to have acted with corresponding force upon his imagination—and now, having risen with the dan-

gers of the time—the most eminent statesman of an age remarkable for greatness—the acknowledged leader of the English House of Commons—the sole focus of religious or intellectual contest or controversy that he would acknowledge were those in which the truth bade fair to be separated from falsehood, and in which a perfect and uncontrolled liberty of disquisition might possibly some day, with God's sanction, elevate men into the highest and most sublime regions of pure and perfect intellect—into a station little lower than the angels.

Nothing has been so misunderstood by even the most liberal thinkers, nothing has been so carefully avoided by the greatest admirers of the younger Vane, as the nature of his peculiar opinions in religion. But these shall not be avoided here, and, if possible, not misunderstood. Nor is this an improper period for the introduction of them, since, standing thus on the threshold of the greatest events and exertions of his political life, each may serve to illustrate the other.

When he retired for a time from public life, in disgust at the usurpation of Cromwell, he occupied his leisure with religious and political writing. In politics, he wrote with the clear and impressive reason, the simple and masterly style, of a consummate statesman. In religion, he indulged occasionally those wild and visionary thoughts which have seldom failed to visit all strong and fervent spirits of the earth, when they have flung themselves passionately into the profounder questions of man's existence and destiny. In those moments his own divinely elevated fancies assumed to him the forms of "angels of light," and the very presence of Christ himself, "coming in the clouds," was not far distant from his rapt and excited vision.

In the *Retired Man's Meditations* he thus speaks of the *Fall of Man*: "In this tree of knowledge of good and evil, man had the sight of himself, in the exercise of his natural life and the operations appertaining unto him, as he became a living soul; in the well or evil use whereof he might arrive unto the experience of the supreme good held forth to him as the end of his creation, the endless life that was to follow; or else he might come, by the forfeiture of the present good he enjoyed, to know the evil of a much worse condition than at first he had; for the avoiding of which, and to continue in a posture meet to receive the other, God required him in the state of innocence to abide in a waiting frame of spirit, as a sojourner and stranger in the midst of his present enjoyments in the earthly paradise, that so through his patient forbearance from taking up his rest, or terminating his delight in seen things, he might preserve in himself an unengaged, unprejudiced spirit to what was yet behind of the counsel of God to be communicated to him, as to a more excellent attainment and inheritance to be exhibited to him in the light of the approaching day of the Lord, the beamings forth whereof, as considered in type, were already present."

Here, it seems to me, is the expression of a sense equally subtle and noble. The pause before the accession of all the divinity of intellect



that the Creator had designed for man—the rest which was intended before its gradual fulfilment—the waiting frame of spirit—the patient forbearance—the unengaged, unprejudiced soul—conceived in that divine sense of Milton,

“God doth not need  
Either man's work or his own gifts; who best  
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best: his state  
Is kingly; thousands at his bidding speed,  
And post o'er land and ocean without rest:  
They also serve who only stand and wait!”—

all this, with the vision in the distance of a “more excellent attainment and inheritance” in the realization of all man's intellectual powers, expresses most surely a great imaginative conception, which may be non-accordant with a simpler faith, but is neither unintelligible nor obscure. The fervent writer proceeds thus:

“Now man (being furnished with a reasonable soul, and all the excellencies of its operations, with freedom of will to choose the good and refuse the evil, honoured also with the sovereignty over the creatures), in this fair posture of preparation to receive more, was nevertheless seduced, ensnared, and made a prey of by Satan, sin, and death, to the rendering (as it were) abortive all that work which was already passed upon him, and to the letting in of sin and death, with the deserved curse and wrath of God, through him, as through a door, upon all his posterity.

“The occasion of this was twofold: first, the present enjoyment of good from God under the ministry of the first covenant, the fruit of which, to the eye of flesh and blood even at its best, was so glorious, and appeared so beautiful and desirable, that man was easily persuaded that it was the best and highest attainment he needed to look after; and thereby, through Satan's subtlety, rendered secure and negligent as to the use of means given by God to carry him on, pass him through, and conduct him out of this his corruptible state, as from glory to glory, into the power of an endless life (without the intervening of sin), to the full and perfect securing of man's nature from all prevailing power of sin's assaults forever, which was not done by creation.

“The second occasion of man's fall was the freedom of his will, wherein the judging and desiring faculties of his mind were entirely committed by God to his own free motion and operation, upon the terms of the covenant he was brought into with God, which was to be dealt with according unto his works—to be rewarded with life or with death, as he should rightly order or abuse this liberty of action, with which God had invested him by way of trial and probation. That man had such a power of free will as this,

“First, the nature and tenor of the covenant he was taken into doth demonstrate, which is conditional in reference to the works of man; and God throughout deals with man under that covenant according to his works, strongly thereby asserting them to be man's own; so as the very reward which comes thereby is accounted to him of debt, even the thing which his own action (as left alone unto himself therein) hath brought upon him, and entitled him unto.

“Secondly, without such a power of free

will, man's first estate could not have been mutable, at least could never have changed into corruption; for if it had been necessary to him to have stood, he could not have fallen; and if it had been necessary to him to fall, God had thereby made himself the author of sin, which could not be.

“That which Adam was forbidden was not simply to forbear the use of his free will, but the evil and unlawful use of it, as (through an unwise discerning, and erroneous judging between the present temporary good which he saw, and the future durable excellency of the things unseen and but in hope) there did spring up an inordinate coveting and desire in him after the retaining of the first, to the despising and rejecting of the second.”

What is the meaning of this rich vein of spiritual argument and subtlety, divested of the thin veil of theological phrase which is flung around it, if it be not only another form of those purest aspirations which should be the glory of our nature, teaching us that there is a something within us that was designed for nobler purposes and achievements than have fallen to it in this world, and that, having for a time forfeited these blessings, still the liberty of free will and independent action remains, which, wisely directed, and regulated by the higher uses and refinements even of our imperfect intellect, will in the end bring Christ himself upon the earth, by raising the minds and thoughts of men up to within the level of his own? The reign of the saints Vane looked for was the perfection of the intellect of man. The *de amendatione intellectus* of Bacon might have been construed by Clarendon into another reign of saints of a similar description. For this great purpose, with an ever present view to that possible reign of wisdom upon earth, keeping constantly before him the sense that in the mission of Christ had been fulfilled the gracious purpose of the Creator of offering to man the redemption of his former shortsightedness and error, Sir Henry Vane passed his life in one unending strife with what he believed to be the temporal and the spiritual enemy of man; in the one case, to prevent the subjection of his powers to that tyranny of bad government which must deprave his will, and in the other, to unloose his conscience from those secular chains which must take from him eventually the liberty of thought and action by which only his spirit could aspire. This I believe to have been Vane's great theory—these the thoughts which, carried out into all their various and richest forms by the beauty and power of his genius, filled and stirred his mind when he spoke of the coming of Christ upon the earth, and his reign here in goodness and in glory.

In the night before his death he prayed in his prison with his children, and this was a portion of his prayer:

“The day approaches in which thou wilt decide this controversy, not by might nor by power, but by the spirit of the living God. The spirit will make its own way, and run through the whole earth. Then shall it be said, Where is the fury of the oppressor? Who is he that dares or can stand before the spirit of the Lord, in the mouth of his witnesses? Arise,

O Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered. Thy poor servant knows not how he shall be carried forth by thee this day, but, blessed be thy great name, that he hath whereof to speak in this great cause. When I shall be gathered to thee this day, then come thou in the ministry of thy holy angels that excel in strength. We have seen enough of this world, and thou seest we have enough of it. Let these my friends, that are round about me, commit me to the Lord, and let them be gathered into the family of Abraham, the father of the faithful, and become faithful witnesses of those principles and truths that have been discovered to them, that it may be known that a poor weak prophet hath been among them, not by the words of his mouth only, but by the voice of his blood and death, which will speak when he is gone." Here is the same lofty spirit, the same hope of the tranquil elevation of intellect in the world above the old influences of might and power.

When his friends were weeping around him on the morning of his execution, he bade them have faith and patience, for that the realization of all the Creator's promises held out for fulfilment in the world would surely come, when a sufficient number of the spirits of the just should have ascended into heaven. "Weep not," he said; "I have not the least reluctance or struggling in my spirit against death. I desire not to live; but my will is resigned up to God in all. *Why are you troubled? I am not.* You have need of faith and patience to follow the Lord's call. This ought chiefly to be in our eye, the bringing glory to our heavenly Father. Surely God hath a glorious design to carry on in the world, even the building up of David's throne to all generations; for he is completing all his precious stones, making them heaven-proof, and then laying them together in the heavenly mansions, with the spirits of the just, till it be a complete city. When the top stone thereof is laid, then will he come in all his glory." What is the groundwork of this noble idea, but that which I have described to be his pervading philosophical sense of the Messiah's advent, the gradual perfection of the moral and intellectual powers of mankind!

On the scaffold itself, these were among the latest words of his prayer: "Let thy servant speak something on the behalf of the nation wherein he hath lived. Lord, did we not exceed other nations in our day? Great things have been done by thee in the midst of us. O that thou wouldst look down in pity and compassion, and pardon the sins of this whole nation, and lay them not to their charge; and show them what is thy good and acceptable will, and

\* Immediately before he prayed he had addressed the people, and expressed to the same effect, but by a stronger paraphrase, this impression of the advent of a better day: "I shall not desire in this place to take up much time, but only, as my last words, leave this with you: 'That as the present storm we now lie under, and the dark clouds that yet hang over the Reformed churches of Christ, which are coming thicker and thicker for a season, were not unforeseen by me for many years passed, as some writings of mine declare; so the coming of Christ in these clouds, in order to a speedy and sudden revival of his cause, and spreading his kingdom over the face of the whole earth, is most clear to the eye of my faith, even that faith in which I die, whereby the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.'"

bring them into subjection thereunto. We humbly pray thee, O Lord, look down with compassion upon this great and populous city; cleanse away the impurity, sinfulness, and defilements thereof; cause their souls to delight in thy word, that they may live. Let a spirit of reformation and purity spring up in and among them with power; make them willing to lay down all that is dear to them for thee, that thou mayest give them a crown of life; that they may always desire and choose affliction, and to be exposed to the worst condition and hardest circumstances that can be brought upon them in this world, rather than sin against him that hath loved them and bought them with a price, that they might live to him in their bodies and in their spirits." Again, in these memorable and most touching words, the passionate yearning for that perfecting of his beloved country by the "spirit of reformation and purity" surmounts every other emotion.

With such aids as these, and considering the subject, so far as we may feel it practicable, in a congenial spirit, we do not find much difficulty in comprehending even Vane's theology! And this is what Baxter ridicules—Hume finds "absolutely unintelligible," and "exhibiting no traces of eloquence or common sense"—Anthony Wood foams in the mouth at, when he even mentions—Bishop Burnet professes an utter bewilderment about—Clarendon, in va-

\* The terms of Baxter's ridicule are worth giving. The closing passage may perhaps divert it of its sting! "His unhappiness lay in this, that his doctrines were so cloudily formed and expressed that few could understand them, and therefore he had few true disciples. The Lord Brooke was slain before he had brought him to maturity. Mr. Sterry is thought to be of his mind, as he was his intimate; but he hath not opened himself in writing, and was so famous for obscurity in preaching (being, said Sir Benj. Rudyard, too high for this world, and too low for the other), that he thereby proved almost barren also, and vanity and sterility were never more happily conjoined. Mr. Sprig is the chief of his more open disciples (too well known by a book of his sermons). This obscurity by some was imputed to his not understanding himself, but by others to design, because he could speak plainly when he listed: the two courses in which he had most success and spoke most plainly were, his earnest plea for universal liberty of conscience, and against the magistrates' intermeddling with religion, and his teaching his followers to *revile the ministry*, calling them ordinarily black coats, priests, and other names which then savoured of reproach; and those gentlemen that adhered to the ministry, they said were *priest-ridden*."—(Life, p. 75.) The "earnest plea for universal liberty of conscience" I regret to say I have not seen. No doubt it was one of the noblest of his works.

† This is Hume's deliberately recorded opinion. "This man, so celebrated for his Parliamentary talents, and for his capacity in business, has left some writings behind him. They treat, all of them, of religious subjects, and are absolutely unintelligible. No traces of eloquence or even of common sense appear in them."

‡ A short specimen will serve: "In sum, he was the Proteus of the times, a mere hotchpotch of religion, chief ringleader of all the frantic sectarians, of a turbulent spirit and working brain, of a strong composition of choler and melancholy, an inventor not only of whimsies in religion, but also of crutches in the state (as his several models testify), and composed only of treason, ingratitude, and baseness"—Ath. Ox., iii., 580.

§ His words are: "For though he set up a form of religion in a way of his own, yet it consisted rather in a withdrawing from all other forms, than in any new or particular opinions or forms; from which he and his party were called Seekers, and seemed to wait for some new and clearer manifestations. In these meetings he preached and prayed often himself, but with so peculiar a darkness, that, though I have sometimes taken pains to see if I could find out his meaning in his works, yet I could never reach it. And since many others have said the same, it may be reasonable to believe that he had somewhat that was a necessary key to the rest. His friends told me he learned to Origen's notion of a universal salvation of all, both of devils and the damned, and

rious passages, studiously endeavours to misrepresent or laugh at\*—and all modern writers, with one single exception,† have either studiously evaded, or spoken of with ingenuous pity or a wholesale contempt. The candid critic in the *Spectator*, who "had read Aristotle, and found him not such a fool as he thought him," showed greater ability and much more honesty than these critics of Sir Henry Vane.

But this subject cannot be brought too distinctly before the reader in an endeavour to do tardy justice to the memory of one of the greatest men of our history. He will bear inquiry best into the matters for which he has been the most vehemently assailed.

The peculiar action of the will in Vane's argument upon the fall of man receives illustration from another passage in his writings upon the relation of the will to all that is noblest in man's soul. "The will only is truly man's own, and the considerable part of the reasonable soul. On it depend the issues of good or evil, life or death. All the rest of a man, his understanding, memory, imagination, may be taken from him, altered, troubled by a thousand accidents. But the will is so much in our own power that it cannot be taken away, though its action may be hindered. 'Tis our own till we knowingly and freely give it away, which may be. And he that hath once absolutely given up his will to another is no more his own man. He hath left himself nothing of his own. 'Tis by the will we are good or evil, happy or unhappy."

His enthusiasm was indeed highly and passionately wrought on many incidental points of faith, but the character of his mind in all the practical applications of those exalted views was infinitely sober, subtle, well regulated, and exact. No worldly failures in his own case had the power of disheartening the great reliance with which "to the mark" he still press-

ed forward. "The goodness of any cause is not merely to be judged by the events, whether visibly prosperous or unprosperous, but by the righteousness of its principles; nor is our faith and patience to fail under the many fears, doubts, wants, troubles, and power of adversaries in the passage to the recovery of our long-lost freedom; for it is the same cause with that of the Israelites of old, of which we ought not to be ashamed or distrustful."

And in another most wise and tender passage of philosophy he speaks thus:

"Evils themselves, through the wise overruling providence of God, have good fruits and effects. The world would be extinguished and perish if it were not changed, shaken, and decomposed by a variety and interchangeable course of things, wisely ordered by God, the best physician. This ought to satisfy every honest and reasonable mind, and make it joyfully submit to the worst of changes, how strange and wonderful soever they may seem, since they are the works of God and nature, and that which is a loss in one respect is a gain in another.

"Let not a wise man disdain or ill resent anything that shall happen to him. Let him know those things that seem hurtful to him in particular, pertain to the preservation of the whole universe, and are of the nature of those things that finish and fill up the course and office of this world."

Of his views in regard to the necessity of that preparation of man for his better and wiser state, which has already been explained in a former passage to imply in its results that divine advent which his imagination took such fervent delight in, the following most striking passage from the *Retired Man's Meditations* will afford a farther illustration and example:

"But there is a duty of the day, a generation-work, respecting the time and circumstances of action, in which the lot of our life is cast, which calls upon us to use all lawful and righteous means that are afforded by the good hand of God, through the inward light and knowledge he vouchsafes, and outward providences and helps which he casts in, whereby to make way for, and to be hasting unto, the coming of that day of God wherein the old heavens and earth shall be rolled away as garments, yea, with the works that are therein, be burned up, and the new heavens and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness, shall be brought forth in their room.

"Our part is the same, therefore, in this, as in the practice of other righteous duties appertaining to us, the perfection whereof we cannot expect until the redemption of the body; and yet we are to be using all lawful means and endeavours to come as near the primitive pattern and rule as we can, in our whole practice throughout.

"So that when once we have well considered what rule Christ himself, if he were on earth, would exercise over men in protecting those that do well, and being a terror to evil works, as also in distributing righteousness equally and impartially unto all upon the grounds of right and just (which every one, in the measure of light they have attained, are acquainted with, and do acknowledge for the

to the doctrine of pre-existence."—(Hist. of his own Time, fol. 1734, i., 164.)

\* "Vane was a man not to be described by any character of religion, in which he had swallowed some of the fancies and extravagances of every sect or faction, and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other language than was peculiar to that time) a man above ordinances, unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect enthusiast, and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired, which so far corrupted his reason and understanding (which, in all matters without the verge of religion, was inferior to that of few men), that he did at some time believe *he was the person (!)* deputed to reign over the saints upon earth for a thousand years."—(Hist. of Rebellion, vi., 373.) I need not quote, as I might, fifty similar passages from his history: in charity it is right to add, that in private intercourse with his friends, even Clarendon could moderate something of the inveterate hostility with which, to the scaffold, he pursued Vane. In some remarks on "Cressy's answer to Stillingfleet" (reported in the *Biog. Brit.*), he thus speaks, with half candour, of one of his religious books: "Which when I had read, and found nothing of his usual clearness and ratiocination in his discourse, in which he used much to excel the best of the company he kept, and that the style thereof was very much like that of *Santa Sophia*, and that in a crowd of very easy words the sense was too hard to find out, I was of opinion that the subject-matter of it was of so delicate a nature that it required another kind of preparation of mind, and it may be another kind of diet, than men are ordinarily supplied with." This is more true than the writer intended, as applied to his own "preparation of mind," and that gross "diet" which withheld the pampered chancellor from sympathy with such a spirit as that of Sir Henry Vane.

† In an early number of the *Westminster Review* a very able notice appeared under the title of "Vane and Bunyan," which was written in the best spirit.

rule which they are willing to be concluded under, as to all their outward concerns), we ought in the way of Christ, and in the use of all lawful means, to be as near this in our practice as possible we may, in the rule over men, which we shall be either as principals or accessories in setting up, holding ourselves obliged in heartiness and freedom of mind to maintain."

In a previous memoir in this series I spoke of the extraordinary influence which the translation of the Bible had exerted in the world. To Vane it was, indeed, what Plato's "original type" may have been to the enfeebled and restless man of civilization, who wished, by such a comparison, to ascertain his precise position in the moral or intellectual scale. What he knew of its own original language\* gave additional strength to his passion for its study, and in the leisure he could abstract from public affairs it was seldom out of his hands.† It is no

\* "Hebrew words were fitted to the things they signified; there was a certain connexion between things and words. All other words, as they come less or more near to the Hebrew, do more or less significantly represent the things meant by them. The more any language recedes from the Hebrew, the more it is confounded by human changes and additions, the more obscure and difficult means are the words thereof for conveying the knowledge of things to us. Homer and other Greek poets and philosophers set themselves therefore to etymological learning, by reducing the primitive words in other languages to their Hebrew roots, and then the derivative to those principles. This they laboured in, as the most notable means conducive to the knowledge of things. Then Chrysippus, Demetrius, and abundance of others, wrote books of etymology. Then the Latins, receiving learning as well as the empire from the Greeks, steer the same course, in order to etymological discipline, as the choicest means to lead men into the knowledge of things. Cato, Varro, and other ancient and famous Latins, wrote many volumes to this purpose. Of later times, on the same account, did Julius Caesar, Scaliger, compose a hundred and ten books *de originibus*. Then Joseph Scaliger, son of Julius, Lipsius, Casaubon, and many others, steered the same course."—*Sikes's Thoughts of Vane*.

† Sikes thus describes one of Vane's domestic practices: "The usual practice of this sufferer was to spend an hour or two every evening with his family, or any other that were providentially there, and as much both morning and evening on the first day. He was of that truly bounteous, precisely communicative spirit noted in the Spouse: rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate, to make manifest the favour of the knowledge of Christ, that himself had deep and large experience of, in every place. His gravity, purity, and chasteness of spirit were very exemplary. He held out in the midst of all the late apostacies and changes. He was steadfast and immovable, always standing in the work of the Lord, and his labour was not in vain, as he well knew. So assiduous was he in continual searching of the Scriptures, waiting upon the Lord in faith and prayer for more full discoveries of his mind therein, that it was said of him, put him where you will, if he may have but a Bible, he is well enough; as Jansen (of whom the Jesuits in France) reckoned himself with Austin." In a subsequent passage Sikes farther illustrates the beautiful toleration of Vane, in describing his views of the institution of the Sabbath. They who so busily trouble themselves in legislating for "better observance" of that day, and would bestow upon mankind no portion of their care on any other, may read the passage with great advantage: "He accounted the Jewish Sabbath ceremonies and temporary, ending upon the coming of the Son of Man, who was Lord of the Sabbath day. And if he had thought that which is commonly observed in the room thereof to be rather a superstitious institution among Christians in imitation of the Jews, than that which hath any clear appointment in the Gospel, the apostle would not have him judged for it. 'One man,' says he, 'esteems one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth a day, regardeth it unto the Lord, and he that regardeth not the day to the Lord, he doth not regard it.' This I can say, he usually took the opportunity of spending more time in exercise and prayer in his family, or other Christian meetings, on that day than on any other. And will any yet say he was a Sabbath-breaker? If they do, see what company we may find for him under that imputation."

matter of surprise that such a mind as his should wander occasionally out of the rich treasures of thought, fancy, imagination, and feeling disclosed in that favourite study in their highest and most passionate forms, into fancies and speculations of its own on the various wonders of those primeval days when inspired teachers walked upon the earth, and angels are recorded to have sat down with men.

Even in such speculations observe still the pervading sense of what has been so variously exhibited in passages already given. He speaks of the creation, the nature, and the ministry of angels:

"These in their creation are described by the light which God made on the first day, Gen., i., 3, 4, when he said, 'Let there be light, and there was light; and God saw the light, that it was good;' approving this first work of his hands in the beginning of that day: and God, by his dividing the light from the darkness, signified the heavenliness of their frame and constitution, as they stand exalted and separate in their beings from all sensual life, in the form of invisible spirits, whereof the material heavens in their creation are the first shadow; which are called, Prov., viii., 26, 'the highest part of the dust of the world;' as David also (giving account of both their creations together), Psalm civ., 2-4, saith, 'Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain; who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariots; who walketh upon the wings of the wind; who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire;' in which posture and preparation, the Psalmist describes the word as he proceeds to the rest of the creation, vers. 5, 6, &c., intimating that as man in his bodily state was made dust of the ground, so the angels were made a flame of fire in their natural constitution."

He follows this up in a passage of rapt poetical fervour that would have been worthy of Milton:

"As thus they are this heavenly building, they are the first heavens, the tabernacle and clouds of heaven, or the air, for the daybreak and glorious sun of God's first appearance to run his race and finish his course in, whereby to enlighten the ends of the earth, and all things under heaven. These sons of this morning are the first light-bearers to the inhabitants of the first world, and therein are covering cherubs unto the Son in his own proper glory; and that they may be enabled to bear light, or the similitude of Christ in his first appearance, unto others, they are first the receivers of that light in themselves, in a spirituality of being and form fitted and suited thereunto, which accommodates them with the exercise of senses merely spiritual and inward, exceeding high, intuitive, and comprehensive: a manner of life, shadowing out the divine life in the name of the Father, whose voice is not heard at any time, nor shape seen, but is like a consuming fire, to burn up and slay whatever natural organ is conversant about it, or stands before the beams and rays of its most pure and invisible glory."

And into the exercise of even such senses, "spiritual and inward, high, intuitive, and com-

prehensive," it was the ardent hope of this great lover of his fellow-men to see even them one day conducted by the exercise of a purity of intellect and righteousness of will. Such also was the faith of Milton, expressed in later years, when of men and angels the "winged hierarch" spoke to Adam, as

"More refined, more spirituous and pure,  
As nearer to Him placed; or nearer tending,  
Each in their several active spheres assign'd,  
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds  
Proportioned to each kind. So from the root  
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves  
More airy, last the bright consummate flower  
Spirits odorous breathes: flow'rs and their fruit,  
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,  
To vital spirits aspire, to animal,  
To intellectual; give both life and sense,  
Fancy and understanding: whence the soul  
Reason receives, and reason is her being,  
Discursive, or intuitive; discourse  
Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,  
Differing but in degree, of kind the same.  
Wonder not, then, what God for you saw good  
If I refuse not, but convert, as you,  
To proper substance: *time may come when men  
With angels may participate, and find  
No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare. . . .*  
To whom the patriarch of mankind replied:  
O favourable spirit! propitious guest!  
Well hast thou taught the way that might direct  
Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set  
From centre to circumference, whereon  
In contemplation of created things  
By steps we may ascend to God."

These illustrations of the religious writings and speculations of Vane shall here be closed, for the present, with some extracts that bring us immediately back to the consideration of the subject which first led to their introduction. All Vane's enthusiasm, all his faith, only rendered him unboundedly tolerant of creeds the most opposed to his own.\* In the "Retired Man's Meditations," one of the most rigidly theological of his works, the direct assertion of perfect liberty of conscience is a pervading doctrine throughout; and he thus, in the chapter on magistracy, defines what the authority of a civil magistrate should be restricted to, as opposed to the exclusive and intolerant policy of the Presbyterians.

"When the Scripture saith that the rule of magistracy is over men, we are to understand by this term the proper sphere, bounds, and limits of that office, which is not to intrude itself into the office and proper concerns of Christ's inward government and rules in the conscience, but is to content itself with the outward man, and to intermeddle with the concerns thereof in reference to the converse which man ought to have with man, upon the grounds of natural justice and right, in things appertaining to this life.

"Magistracy, then, is the rule which God hath ordained to be exercised over the outward man, by man himself qualified thereunto, to act in righteousness and in the fear of the Lord in discharge of this his high and great trust; and so is an office merely respecting rule and government over men in their outward concerns,

\* "A man may be orthodox and sound in his judgment as to the principles of religion, and yet, wanting sincere love to Christ and his people, may fall short of heaven; and, on the contrary, another Christian may err and mistake in many points; and yet, having sincere love to the truths of Christ, according to that measure of light which God hath vouchsafed unto him, he may be saved. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth." This was ever his divine principle.

which is capable to be rightly used or not, according as the persons intrusted therewith are qualified and do exercise the same, the office of itself being good, and the end for which it is set up being according to God's ordinance and institution for the ministering of punishment to them that do ill, and encouragement and protection to them that do well.

"And men may lawfully arrive and attain unto this office and dignity either in an ordinary way, through the endeavours and free choice of men, or extraordinarily, by the immediate call of God himself to the exercise thereof, making those that are to obey 'willingly subject in that day of his power.'

"For the office itself, it is (as we have showed), in God's institution, a rule that is set up over the outward man in righteousness and in the fear of the Lord, obliging the persons intrusted with this power to put forth righteousness in all their actings that appertain to their public charge."

He afterward, in pursuing the subject, reverts to his old faith of the necessity of "working up to God" by constant changes, and improvements, and efforts to bring the institution to purity and perfection.

"And as in this, the principle of natural justice and right, in their highest improvement, is to be their rule, so the fear of the Lord should oblige them, in an humble dependency upon him, and trembling posture of mind before him, to be watchful in not suffering anything to be done by them that may carry in it hinderance or opposition to the breaking in of higher discoveries upon them as to the very exercise of the magistratical office, in the purity and perfection wherein it is promised to be brought forth in the last days by Christ himself, unto which they should always have willing and ready minds to make way and to submit, so that, considered such as God requires it to be, it is man's ruling over men in righteousness, and in the true fear of the Lord.

"And this Christ, in his own person, as the Son of Man, is perfectly qualified to do, whose right also it is, having all power in heaven and in earth put into his hands. And his saints, when fitted by him to sit upon the throne of the same glory with him, shall likewise be found prepared to bring forth even magistracy itself in its right exercise, exactly answering the end for which it was set up by God."

Where this aim is not followed, he shows the necessary tendency to corruption inherent in the offices of magistracy; and, as with a prophecy of some of the magistrates in these latter times, ends it thus: "We have already considered magistracy as in its corrupted, degenerated use: it is, in a manner, the throne and seat of the beast, serving to promote and advance the great design and interest of the devil in the world, whereby it doth become part of his kingdom, and hath its place and use in the government that anti-Christ keeps up to the oppressing and keeping under the dear saints and holy ones of the true and living God."

The last extract, from the same chapter of the *Retired Man's Meditations*, presents a view of the grand object of his whole political life, in direct association with his religious creed. As

the period when this was written Cromwell held the government.

"For if once the Lord be pleased so far to enlighten the minds of men in these nations, governors, and people, as to show them the good of magistracy, as it is in its primitive institution, and is held forth in promise to be restored in the last days, it will then be their desire and delight to inquire and consider, in a way of free debate and common consent, on behalf of the good people of these nations (who in all these great trials have stood faithful and unshaken as to the known cause they have been engaged in), how the rule over them may be brought nearest to its first institution and original pattern in the exercise and practice thereof among them (founded, as we have seen, upon the principles of natural right and just, and so exclusive to all private interest and personal concern of any singulars that shall be found to stand in competition with, or preference to, the good of the whole), and how that which is the ordinance and institution of God may become also the ordinance and statute of man, established in a free and natural way of common consent, to the reuniting of all good men as one man in a happy union of their spirits, prayers, and counsels to resist all common danger and opposition which by devils or men may be raised against them."

A wide gulf, then, it has been seen, separated Vane from the Presbyterian party on many of the most important questions of civil policy, but on the side of toleration with him stood also Cromwell, Marten, and St. John, such men as Whitelocke and Selden, and, indeed, the majority of the lawyers, who held with the Erastian doctrines. Milton, too, lent to that great cause the astonishing force of his genius; and in furtherance of its virtuous objects of freedom of speech and of the press, which were held to be the safest guarantees for a perfect freedom of conscience, published at this period his immortal "Areopagitica," and there anticipated, in words of fire, the defeat of the sect of Presbyterians: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself, like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her, as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam; purging and unscaling her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

Lastly, with these great leaders were associated the sect of the Independents. These men had arrived, by somewhat different means, at the same result on the question of liberty of conscience. Their religious zeal was intensely fervid, but they disapproved equally the Presbyterian and Episcopal systems. They held that a church was a body of Christians assembled in one place, appropriated for their worship, and that every such body was complete in itself; that they had a right to draw up the rules by which they thought proper to be regulated, and that no man not a member of their assembly, and no body of men, was entitled to

interfere with their proceedings. Demanding toleration on these grounds, they felt that they were equally bound to concede and assert it for others; and they preferred to see a number of churches with different sentiments and institutes within the same political community, to the idea of remedying the evil and exterminating error by means of exclusive regulations, and the menaces and severities of punishment.\* To this illustrious sect belonged nearly the whole of the army of Manchester.

Such was the force arrayed against the Presbyterians; a force whose numerical weakness in the House of Commons and the Assembly of Divines was counterbalanced by its growing influence among the common people and in the army, and by the superior reason and power of its leaders. The great and manifold struggles which ensued are not, therefore, to be considered, what the historians have been fond of naming them, struggles between two sects. The "Independents," as the general body opposed to the Presbyterians suffered themselves, for party convenience, to be called, were, it is seen, many—bound in union by a common love of liberty of speech and of religion. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, were one—devoted singly and solely to half measures of popular government, and to entirely compulsory measures of religious intolerance; for in the questions of religion at this period we never fail to see comprised the most valuable or the most dangerous maxims of civil government. The House of Lords, and almost all the men of great wealth on the side of the Parliament, secretly or openly favoured the Presbyterians, for the very reason that such opinions in church government were most favourable to their own limited political views. They were tired of the war, and anxious for a compromise. They also showed, on various occasions, an alarm lest the king should be brought too low. "They did not desire an entire victory. What they wished for was an accommodation between the crown and the aristocracy, in which each of them might secure certain favourite objects, and be enabled to dictate to the nation."

Such was the state of parties at the close of the year 1644, when the reverses, still continued, of the English Parliamentary forces, and the presence of the army of the Covenant,

\* Apologetical Narration of the Independents. Godwin, i., 337.

† But as in the House of Commons, so in this assembly, the "Independent" members were by far the most able. Two of the most considerable of their adversaries have given sketches of them, which will be thought authentic. Clarendon says, "The Independents were more learned and rational than the Presbyterians; and though they had not so great congregations of the common people, yet they infected and were followed by the most substantial and wealthy citizens, as well as by others of better condition." And Bailie, one of the deputies from Scotland, sent to watch over the interests of Presbyterianism in the Assembly, relates of them that "truly they speak much, and exceedingly well." And elsewhere, "truly, if the cause were good, the men have plenty of learning, wit, eloquence, and, above all, boldness and stiffness, to make it out."

‡ Among them Mr. Godwin justly counts Erastians, Anabaptists, Millennarians, Fifth Monarchy men; individuals who even in these times did not borrow their creed from the country in which they were born, but thought like citizens of the universe; and sects, the very names of which have perished, all embarked in the sacred cause against Presbyterian usurpation, and a compulsory uniformity of religious worship and belief.

pressed hard against the great leaders of the minority in the House of Commons.\* Vane called up Cromwell from the army, and with many significant expressions, "a plea for tender consciences" was presented at the same time to the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and the Assembly of Divines; enforced in the Commons with consummate power by Vane, Cromwell, and Saint John; in the House of Lords by Lord Say; and in the Assembly by the leading ministers of the Independents. This proved an alarming check to the Presbyterians, who were driven, in consequence, to consent to a sort of compromise, and to establish a "directory for public worship," which left much to the will or the capacity of the minister who practised under it.

Charles seems to have been much struck at this time with the capacity and power exhibited by Vane, and entered into overtures of negotiation with him and Saint John. They humoured them only that they might the better acquaint themselves with the king's exact design, taking care, meanwhile, to communicate everything that passed to the speaker, to a committee of the House of Commons to which they belonged, and to the Scots commissioners, that their conduct might be free from suspicion. But Essex, not knowing this, and getting some hint of the matter, laid a complaint against these two as traitors to the cause before the House of Lords. They were, of course, most honourably acquitted.† Essex himself, at the same time, was thanked for his vigilance and zeal.

The open and acknowledged treaty of Uxbridge followed, which need not be detailed in these pages.‡ The names of Sir Henry Vane the younger and Oliver Saint John we find to have been added, by a special vote, to the commissioners for the Parliament. It is enough to show the temper of the king in entering on this treaty, to show that it was impossible success

could have ever attended it. "As to my calling those at London a Parliament," he wrote to the queen during the preliminaries for the negotiation, "if there had been two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did nowise acknowledge them to be a Parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherwise; and, accordingly, it is registered in the council books, with the council's unanimous approbation." Again he writes on a subsequent day: "I assure thee that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my commissioners are so well chosen (though I say it), that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them; which, upon my word, are such as we had formerly determined on." "Believe," he once more writes to Henrietta, "that I have a little more wit than to place confidence in the fidelity of perfidious rebels." Upon the king the failure of that treaty rested, and on the king's head at last fell all the penalties of that invincible spirit of treachery which nothing could cope with or subdue, so long as a vestige of power or even life remained to him—so long as the narrowest loophole was still left through which he could yet catch a glimpse of the darling authority of an absolute throne.

The opening of the campaign of 1645 was rendered memorable by one of the most masterly strokes of policy, emanating from Vane and Cromwell, that had yet distinguished the statesmanship of the times, and which proved eventually, and that very soon, decisive of the fate of the war. This was the self-denying ordinance and the new model. It had been obvious for a considerable time to Vane and Cromwell, that Essex, Waller, and Manchester himself, all evidently temporizing, and afraid to look steadily at the result of one great and uncompromised victory, must be removed from their command, and the military system of the Parliamentary forces completely renovated, before anything like a perfect success could be looked for. Up to this time they had had sufficient proof that "their victories, so gallantly gotten, and in which they had so eminently experienced the favour of Heaven, had been of no avail;" that "a summer's triumph had proved but a winter's story, and the game, however it seemed well in autumn, was to be played over again in the spring." They felt not less, that if things went on much longer thus, these very leaders might possibly be made instruments in the hands of the Presbyterians for the betrayal of what they held to be the most valuable conditions of their cause. The authorship of this great remedy now resolved upon, which should have the effect, without personal insult, of removing these obnoxious men, and accompanying with that removal a reorganization and reinforcement of the army, is ascribed by Clarendon to Vane. It was, no doubt, the result of deep and anxious deliberation among all the chief men of the Independents.

It was opened in the House of Commons on the 9th of December, 1644. On that day the House resolved itself into a committee to consider of the sad condition of the kingdom i

\* The spirit of the four Scotch commissioners deputed to London to watch over the interests of the Covenant may be gathered from the following: "We purpose," says Baillie, one of the commissioners, "not to meddle in haste with a point of such high consequence (the establishment of uniformity in church government), till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments."

† Journals, Jan. 17. Baillie, i., 426. Hist. of Com., i., 360.

‡ Whitelocke, who was one of the commissioners, gives a graphic sketch of this temporary reunion of the chief members of the hostile parties (all Englishmen—once friends!) on this mutual ground. "The commissioners for the treaty on both parts met at Uxbridge, and had their several quarters; those for the Parliament and all their retinue on the north side of the town, and those for the king on the south side, and no intermixture of the one party or their attendants with the other; the best inn of the one side was the rendezvous of the Parliament's commissioners, and the best inn of the other side of the street was for the king's commissioners. The evening that they came to town, several visits passed between particular commissioners of either party; as Sir Edward Hyde came to visit Mr. Hollis and Mr. Whitelocke, the Lord Culpepper visited Sir Henry Vane, and others of the king's commissioners visited several of the Parliament's commissioners, and had long discourses about the treaty, and to persuade one another to a compliance. Mr. Whitelocke visited Sir Edward Hyde, and Mr. Palmer, and Sir Richard Lane, and others, and several of the Parliament's commissioners visited divers of the king's commissioners, and had discourses with them tending to the furtherance of the business of the treaty. The town was so exceedingly full of company, that it was hard to get any quarter except for the commissioners and their retinue; and some of the commissioners were forced to lie two of them in a chamber together in field-beds, only upon a quilt, in that cold weather, not coming into a bed during all the treaty." (Jan. 29, 1644, p. 122.)

\* Rushworth, vi., 3, 4.

reference to the intolerable burdens of the war, and the little prospect there was of its being speedily brought to a conclusion. In this committee there was a general silence for a good space of time, one "looking upon another to see who would break the ice,"\* when it was at last broken by Cromwell. "Without," he said, "a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings like soldiers of fortune beyond the sea to spin out the war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament. For what do the enemy say? nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this: that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands, and what by interest in Parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any: I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power." Cromwell then went on to deprecate any investigation into the conduct of the commanders. He especially recommended "to their prudence not to insist upon a complaint as to the oversight of any commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever." He observed that he was himself conscious of oversights, and well knew that they could scarcely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waving a strict inquiry into the cause of these things, he exhorted the committee to apply itself to some general remedy, "which, without in any way countenancing the particular censure of individuals, might best in future shut out those evils under which they were at present suffering." The memorable debate which followed is unfortunately not reported. It ended, however, in a great discussion on the following resolution: "That no member of either House of Parliament shall, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, military or civil, and that an ordinance be brought in to that purpose." Vane, who had reserved himself for this resolution, spoke at great length upon it, and with even more than his usual eloquence.† Whitelocke, separating himself from the party he generally acted with, was its chief opponent. Hollis and the other heads of the Presbyterians seconded him, but without effect. Vane and Cromwell had selected the question with a masterly judgment and foresight; for the errors in the conduct of the war had been so apparent, that many of the Presbyterians were obliged on this occasion to declare against their chiefs. It does not appear, indeed, that there was more than one division in the progress of the ordinance through the Commons, but that involved its entire spirit; when, on the 17th of December, a proviso was offered to be added, that the ordinance, and anything contained in it, should not extend to the Earl of Essex, Lord-general. Upon this occasion the

numbers stood, for the clause, 93; against it, 100. The ordinance had been reported to the House on the 11th, was passed on the 19th, and was carried up to the Lords on the 21st of December.

Every device was resorted to in that House to defeat by delay what they were most reluctant openly to propose. Three times the House of Commons sent up messages, desiring expedition, and representing that any delay in passing the ordinance would be dangerous—might be destructive. A select committee was then nominated by the Lords to consider of alterations to be introduced, and it is not a little characteristic that of the committee, consisting of ten members, four peers, Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh, were persons to whose disadvantage the law would particularly operate. A paper of reasons originated in this committee against the substance of the ordinance. In this paper it was observed, that it deprives the peers of that honour which in all ages had been given them, since they had evermore been principally active, to the effusion of their blood, and the hazard of their estates and fortunes, in regaining and maintaining the fundamental laws of the land, and the rights and liberties of the subject; nor was there ever any battle fought for these ends wherein the nobility were not employed in places of chiefest trust and command. It was added, that the proposed measure was by no means equal to the lords and commons of England, since, though some of the gentry and commons were excepted as members of Parliament, yet that the rest might have liberty to discharge their duty, whether in civil office or the field, whereas the ordinance was proposed to operate as a universal disqualification of the whole hereditary nobility of the country. Another objection was, that the tendency of the ordinance appeared to them to be such, that, in attempting to put it in force, everything would be thrown into confusion in the armies; and that, therefore, till the "new model" of what was proposed to succeed was produced, they were scarcely in a position to judge the measure fairly. Finally, after repeated conferences between the two Houses, the ordinance was rejected by the Lords on the 13th of January.\*

The last-named objection was at once, with masterly promptitude, laid hold of by the statesmen of the lower House, and the very day after the delivery of the reasons from the Lords, the committee of both kingdoms reported to the Commons a new model for the constitution of the army. This consent of the committee of both kingdoms, including the four Scotch commissioners, is supposed to have been achieved by Vane's mastery over the Marquis of Argyle, who had just arrived in London.† It was another decisive advance in influence secured for the Independents.

On the 19th of January the scheme of the new model was laid before the House of Commons, and the names of the principal officers who were to have command in this army were put to the vote on the 21st. The three armies of the Parliament were to be formed into one, consisting of 14,000 foot, 6000 cavalry, and

\* Rushworth, vi., 4.

† The report of the debate in Clarendon, including Vane's speech, is all a gross forgery. (See Hist. of Com., i., 283-398.)

\* Hist. of Com., i., 402, 403. † Clarendon. Godwin.



1000 dragoons, under a general-in-chief, lieutenant-general, major-general, thirty colonels, and the due proportion of other officers. Sir Thomas Fairfax was named general-in-chief, and Skippon major-general. Among the colonels appears the name of Algernon Sidney, and other most eminent men. Among the inferior officers were Ireton, Desborough, and Harrison. The name of the officer who was designed for the second place in the command, and the generalship of the cavalry, was kept in reserve, to be filled up, as it afterward appeared, with the name of Cromwell. This scheme of the new model passed the Lords on the 15th of February, creating an army of 22,000 men, to be principally draughted from the old armies.

A second "self-denying ordinance" was now transmitted to the Lords. Great misconception has arisen in consequence of the difference between these two ordinances in a very material point, though both called by the same name. Mr. Godwin has briefly and impressively stated the difference thus: "It has been commonly imagined that the Independents, after having carried a measure so full of boasted disinterestedness, acted a part directly contrary to their professions, smuggled in one exception after another, Cromwell the first; enriched themselves with the spoils of the nation; and silently and imperceptibly antiquated the law which had, at the moment, been their great instrument for defeating their adversaries of the Presbyterian party. But this way of stating the question is by no means exact. The original 'self-denying ordinance,' as it was called, directed that no member of either House of Parliament should, during the present war, hold any office, civil or military, such office being conferred by the authority of both or either of the Houses. *This ordinance was defeated in the House of Lords by the machinations of the Presbyterians, and never passed into a law.* A second ordinance, which was called by the same name, was brought in a short time after, and was attended with a more successful event. The enactment of this ordinance was, that every member of Parliament was hereby discharged from whatever office, civil or military, *that had been conferred by the authority of Parliament.* The former edict was prospective, and had more of the ordinary character of a law; the second prescribed something immediately to be done, and no more.\* What was the cause of the striking difference between the first and the second 'self-denying ordinance,' must be a matter purely of conjecture. It is not improbable that some of the great leaders of the Independent interest began, in this interval, to suspect that the advantage of permanently separating the legislative character and that of an officer, civil or military, was more specious than real. Besides, as their adversaries had contrived to defeat their measure in the upper House, they felt less delicacy towards them, and constructed an edict which more plainly pointed at the *individual change* in the public service, which they held to be immediately required. The new law, therefore, was a temporary expedient, and the general principle was left as before."†

\* That is, it did not prevent the discharged officers from recovering their offices again. † Hist. of Com., ii., 41.

In the progress of this second measure through the House of Commons, it is to be remarked, there appears to have been only one division, which occurred on the twenty-first of January, when it was put to the vote whether Fairfax should be nominated commander-in-chief, and the numbers stood (on the question whether the nomination should be then made), for the affirmative, 101, for the negative, 69. When the ordinance came back from the Lords, however, a second division took place on an amendment that had been introduced in that House, purporting that the nomination of officers, which was vested in the commander-in-chief, should be subject to the approbation of the two Houses of Parliament; and the numbers stood, for the affirmative, 92, for the negative, 63, the majority being with the Presbyterians. This was not a point, however, of vital importance with Vane and the Independents, whose victory, in the achievement of the measure as it now stood, had been triumphantly complete.

Essex, Manchester, Warwick, and Denbigh had appeared in the House of Lords the day before the ordinance passed, and laid down their commissions. Acknowledgments were made by the Commons of their great and faithful services, and pensions were voted to them.

The army was now in the hands of the Independents. Its soldiers were nearly all members of that communion. Unadorned by rank, ungraced by any of the eminences of station, they were filled with religious zeal and an irrepressible enthusiasm. Each man felt as if the cause rested with him, each man had the sense that he was qualified to be a teacher to others. They were equally stimulated by the love of liberty, and the love of that scheme of religious faith which each man espoused. "They respected themselves; they believed that they were in a state of grace; and they were incapable of allowing themselves in anything unworthy of the high calling with which God had honoured them. They were vessels of glory, set apart for the purposes of heaven. As they had these feelings and impulses in common among them, so these feelings and impulses served them as a bond of indissoluble union. They advanced into the field chanting the psalms contained in the Scriptures, and fought, as they expressed it, with 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon.'"

But then they were not lords, nor had seen dozens of campaigns, and infinite was the laughter and contempt they at first inspired. It was not given to all to see with the subtle and far-piercing glance of Vane or of Cromwell. "Truly this army was no way glorious," observes May, "either in the dignity of its commanders or the antiquity of the soldiers. Never did an army go forth to war who had less the confidence of their own friends, or were more the object of contempt to their enemies, and yet who did more bravely deceive the expectations of them both." Their successes he ascribes, under God, to their moral and religious as well as military discipline. "The usual vices of camps," he adds, "were here restrained. The discipline was strict. No theft, no wantonness, no oaths, no profane words, could

\* Godwin, i., 464.

escape without the severest castigation, by which it was brought to pass that in this camp, as in a well-ordered city, passage was safe and commerce free." To all this the king's army offered a melancholy contrast, which set off with still greater lustre the Parliamentary virtues. "The officers took pride in the profligacy of their language and their lives; and the common soldiers were, out of the field, a disorderly and dissolute rabble."\* What could the king's superiority in numbers, or his many other advantages, avail against this single circumstance alone! Most wisely had Vane and Cromwell judged. The Royalists were doomed to fall in the first great battle.

The single danger to be apprehended does not seem to have hitherto in any way occurred to Vane. To have suspected the virtue of the great soldier of the cause he had most at heart, to have doubted the reality of Cromwell's Republican fervour and enthusiasm, would have been equivalent to a surrender of the high faith and hope which sustained him in the mighty struggle he was engaged in.

The army of the new model marched resolutely on against Charles. His headquarters were at Oxford; he had a preponderance in the midland counties; was master in almost the whole of the western districts; had power in the north; and was complete master of Wales. In a few short weeks he was helpless! The new leaders in whom the power was vested struck at once against Charles himself, and kept him in pursuit. He had moved from Oxford in a northern direction, with a view, it is supposed, to co-operation with Montrose. The Scottish army advancing to the south, impelled by the English leaders, raised the siege of Carlisle, and interposed to foil his plan. Fairfax meanwhile had sat down before Oxford. Charles, upon this, at once turned back, and with considerable vigour and resolution assaulted the garrison of Leicester. Alarmed for the safety of the eastern counties, Fairfax immediately raised the siege of Oxford, and resumed his pursuit of Charles, who had moved from Leicester, fixed his headquarters at Daven-try, and betaken himself to the pleasures of the chase, while his soldiers ravaged and plundered the neighbouring country. Fairfax gradually and silently advanced, was joined by Cromwell near Northampton, and they both together took Charles by surprise near the fatal town of Naseby. At eleven at night a council of war was summoned in the Royalist camp; and with that careless and courageous gallantry which, whatever their other vices may have been, always distinguished the aristocratic officers of Charles's army, it was resolved, notwithstanding their critical position, "not only to give, but to advance and offer, battle."

The armies met at Naseby, upon a fallow field about a mile in breadth. The king led his centre in person, and found himself opposite to Fairfax and Skippon. Rupert commanded on the right, and (appointed at Cromwell's request, and invested with rank for the occasion) Ireton fronted him. Sir Marmaduke Langdale, on the left, was opposed by Oliver Cromwell. The word of the Cavaliers was "Queen Mary" (Henrietta Maria)—of the Parliamentarians,

"God our strength." The Royalists commenced the battle by advancing at a quick step, "with alacrity and resolution."† The van of the Parliamentary centre was broken by the charge, and the troops fell back upon the rear, as they had been commanded, in such necessity, to do. Skippon was severely wounded by a shot in the side, and Fairfax desired he would leave the field; but "the brave old man (says Rushworth) answered, 'He would not stir so long as a man would stand,' and kept the field to the end of the battle." Fairfax now advanced himself with a body of reserve, and the battle raged anew. Not content to exercise the functions of a captain, Fairfax grappled personally with the foe, galloped through the thickest of the fray, encouraged by dauntless example the brave, and shamed the timid, if any such were there. His helmet was beaten to pieces, but he continued to ride about bareheaded, and in this state happening to come up with his body-guard, commanded by Colonel Charles Doyley, the latter respectfully rebuked him for thus hazarding his person, "wherein lay the safety of the whole army and of the good cause, to be riding bareheaded among the showering bullets," at the same time offering him his own helmet. Fairfax put it by, saying, "Tis well enough, Charles."‡

The battle, meanwhile, had assumed a terrible aspect on either wing. Rupert began with his usual impetuosity, and bore down his adversaries in spite of the astonishing resistance of Ireton; while Ireton himself, wounded in the thigh with a pike, in the face with a halbert, having at the same time his horse killed under him, was made prisoner, though he afterward escaped back to the Parliamentarians. But now, while Rupert pursued the flying horse of the Parliament, and afterward vainly amused himself with summoning their park of artillery, Cromwell was deciding the fortune of the day (according to his custom) on the right wing. He attacked Sir Marmaduke Langdale, first with a close fire of carbines, next at the sword's point; broke and routed his cavalry, and drove them a mile from the field of battle, wholly beyond the possibility of farther concert with the Royalist infantry; then, with that consummate prudence which outshone even his extraordinary valour, the victorious Cromwell, unlike the victorious Rupert, returned to the aid of his struggling commander, and, falling on Charles's weary infantry, put them to instant route. One regiment alone preserved its order unbroken. "One Royalist corps," says Rushworth, "stood like a rock, and, though twice desperately charged, would not move an inch." At last, however, Fairfax, directing Doyley to make a third charge in front, simultaneously attacked them in the rear, pierced them in all directions, and, slaying an ensign with his own hand, seized the colours, and gave them to a common soldier to hold. The soldier, unable to resist the temptation, boasted among his comrades that he had seized those colours himself, and the boast went back to Fairfax. "Let him retain the honour," said that great general; "I have enough besides."

\* Rushworth. Hist. from Mackintosh.

† Life of Fairfax, in Hartley Coleridge's *Biographia Britannica*—a most interesting and charmingly-written book. And see Whitelocke, June 14.

‡ History from Mackintosh, v. 363.

The king behaved with his accustomed bravery. When he saw his infantry routed and his affairs so desperate, he placed himself at the head of what remained of his cavalry, and implored them to stand the coming shock. "One charge more," he cried, "and we recover the day." It was vain; they were not in a condition to do it; Rupert had joined them too late; they fled, and left Fairfax and Cromwell masters of the field. Two thousand men had been slain—nearly an equal number on both sides; but Charles left behind him 5000 prisoners, of whom 1000 were officers, his whole artillery, a hundred stand of colours, with the standard royal, the king's baggage, with the cabinet containing his private papers and correspondence with the queen, the baggage of the army, including the plunder of Leicester, the royal coaches, the whole spoil of the camp—everything! The first civil war was decided by that memorable day, and the disclosure of all the treacheries and infidelities of the king's correspondence\* was a weapon in the hands of the Independent leaders which, until the very termination of the struggle, they used with terrible effect.

Such was the first memorable result of Vane's great policy in the matter of the self-denying ordinance and the new model, and for that reason this battle has been detailed. In the field of civil polity, he was meanwhile pursuing other objects of scarcely less importance.

He had now directed his attention to the state of the representation in the House of Commons. The civil war had necessarily purged that house of the Royalist members, and also of others who had selected the policy of temporizing or of observing a strict neutrality. The war itself had been attended with memorable vicissitudes; for, as we have seen, in the winter of 1642, and in the autumn of 1643, expectations even ran strongly in favour of the success of the royal party, and it was the natural consequence of these vicissitudes to cause farther desertions. The precise number of the House of Commons, according to the returns in 1640, appears to have been 506. The highest numbers that are to be observed upon any division occur on the 1st of March following, and amount, taken together, to 383, including the tellers.† About the time of the king's declaration, after the war began, that only 80 of the 500 commoners, and only 15 or 16 of the 100 peers remained, the divisions certainly ran very low; but this was accident, and "could only be used to colour a party declaration." On the 9th of February following, the numbers rose as high as 201. We have seen that the numbers were nearly as great upon a vote respecting the self-denying ordinance in Decem-

\* It appeared, among other things, on the publication of this correspondence, that at the Oxford treaty he had secretly registered in the council book his protest that, in calling the Lords and Commons at Westminster a Parliament, he did not acknowledge them as such; that he looked upon them as banded traitors, to whom he owed neither forgiveness nor good faith; that he termed his own followers, of both Houses, assembled at Oxford, a "base," "mutinous," "mongrel Parliament;" that he designed bringing into England an army of Roman Catholics from Ireland, and a foreign army under the Duke of Lorraine, a popish prince—contrary to his express and solemn word. *History from Mackintosh*, vi., 2. And see *Journals and Parliamentary History*, or the 5th vol. of the *Harleian Miscellany*.

† See Godwin's *History*, ii., 23, et seq.

ber, 1644. At the time of assembling the mock, or, as Charles himself called it, the "mongrel" Parliament at Oxford, on the 22d of January in that year, the Commons ordered a call of the House, which took place on the same day that the king had fixed for his followers at Oxford, and the numbers appear to have been divided as follow: 280 members answered to their names at Westminster; 100 were excused, as being absent in the service of Parliament in their several counties; and 118 at Oxford signed the letter to Essex of the 27th of the same month, calling on him to interpose for the restoration of peace. There are, therefore, only eight individuals unaccounted for in this computation.\*

It is scarcely necessary to observe that one of the conditions of the civil war was to impose on the House of Commons itself the necessity, unavoidable in such a state of revolution, of declaring such persons as were most forward to engage in hostilities against them disabled from sitting thereafter in that Parliament; and in all the earlier instances, this vote of disability had been accompanied with the direction that a new writ should be issued for filling up the place of the member thus declared incapable. But here the affair stopped. Agreeably to the customary forms, the speaker issued his warrant to the clerk of the crown in chancery for the granting a new writ, to the originating of which the great seal was necessary; but the lord-keeper had carried off the great seal to the king at York in May, 1642, therefore the order to the speaker had necessarily miscarried; and from this time the question of introducing new members seems to have lain untouched until the 30th of September, 1644. On that day it was voted by the Commons that the House should, on a future day that was specified, take the subject into consideration. The actual decision on the question, however, was from time to time deferred,† and it was not till August of the following year that any progress was made. It was so managed that a petition was at that time presented from the borough of Southwark, praying that they might be authorized to elect two fresh representatives in the room of the first they had, one of whom was dead, and the other disabled by a vote of the House. This served as a signal for entering on a proceeding, which had certainly, by Vane, Saint John, and the other leaders of the Independents, been already determined on. On the 21st it was decided by a majority of three that new writs should be issued for Southwark, Bury St. Edmunds, and the cinque port of Hythe. This beginning was speedily pursued: 146 new members were introduced into the Parliament in the remainder of the year 1645, and 69 in the course of the following year. Among those at present introduced, we find the most honest, virtuous, and every way illustrious names of Fairfax, Blake, Ludlow, Algernon Sidney, Ireton, Skippon, Massey, and Hutchinson.‡

This, then, was another victory for the Independents. The Presbyterians and the Scots commissioners, however, disabled in a great

\* See the *Journals*. Whitelocks, p. 60. Rushworth, v., 573; and Godwin, ii., 27.

† Godwin, ii., 28.

‡ Ludlow, i., 169, 170. Godwin, ii., 41. *Notitia Parliamentaria*.

part by the turn events had taken since the new modelling of the army, and astonished beyond measure at the decisive victory of Naseby, began to see the necessity of resorting to some expedient of rallying their strength, which, judiciously managed, was still superior in numbers. While they bethought themselves of what they must do, Cromwell's letter after the battle of Naseby was read from the chair. "Honest men," he wrote, "have served you faithfully in this action. I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country should be left to trust God for the liberty of his conscience." The old question again started up: the Presbyterians insisted on their claims of an exclusive and intolerant church discipline; the Independents met them with all the force of conscious reason, and the accession of that reputation for it which recent military events had given them. A second sort of accommodation was effected, and the parties once more rested for a while.

Charles, defeated and almost helpless, was now at Oxford. He felt the necessity of taking some step for personal safety; he saw it was impossible that another army could be got together, and was casting in his own mind the relative advantages of throwing himself upon London for a treaty, or of making the best of his way to the Scottish army in the north. Here the striking attitude taken by Vane and the Independents appears to have affected him once more, and he proposed to Ashburnham to sound the Independents through Vane. Two letters remain in the Clarendon state papers addressed in the king's name by Ashburnham to Sir Harry Vane the younger. In these he pledges himself that, if Presbytery were insisted on, he would join Vane and the Independents with all his powers in "rooting out that tyrannical government." No answer on the part of Vane has been found. It is likely that he returned no answer.\* It was impossible that a mind so subtle and acute could have brought itself to place confidence in the good faith of such a proposal. In the Naseby disclosures it had been made manifest that professions and protestations cost Charles nothing; that he held everything fair that was done in negotiating with an enemy; that he never talked of peace but with a crafty intention; "and that he never made a concession that he was not at the time considering how he should retract it."

The incident only testified to the strength of Vane's influence and party. A passage from Whitelocke's memorials of this period may be quoted for the same purpose: under the dates of October the 15th and 20th, he states, in one instance, "I lived with," in another, "I dined with, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Solicitor (St. John), and other grandees of that party, and was kindly treated by them, as I used to be by the other." The cautious lawyer, though voting on questions of religious liberty with Vane and St. John, had evidently never before committed himself thus far.

The king's spirit of intrigue, however, was

irresistible. His object was by some means or other to force himself into London, where he trusted his presence might work some kind of miracle in support of his prostrate cause. To this end he made the following extraordinary proposal of a treaty: that he himself should come to London with 300 followers, under the assurance and security of the two Houses of Parliament, the commissioners for Scotland, the corporation of the metropolis, and the chief commanders of the English and Scotch armies, for forty days; at the expiration of which he should be free to repair, at his own choice, to his garrison of Oxford, Worcester, or Newark. In the same message he repeated his Uxbridge proposition, that the military power should be vested for three years in commissioners, to be nominated half by himself and half by the Parliament, or in any other way that might be satisfactory to both parties. To render the point more intelligible, the king tendered in his message the names of thirty persons for commissioners, and among them were the names of Vane, Fairfax, Cromwell, and Hollis. This was the falsest proposal he had yet made, and the Independent leaders at once detected its falsehood. It was merely one of the old resources to strive to place the Parliament, if possible, in a false position. In the very midst of the subsequent measures he took to advance the same object, it was afterward found he had written thus to Digby: "Now, for my own particular resolution, I am endeavouring to get to London, so that the conditions may be such as a gentleman may own, and that the rebels may acknowledge me king, being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me for extirpating one the other, that I shall be really king again. I will conclude with this assurance, that whatsoever becomes of me, by the grace of God, I will never forsake the Church, my friends, nor my crown."

It would be tedious, and it is unnecessary, to follow the course of events after this period through the various changes which carried Charles to the Scotch camp, which subsequently induced the Scots to surrender him to the Parliament, and which ended in the violent struggles between the Presbyterian and Independent parties in the House of Commons, as to the final disposal of his person and dignity, and the new settlement of the government of the kingdom.

Clarendon has two remarks in his history which may be properly introduced here. He observes of the discomfort of the Scotch commissioners after the decision of the first civil war: "They had long had jealousy of Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane, and all that party, which they saw increased every day, and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the council, and in the city. Their sacred vow and covenant was mentioned with less reverence and respect, and the Independents, which comprehended many sects in religion, spake publicly against it, of which party Cromwell and Vane were the leaders, with very many clergymen, who were the most popular preachers, and who in the Assembly of Divines had great authority; so that the Scots plainly perceived that, though they had gone as far towards the destruction

\* A misapprehension of the whole of this incident by Dr. Lingard is ably pointed out and corrected in the History from Mankintosh.

of the Church of England as they desired, they should never be able to establish their Presbyterian government, without which they should lose all their credit in their own country, and all their interest in England."\* And in a subsequent passage of singular incorrectness he adds: "The truth is, though that party was most prevalent in the Parliament, and comprehended all the superior officers of the army (the general only excepted, who thought himself a Presbyterian), yet there were only three men, Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton, who governed and disposed all the rest according to their sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own party, nor would their party at that time have been so numerous and considerable if they had known, or but imagined, that they had entertained those thoughts of heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover."†

Upon this, it is worth while to inquire what these "dark designs" were that are here imputed to Vane. The lesson in politics which his life illustrated and enforced cannot be studied too well, and it has never yet been exhibited in that most impressive form which it assumes when, upon the great actions of his life, the rarer political writings he left behind him throw the light of their eloquence and wisdom.

The majority of historians speak of Vane as a purely theoretical Republican, with great wisdom in the means he employed, but with the utmost absurdity in the ends he aimed at: in a word, the owner of a political faith not reducible to this world, and only made up of wildness and extravagant enthusiasm. Such are the convenient opinions, with the help of which disagreeable conclusions of another sort are sought to be kept at distance!

A theoretical Republican Vane was not, if it is attempted to be shown by this that the motive of his public exertions was merely a preconceived idea of the abstract excellence of that form of civil society. What Vane sought was good and popular government, extensive representation, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, and perfect liberty of conscience. Because he could not find these under a monarchy, he became a Republican; but under a monarchy he would have been content with these. Practical and protracted experience of the utter impossibility of bringing Charles to terms of good faith was the origin of Vane's devotion to a republic. Having once embraced that faith, he pursued it with all the earnestness and enthusiasm of his character, but never for a single instant lost sight of the practical reasons out of which it had sprung up in his mind, nor of the wise design of preserving all its new institutions, in so far as possible, in correspondence with the fundamental laws and usages to which Englishmen had been for centuries accustomed, and under which, in their purer shapes, they had grown in virtue, in civilization, and in power.

In an Essay on Government, which was left among his papers at his death, he lays down a philosophical maxim which few will be bold enough nowadays to dispute: "Ancient foundations, when once they become destructive to

those very ends for which they were first ordained, and prove hinderances to the good and enjoyment of human societies, to the true worship of God, and the safety of the people, are for their sakes, and upon the same reasons, to be altered, for which they were first laid. In the way of God's justice they may be shaken and removed, in order to accomplish the counsels of his will upon such a state, nation, or kingdom, in order to his introducing a righteous government of his own framing."\* When he stood in the court of King's Bench upon his trial, he laid down another proposition, on which, he said, all his actions had been grounded, and he challenged the judges, with eloquent and unanswerable subtlety, to contradict it if they could. It was, that the very root and origin of monarchical government in England was the assent of the people through their representatives, or, in other words, the so horrible and terrifying Republican principle.

"However I have been misjudged and misunderstood, I can truly affirm that in the whole series of my actions, that which I have had in my eye hath been to preserve the ancient well-constituted government of England on its own basis and primitive righteous foundations, most learnedly stated by Fortescue in his book, made in praise of the English laws. And I did account it the most likely means for the effecting of this to preserve it at least in its root, whatever changes and alterations it might be exposed unto in its branches, through the blustering and stormy times that have passed over us.

"This is no new doctrine in a kingdom acquainted with political power, as Fortescue shows ours is, describing it to be, in effect, the common assent of the realm, the will of the people or whole body of the kingdom, represented in Parliament; nay, though this representation, as hath fallen out, be restrained for a season to the Commons' House in their single actings, into which, as we have seen, when, by the inordinate fire of the times, two of the three estates have for a season been melted down, they did but retire into their root, and were not hereby in their right destroyed, but rather preserved, though as to their exercise laid for a while asleep, till the season came of their revival and restoration."

Shortly before his death, while imprisoned in one of the isles of Scilly, he made a more elaborate statement of his views on this point, and of the justifications which he conceived the people and their leaders to have had in their attempts to alter the monarchical institutions. This remarkable treatise was entitled "The

\* In another passage he states, with unanswerable force, "It was ordinary among the ancients, not only to change their governors, but government also. If one man or king be lawfully deposed, they are not wronged by change of government, and who else can be? It is so natural and fundamental a right in people to have and to use such a liberty, that we may do well to consider whether they have any right to give it out of their hands, unless it be lawful to contradict the law of nature, the true end of all government in human societies, turn their own reason out of doors, and so turn beasts for their governors to ride on. That the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, the wisest states in the world, have over and over used this liberty of changing their government as they saw occasion, and that often with very good success, is undeniable. Were it unlawful for a state in any case to depose and remove kings, what titles have any monarchs now upon oath to their crowns, that are decried of those who were elected into the room of such as the people deposed?"

\* Vol. v., p. 15, 16.

† Ibid., p. 345.

**People's Case Stated.**" At the commencement of it, he lays down, in language which bears no evidence of wildness or impatience of just restraint, the following rules: "The end of all government being for the good and welfare, and not for the destruction of the ruled, God, who is the institutor of government, as he is pleased to ordain the office of governors, intrusting them with power to command the just and reasonable things which his own law commands, that carry their own evidence to common reason and sense, at least that do not evidently contradict it, so he grants a liberty to the subjects, or those that by him are put under the rule, to refuse all such commands as are contrary to his law, or to the judgment of common reason and sense, whose trial he allows, by way of assent or dissent, before the commands of the ruler shall be binding or put in execution; and this in a co-ordinacy of power with just government, and as the due balance thereof; for," he adds, in words of deepest truth and significance, "*the original impressions of just laws are in man's nature, and very constitution of being.*"

From the foregoing proposition, a condition of government is then established thus: "God doth allow and confer by the very law of nature, upon the community or body of the people, that are related to and concerned in the right of government placed over them, the liberty, by their common vote or suffrage duly given, to be assenters or dissenters thereunto, and to affirm and make stable, or disallow and render ineffectual, what shall apparently be found by them to be for the good or hurt of that society, whose welfare, next under the justice of God's commands and his glory, is the supreme law and very end of all subordinate governing power. Sovereign power, then, comes from God, as its proper root, but the restraint or enlargement of it, in its execution over such a body, is founded in the common consent of that body. The office of chief ruler, or head over any state, commonwealth, or kingdom, hath the right of due obedience from the people inseparably annexed to it. It is an office not only of divine institution, but for the safety and protection of the whole body or community, and therefore justly and necessarily draws to it, and engages their subjection." The logical force of this passage is only equalled by its philosophic sobriety. Subsequently he carries out his premises into the following eloquent statement of the proper source of the best form of government, in which, it will be seen, the character of his religious opinions, as I have endeavoured to describe them, receives very striking illustration. "The highest judgment and will set up by God for angels and men, in their particular beings, to hold proportion with, and bear conformity unto (in the capacity of ruled, in relation to their chief ruler), shines forth in the person of Christ, the ingrafted Word; and when, by the agreement or common consent of a nation or state, there is such a constitution and form of administration pitched upon as in a standing and ordinary way may derive and convey the nearest and greatest likeness in human laws, or acts of such a constitution, unto the judgment and will of the supreme legislator, as the rule and declared duty for every one in

that society to observe, it is thereby that government or supreme power comes to receive being in a nation or state, and is brought into exercise according to God's ordinance and divine institution. *So, then, it is not so much the form of the administration as the thing administered, wherein the good or evil of government doth consist; that is to say, a greater likeness or unlikeness unto the judgment and will of the highest Being, in all the acts or laws flowing from the fundamental constitution of the government.*"

The legal restraints placed for these objects on the office of king are then clearly stated, after which Vane adds: "The contrary heretofore was the principle at bottom of the king's cause, which he endeavoured to uphold and maintain, in order to decline and lay aside the legal restraints as aforesaid, which the government of England, by the fundamental Constitution, is subjected unto, as to the exercise and ministry of the royal office. From the observation and experience which the people of England had, and made many years together, by their representatives in Parliament, of a desire in the king to shake off these legal restraints in the exercise of the regal power, and on their having tried the best ways and means that occurred to their understandings to prevent the same, and to secure to themselves the enjoyment of their just rights and liberty, they at last pitched upon the desiring from the king the continuance of the sitting of the Parliament called November 3, 1640, in such sort as is expressed in that act, 17 Car., wherein it is provided, 'that it shall not be discontinued or dissolved but by act of Parliament.' " This act, however, he proceeds to argue, did not in itself dissolve their allegiance, or give the people back their original right to erect a new government, until after, all reasonable efforts failing, war had been resorted to, and the decision given: "Such appeal answered, and the issue decided by battle, the people's delegates still sitting, and keeping together in their collective body, may of right, and according to reason, *refuse the readmission or new admission of the exercise of the former rulers, or any new rulers again over the whole body, till there be received satisfaction for the former wrongs done, the expense and hazard of the war, and security for the time to come that the like be not committed again.* Until this be obtained, they are bound in duty, in such manner as they judge most fit, to provide for the present government of the whole body, that the common weal receive no detriment."\* He admits the sacredness of an oath of allegiance to a sovereign, and argues, with great force and eloquence, that it is only an utter abuse of the kingly trust that can re-

\* In another work he expresses the same doctrine thus: "All contrariant actings against the prince are not to be accounted a resisting of the power, especially when the whole state is concerned, and the business is managed by public trustees, called and authorised by law, as conservers of the state, and defenders of the public liberties and laws thereof. In such a public capacity, to stand in the gap when a breach is made, and hinder any charge or attempt that would ruin the state, is duty. In such case, they ought to withstand and hinder the violent proceedings of any, either by way of justice in a legal trial, or by force; for the prince is not master of the state, but only a guardian and defender thereof from injuries and evil."—*Treatise on Government.*

lieve the subject from it; but he will be utterly relieved in that case, he adds, "especially if, together with such breach of trust, both parties appeal to God, and put it upon the issue of battle, and God give the decision; and in consequence thereof, that original right be asserted, and possession thereof had and held for some years, and then not rightfully lost, but treacherously betrayed and given up by those in whom no power was rightfully placed."

These, then, are the "dark designs" of Vane: this is the wild and visionary enthusiast! He sought to achieve for the English people, for us, his posterity, the blessings of a government responsible to the governed, the basis of which was to be security for person and property, and perfect and uncontrollable freedom in all matters appertaining to the conscience and intellect. Failing of this object in that day under a monarchical form, he struck for a republic. This was his only crime—the sum of his "dark designs."

But, alas! for one person among the good citizens of London, at the close of the civil war, who could think with Vane, there were fifty who preferred to think, on these particular points, with Clarendon. The Presbyterians had once more rallied in this stronghold of their power. They clamoured for a Presbyterian settlement. They seemed to have altogether forgotten such things as a reform of political institutions, or an establishment of public rights and liberties. A petition had been secretly got up by the Presbyterians in the name of the city,\* and was now carried into Parliament, praying for strict religious conformity, for subscription to the Covenant, and for the dissolution of the army. It was only preliminary to a more decisive movement on the part of the Presbyterians. The reduction of the army to a peace establishment was proposed in the House of Commons on the 9th of February. The dismantling of the garrisons in England and Wales, with the exception of forty-five; and the reduction of the army, after draughts of horse and foot for the service of Ireland, to about 5000 horse, to maintain public tranquillity, and the force of infantry required for the reserved garrisons, were carried after earnest and long debate, in which Vane used all his influence and eloquence against the motion, and carried, too, without due provision for arrears of pay. It was voted, also, that no member of Parliament should have a military command; that there should be no officer of higher rank than that of colonel, with the exception of Fairfax; and that every officer should take the Covenant, and conform to the Presbyterian ordinance in religion: in other words, all security for the triumphs that had been won for the people were recklessly voted away, and the people's bravest soldiers, Cromwell, Ireton, Ludlow, Algernon Sidney, Skippon, Blake, and Hutchinson, were insolent-

ly dismissed from their service. Fairfax himself was only retained on a division by 159 to 147.

Mr. Godwin has, at this passage of history, given way to no inappropriate strain of melancholy enthusiasm. "Here," he says, "we have a striking illustration of the uncertainty and versatility of human affairs. Cromwell, Ireton, St. John, and Vane were four of the ablest statesmen that ever figured upon the theatre of any nation. They were engaged to the measures they undertook by the strongest motives that could animate and excite the heart of man. They, and they only, had been principally concerned in conducting an arduous war to a successful termination. Other men had felt deeply and fought nobly; but it was they who created the army by which the victory was secured. Finding their influence not sufficiently triumphant in the House of Commons, they had resorted to the admirable expedient of setting on foot new elections for those places in England which, in the lapse of years, and by the events of a civil war, were found unrepresented; and this measure had, for a time, answered every purpose to them that their fondest wishes could have anticipated. Their adversaries were men of ordinary capacities; Hollis and Sir Philip Stapleton, the nominal leaders of the Presbyterians, would probably never have been heard of in history had they lived in a more tranquil period. Yet all these advantages possessed by the heads of the Independent party proved fleeting and illusory. The very circumstance of the great success and superlative talents of these men had a tendency to render them objects of jealousy to coarse and vulgar minds. Hollis says, 'Though the greater part of the new members came into the House with as much prejudice as possible against us, yet, when they came to sit there themselves, and see with their own eyes the carriage of things, this made them change their minds, and many of them to confess and acknowledge that they had been abused.' Such is the almost unavoidable course of things in modern times, and among what is called a sober people. The men of the last four centuries in civilized Europe have been found capable of being strongly excited, and susceptible of a tone of fervour and enthusiasm. But this is to them an unnatural state, and they speedily subside into their constitutional quietude. There are but few of us that can even image to ourselves an excitement and elevation that, as in the instances of Greece and Rome, lasted for centuries. Talk to the men of later times of sobriety and moderation, and they will soon show that they prefer that lore to the sublimer style of heroism and virtue, of self-sacrifice and expansive affections. We are sons of the fog and the mist. The damp and flagging element in which we breathe becomes part of ourselves; we turn speculative men and calculators: timorous prudence and low circumspection fix their stamp on all we do. 'Our charity begins at home,' and fixes its attention emphatically on our own interests or our own firesides. We dare not mount, at least from the impulse of feeling, into an ethereal region, lest we should break our necks with the fall. To men formed in this mould, the representation of such persons as Hollis and

\* A very memorable counter-petition was subsequently set afloat by the Independents, demanding some startling reforms, which exhibited revolution and Republicanism unmasked. It remonstrated against the payment of tithes, the hardships of enforced religious conformity, the insolent contumely with which Presbyterians designated those who would not conform to the Presbytery; the mischief of the House of Lords; and was addressed to the supreme authority of the nation in the Commons' House of Parliament.—*Hist. from Mackintosh.*

Stapleton, 'the moderate party,' as they loved to denominate themselves, are almost sure to prove irresistible."\*

Vane's position was that of the greatest difficulty. He felt that he must now throw his party upon the great body of the army for support, to a more absolute degree than he had contemplated hitherto. It will be worth while, before proceeding farther, to show what character of men these soldiers were. Whitelocke describes thus the troops raised by Cromwell: "He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, and who, upon matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel; and thus, being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man stand firmly and fight desperately." Baxter says of them in his life: "At his first entrance into the wars he had a special care to get religious men into his troop: these were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore more apprehensive of the importance and consequence of the war; and making, not money, but that which they took for the public felicity, to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant. They therefore proved such that, as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an enemy." The fiercely Royalist Bates, in his "Elenchus Motuum," speaks of them thus: "Cromwell invited all the honest men (as he was pleased to call them) to take on with him. Wherefore Independents, Anabaptists, and the sink of fanatics, came flocking to him, who, in the beginning, were unskilful both in handling their arms and managing their horses. But he used them daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses, and, when it was needful, to lie together with them on the ground. He besides taught them to clean, and keep their arms bright, and ready for service; to choose the best armour, and arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over their enemies." "And these men," observes another Royalist, Sir Philip Warwick, "habited more to spiritual pride than carnal not and intemperance, so consequently, having been industrious and active in their former callings and professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place. At first they chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed the fear of danger." Of themselves, in a petition to the Parliament, these men had spoken thus: "We were not a mere mercenary army, hired to serve any arbitrary power of a state, but were called forth and conjured, by the several declarations of Parliament, to the defence of our own and the people's just rights and liberties. To these ends in judgment and conscience we took up arms; and we are resolved to assert and vindicate these rights against all arbitrary power, and all particular parties and interests whatsoever."† And last-

ly, when it was proposed to disband these very forces immediately after the restoration, Lord Clarendon, who could speak the truth only when the truth answered his purpose, spoke of them and their exploits in these words: "His majesty consents to the measure. Yet, let me tell you, no other prince in Europe would be willing to disband such an army; an army to which victory is entailed, and which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail of conquest whithersoever he should lead it; an army whose order and discipline, whose sobriety and manners, whose courage and success, have made it famous and terrible over the world."\*

It was no common army, this: it was a band of men who had taken up arms for a great public cause, and who had a right to some influence, and that not inconsiderable, in the right direction of the victories won by their own valour for the security of their own homes. In this view, it is certain that Vane now countenanced the seizure of the king by Joyce, and Fairfax's march to London for the purpose of overawing the Presbyterians. Hitherto he had no distrust of Cromwell. The exertions of that great soldier in this crisis had been all Republican in their tendency, since in favouring, or at least not resisting, the organization of the agitators and other military councils, he was raising up the very worst instrument of despotism—an armed and enthusiastic democracy.

The disgraceful London riots in favour of the Presbyterians completed the sorry work set on foot by that party, and determined Vane's last scruples. He took the opportunity of removing with several other members, and the speakers of both Houses, to Fairfax's camp at Hounslow, and as he afterward rode with that general along the line of the troops, was hailed and cheered with enthusiasm. A few days after, Vane and Fairfax, the two speakers, with the other seceding members, met at Holland House, Kensington, and proceeded to Westminster, where the Presbyterians, feeling themselves once more defeated by a consummate stroke of policy on the part of their adversaries, while a melancholy and mischievous effort had been made by themselves, were unprepared to offer any farther present resistance. In Hyde Park they received even the congratulations of the lord-mayor and aldermen, and at Charing Cross the common council stood ready to receive them! Colonel Hammond's regiment of foot, and Rich's and Cromwell's regiment of horse, led the procession, which was closed by Tomlinson's regiment of horse. On the following day the whole army, with its artillery, marched through London, "but in so civil and orderly a manner that not the least offence or prejudice was expressed by them towards any man, either in words, action, or gesture." The procession had no sooner reached Palace Yard than Fairfax alighted and retired into a private house, while the Lords and Commons proceeded to their respective places of assembly. Manchester and Lenthall took the chair in each House; and the proceedings commenced with a report

\* Godwin, Hist. of Com., ii., 216-221.

† In another petition, demanding payment of the arrears attempted to be withheld by the Presbyterians, these men say, "We hope that by being soldiers we have not lost the capacity of subjects—that in purchasing the freedom of our brethren we have not lost our own." They assert the justice of their demand of the payment of arrears to themselves

not as "mercenaries whose end was gain," but as men "who had abandoned their estates, trades, callings, and the contentments of a quiet life, for the perils and fatigues of war in defence of the public liberty."

\* In the History of the Commonwealth, ii., 152-155, the reader will find this subject treated.



from the commissioners of the Parliament, appointed to reside with the army (that in the House of Commons was made by Vane), of the transactions of the last preceding days. Fairfax was then successively introduced into each House, and received their thanks for what he had done. He was, at the same time, by their joint vote, made Constable of the Tower of London.\*

The king's ill-judged flight from Hampton Court once more altered the position of affairs. The first treaty at the Isle of Wight, and the treachery of Charles with the Scots commissioners, will be more appropriately glanced at in the memoir of Henry Marten. The day after the Parliamentary commissioners returned, the celebrated vote of non-addresses was passed, equivalent to a resolution for the settlement of the kingdom without farther recourse to the king. The events which followed, and had the effect of lifting up the Presbyterians once more; the riots in the various English counties, and the advance and defeat of the Scotch army; the famous petitions and proposals of Fairfax and his officers, will also have fitter illustration in the notice of Marten's important participation in these measures. Vane seems to have held himself as much as possible in the position of being able, at a crisis, to negotiate between the Commons and the army, secure that his party in the House would once more feel ascendancy and power upon the final crushing of the "second civil war."

The personal treaty at the Isle of Wight was now arranged; Vane was appointed one of the chief commissioners, and represented the Independent or (now) Republican party. Hollis and others represented the Presbyterians. Several peers attached to the Parliament were also present, and Charles was attended by forty-two friends and advisers. The interviews and debates were spun out from the 18th of September to the 27th of November, 1648. In the course of them Charles showed much ability, and Vane, who had, as he says, "believed him to be a very weak person," took occasion to acknowledge "that he had been deceived," for that he had found him "a man of great parts and abilities."† Such a feeling would be naturally apt to overrate itself by comparison with a previous unjust impression.

The result of the treaty was a concession of the militia by Charles, with the secret reservation to retract it;‡ but he afterward took his stand upon two points: a claim for "the divine institution of the bishops," and for indemnity to all his friends. Hollis and the other Presbyterians implored him on their knees, with tears in their eyes, to concede these also. He refused. "The truth is," says Clarendon, describing the treaty, "there were among the commissioners many who had been carried with the violence of the stream, and would be glad of those concessions which the king would very cheerfully have granted, an act of indemnity and oblivion being what they were principally concerned in; and of all the rest, who were more passionate for the militia and against the Church, there was no man, except Sir Harry

Vane, who did not desire that a peace might be established by that treaty; for as all the other lords desired, in their own natures and affections, no more than that their transgressions might never more be called to remembrance, so the Lord Say himself (who was as proud of his quality, and of being distinguished from other men by his title, as any man alive) well foresaw what would become of his peerage if the treaty proved ineffectual, and the army should make their own model of the government they would submit to (as undoubtedly they resolved shortly to do), and therefore he did all he could to work upon the king to yield to what was proposed to him, and afterward, upon the Parliament, to be content with what his majesty had yielded." It was well for the men who preferred their titles to their country to argue thus, but the younger Sir Henry Vane remained to the last, "among the faithless, faithful."

Charles had again thought of escape and of revenge when he rejected the kneeling and weeping Presbyterians: the army now seized his person once more, and closed his hopes on that head forever. Meanwhile, a terrible remonstrance, calling for justice on him as "the capital source of all grievances," had been carried into the House of Commons, where the Presbyterian majority, again mustering, strove to parry it by successive remonstrances. The army, upon this, sent in a more determined declaration, that unless justice were suffered to prevail, they would purge the House, and put a stop to the treaty. At this crisis, the first of December, 1648, the commissioners from the Isle of Wight reported Charles's answers, and Hollis moved that they should be declared satisfactory. To the astonishment of Vane, Fiennes supported that motion, but the extract from Clarendon respecting Fiennes's father, Lord Say, explains the marvel.\* The debate lasted one day, and its farther consideration was adjourned to the next by a majority of 133 to 102. Vane saw that the crisis he had striven so long to avert had arrived at last, and he prepared himself for one great and final effort to surmount it. The speech he delivered on the resumption of the debate on the second day is unfortunately only left to us in the equivocal pages of Clarendon. That it must have been very masterly, however, we can discern even there, and we discern in it, also, the first frank and resolute statement of the question as between monarchy and a republic.

"Young Sir Harry Vane," says Clarendon, "had begun the debate with the highest insolence and provocation, telling them 'that they should that day know and discover who were their friends and who were their foes, or, that he might speak more plainly, who were the king's party in the House and who were for the people;' and so proceeded with his usual grave bitterness against the person of the king and the government that had been too long settled; put them in mind 'that they had been diverted from their old settled resolution and declaration that they would make no more addresses to the king, after which the kingdom had been governed in great peace, and begun to taste the sweet of that republican government which they had in-

\* Hist. of Com., ii., 386-7. Rushworth. Whitelocks.

† Sir Edward Walker, p. 312.

‡ Hist. from Mackintosh, vi., 105.

\* This was first pointed out in the History from Mackintosh, in reply to the doubts of Godwin and Lingard.

tempered and begun to establish, when, by a combination between the city of London and an ill-affected party in Scotland, with some small, contemptible insurrections in England, all which were fomented by the city, the Houses had, by clamour and noise, been induced and compelled to reverse their former votes and resolution, and enter into a personal treaty with the king, with whom they had not been able to prevail, notwithstanding the low condition he was in, to give them any security; but he had still reserved a power in himself, or at least to his posterity, to exercise as tyrannical a government as he had done; that all the insurrections which had so terrified them were now totally subdued, and the principal authors and abettors of them in custody, and ready to be brought to justice, if they pleased to direct and appoint it; that their enemies in Scotland were reduced, and that kingdom entirely devoted to a firm and good correspondence with their brethren, the Parliament, of England, so that there was nothing wanting but their own consent and resolution to make themselves the happiest nation and people in the world; and to that purpose desired that they might, without any more loss of time, return to their former resolution of making no more addresses to the king, but proceeded to the settling the government without him, and to the severe punishment of those who had disturbed their peace and quiet, in such an exemplary manner as might terrify all other men for the future from making the like bold attempts, which, he told them, they might see would be most grateful to their army, which had merited so much from them, by the remonstrance they had so lately published.<sup>\*</sup> This discourse appeared to be exceedingly disliked by that kind of murmur which usually shows how the House stands inclined, and by which men make their judgments there of the success that is like to be."<sup>\*</sup>

Some members seconded Vane with a hearty concurrence, among them Wroth, Wentworth, and Prideaux. It was urged on the other side by Prynne that the Parliament was overawed by the army, and the question should be postponed. Another adjournment took place, and the debate was resumed next morning with increased vehemence. Six Monarchists and twelve Republicans are named as having spoken. The Presbyterians, not venturing to persist in a vote that the king's answers were satisfactory, modified it into a resolution that they afforded "a ground for the House to proceed to the settlement of the peace of the kingdom." Prynne delivered a speech of several hours in the affirmative, with, by his own account, wonderful effect. It was carried on a division by a majority of 140 to 104. The Lords readily concurred, and Vane's last hope of preventing a grosser injustice was forever gone.<sup>†</sup>

The House was purged of the Presbyterian majority on the following morning by Colonel Pride. That proceeding will be found described in the memoir of Marten. Vane alone, among all the Independents and Republicans, refused to share in a triumph obtained by such means. He had held a high sense of the claims of the army to be allowed to throw the weight of their

opinions into the scale at a moment like the present, and while the state was itself in process of revolution; he had done his best in aiding them when on former occasions they had subdued the strength of the Presbyterians by the inspiration of a just terror; but this forcible exclusion of members, this absolute introduction of the sword into the House of Commons, the scene of his best exertions for the people in the past, and the source of his best hopes for the people in the future, appeared fraught with a danger surpassing every other. He took the resolution at once to retire from public life. He could not oppose those with whom he had hitherto acted in such close union; he knew not whether even now their motives might not be as pure as he held their conduct to be mistaken; but, in any case, he could never lend to the act of lawless force they had committed the sanction of his character and name. He retired to Raby,<sup>\*</sup> and took no farther part in public life till after the execution of the king.<sup>†</sup>

It is a profound proof of Vane's political sagacity that he disapproved the policy of that great act. Upon the question of its abstract justice he never delivered an opinion.

He left his private retirement, and again joined his old friends and associates<sup>‡</sup> on the 26th of February, 1649. He had been most earnestly entreated to this step by Cromwell, and, it is likely, accepted that entreaty as a pledge of the purity of intention with which it was designed to frame and carry out the government of the Commonwealth. Nor was the request Cromwell's alone, though his still superior influence with Vane was the instrument to procure compliance. There was no leading man of the party that did not hold the sanction of the most eminent Republican statesman to be the essential element of their new republic, or that would not have considered the outline of proceedings sketched hitherto void and

<sup>\*</sup> This castle had suffered in the wars, for the Royalists made several attacks on it, in compliment, it might be supposed, to its owner. Whitelocke describes one of them: "The king's forces from Bolton Castle surprised Raby Castle, belonging to Sir Henry Vane, but were again close blocked up by forces raised by Sir George Vane." (July 7, 1645, p. 151.)

<sup>†</sup> The extraordinary incidents which filled up this interval are detailed and discussed in the Life of Marten.

<sup>‡</sup> The omission of all mention of Vane's father, the elder Vane, still alive and taking a feeble part in public affairs with the men of the Commonwealth, must not surprise the reader. He sank into a cipher beside the splendid talents of his son. It is seldom that one family has borne two names of eminence in it. But the truth was, that old Vane was only fit for such service as he performed under Charles—he was barely tolerated among the Independents for his son's sake.

<sup>§</sup> All those proceedings are described in the Life of Marten. "The truth is, this honourable gentleman, having absented himself from the Parliament upon that great change and alteration of affairs in the year 1648, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, who sat upon the trial of the king, and encouraged the commissioners of the high court of justice to proceed to sentence, it being the general vote and desire of the army that the king should be put to death, was importunate with this gentleman, and used many arguments to persuade him to sit again in Parliament and in the council of state, and did at length prevail with him to come in." So writes Vane's friend Stubbs, in his answer to the calumnies of Baxter. Stubbs was one of the most eminent scholars of that or any other period, and was indebted for the first development of his talents to the regard and liberality of Vane. Another passage in his vindication of Vane from the attacks of Baxter is worth giving, as illustrating the contempt with which one of the "best abused" men of his time, which Vane certainly was, could afford, in the coun-

<sup>\*</sup> Vol. vi., p. 199-201.

<sup>†</sup> History from Mackintosh, vi., 109.

blank, had he refused to fill it up with the authority of his presence, his counsel, his name; and yet, notwithstanding all this, it was with much difficulty, and in the result of many arguments, that Cromwell prevailed with him to accede. He had been elected, long before his consent was ascertained, among the first members of the council of state, but he did not present himself till the 26th of February, nine days after all the council had been installed. A difficulty then occurred. On the day on which the instructions to the council of state had been voted, an engagement was drawn up and adopted, to be taken by each counsellor previously to his admission, the purport of which was to express his approbation of all that had been done in the king's trial, in the abolishing of kingship, and the taking away the House of Lords—and this oath was now presented to Vane. He refused to take it. He did not approve, he said, of what had been done in the king's trial or the king's death. No compromise could meet the difficulty. An entirely new oath was eventually drawn up, for the satisfaction of Sir Henry Vane.\*

The first measure we find traces of, after Vane's adhesion to the Commonwealth, is the issue of several new writs to the House of Commons. I may mention that, before his adhesion, the first public act of the council of state had been to recommend to Parliament to vacate the appointment of the Earl of Warwick (objectionable as a Presbyterian) to the office of lord-admiral. A bill had, in consequence, been brought in and passed, for repealing Lord Warwick's ordinance, and vesting the power of lord-admiral in the council of state. The next day another act was made, appointing Robert Blako, Edward Popham, and Richard Dean to the command of the fleet, each of whom afterward made his name familiar and eminent on the seas. Finally, on the 12th of March, a committee of three was named by the council to carry on the affairs of the admiralty

dence of his character and virtue, to pass unnoticed all his wretched slanderers. I may mention that one of the ten thousand doggerel libels against him is preserved as a specimen in the Appendix (C) at the end of this article. "I presume," says Stubbs to Baxter, "he looks upon it as below him, and his great and weighty employments, to write anything in his own vindication: he hath other business to look after, and not to spend his time about the passionate and rash scribbles of every biased and engaged person; and therefore I think it not amiss, having more leisure and opportunity, not so much from any private or personal respect which I bear to him, as my love to the Commonwealth and public interest of these nations, which is owned and asserted by him upon just and honest principles, to clear up the innocency of that worthy knight, and to vindicate him, *though without his privacy and knowledge*, from your lies and aspersions."

\* In his speech on his trial he told this to his judges: "When that great violation of privileges happened to the Parliament, so as by force of arms several members thereof were debarred coming into the House and keeping their seats there, this made me forbear to come to the Parliament for the space of ten weeks, to wit, from the 3d of December, 1648, till towards the middle of February following, or to meddle in any public transactions; and during that time the matter most obvious to exception, in way of alteration of the government, did happen. I can, therefore, truly say, that as I had neither consent nor vote, at first, in the resolutions of the Houses, concerning the non-addresses to his late majesty, so neither had I, in the least, any consent in, or approbation to, his death; but, on the contrary, when required by the Parliament to take an oath, to give my approbation, *ex post facto*, to what was done, I utterly refused, and would not accept of sitting in the council of state upon those terms, but occasioned a new oath to be drawn wherein that was omitted."

and navy, and Sir Henry Vane was placed at their head: Wauton and Rowland Wilson were the other members of the committee. Thus, in the administrative genius, the vigour, and the capacity of Vane—in the heroic courage, wonderful knowledge, and splendid virtues of Blake—was laid the foundation of a naval supremacy for England which she had not seen since Elizabeth's days.

Bradshaw was elected president of the council on the 10th of March. Three days latter, Milton, the kinsman of Bradshaw, was made secretary to the council for foreign tongues, which office had been held by Weckerlin under the committee of both kingdoms. "It is impossible," observes Mr. Godwin, "to consider these appointments without great respect. They laid the foundation for the illustrious figure which was made by the Commonwealth of England during the succeeding years. The admirable state of the navy is in a great degree to be ascribed to the superlative talents and eminent public virtue of Vane. The naval commanders were such as can scarcely be equalled in any age or country. The attachment of Milton is equivalent to volumes in commendation of Bradshaw. The perfect friendship of these three men, Milton, Bradshaw, and Vane, is, in itself considered, a glory to the island that gave them birth. The council, we are told, took up a resolution that they would neither write to other states, nor receive answers, but in the tongue which was common to all, and fittest to record great things, the subject of future history. And they fixed on Milton, the language of whose state papers is full of energy and wisdom, and must have impressed foreign states with a high opinion of the government from which they came. The character of the great poet of England frequently discovers itself in these productions, without detracting in the smallest degree from the graveness and sobriety which the occasions and the rank of the nation in whose name they were written demanded. On the other hand, Milton, who felt as deeply as any man that his proper destination was the quiet and sequestered paths of literature, conceived that he could not decline a public station when the demand came to him from such men, and was that he should devote himself to the service of that scheme of a republic which above all earthly things he loved."

The next question that came to be considered in the council of state was, beyond every other question, the most important and the most difficult. It related to the dismissal of the present Parliament and the summoning of another. No popular or representative government can be said to exist without successive Parliaments, and the present House of Commons had sat for a period unheard of in our history, though fully warranted by the critical circumstances of the time. The passages I have quoted from Vane's statement of the "Case of the People," show most clearly, as it appears to me, that the act declaring that this Parliament could not be dissolved but by their own consent, was the corner-stone of all their public services, and of all the liberty that has since existed in this island. The Legislature that had been guided in their original measures

\* Hist. of Com., iii., 22.

by Pym and Hampden, and that, after their early decease, had been worthily, and in an eminent degree in their spirit, conducted by their successors, is perhaps, all things considered, "the most illustrious assembly whose acts are recorded in the history of the world." They had now completed all that originally they undertook. "They had conquered the determined enemy of Parliaments; they had finished the civil war; they had destroyed despotism, for he that had grasped the sceptre was no more, and his family, and even the idea of government to be vested in the hands of a single person, was publicly proscribed. All that remained to complete their glory was for them to put an end to their authority, and tranquilly to deliver up their power into the hands of their successors."

And this, as it appears to me, would not only have completed their glory, but, in all human probability, assured the Commonwealth's safety. In such peculiar cases, in the circumstances of such a change in the form of the government—*accomplished, be it observed*, and not merely struggling to its accomplishment, as we have recently seen it—more would have been gained by trusting the people than by distrusting them.\* It is right, at the same time, to listen to what the ablest advocates of the course they adopted have to say in its favour. "Monarchy," says Mr. Godwin, "was at an end; the House of Lords was extinguished; it had been solemnly decreed that the Commons of England in Parliament assembled were the supreme authority. But all was yet in a state of convulsion and uncertainty. The tempest might be said to be over, but the atmosphere was loaded with threatening clouds, and the waves swelled this way and that with no unequivocal tokens of uneasiness and turbulence. This was the task that it fell to the present possessors of the legislative power to perform: to produce that calm, to adopt all those preliminary measures which might enable the present Parliament safely to deliver up the reins of political power to the next. They had advanced far to this end. They had erected a council of state, which comprised in its body much of what was most extraordinary in talents, and most unquestionable in public spirit and disinterested virtue, that was to be found in the nation."† "The great statesmen," Mr. Godwin continues, "who guided the vessel of the Commonwealth at this time had established a republic without king or House of Lords, the only government in their opinion worthy of the allegiance and support of men arrived at the full use of their understanding. They felt in themselves the talent and the energies to conduct this government with success. They wished to endow it with character, and gain for it respect. Having shown their countrymen practically what a republic was, they proposed to deliver it pure, and without reserve, into their hands, to dispose of as they pleased. This was their project. The present state of England was of a memorable sort. The great mass of the community, through all its orders, was now,

\* Was it not proved afterward that this would have been the correct course, by the independent and spirited tone assumed even in the Parliaments summoned by the usurper? They are glanced at in the memoir of Marten.

† Hist. of Com., iii., 108.

particularly after the able and successful administration of the Commonwealth in its first six months, content to submit, at least for the present, to the existing government. But probably not more than a third part of the nation were sincere adherents to the Commonwealth's men and the Independents; the other two thirds consisted of Royalists and Presbyterians. Both of these, however disposed for a time to rest on their arms, were but so much the more exasperated against their successful rivals. Both these latter parties were for a monarchy, to be established in the line of the house of Stuart. Both were averse to the endurance of any religious system but their own. Stubbe, the protégé and intimate friend of Vane, says, the supporters of intolerance were five parts in seven of the inhabitants of England. The objects of Vane and Cromwell were the administration of a state without the intervention of a sovereign and a court, and the free and full toleration of all modes of religious worship and opinion. They would have held themselves criminal to all future ages if they supinely suffered the present state of things and the present operative principles to pass away, if they could be preserved. Cromwell, and Ireton, and Vane, and the rest, were intimately persuaded that, by a judicious course of proceeding, these advantages might be preserved. If things were allowed to continue in their present state, and if, by a skilful and judicious administration, the Commonwealth came by just degrees to be respected both abroad and at home, they believed that many of those persons who now looked upon it with an unkind and jealous eye would become its warmest friends. They felt in themselves the ability and the virtue to effect this great purpose. The Commonwealth was now viewed with eyes askance and with feelings of coldness, if not of aversion; but when once it was seen that this form of government was pregnant with blessings innumerable, that it afforded security, wealth, and a liberal treatment to all in its own borders, and that it succeeded in putting down the hostility of Ireland and Scotland, in impressing with awe Holland, France, Spain, and the various nations of the Continent, and in gaining for England a character and a respect which she had never possessed under any of her kings, they believed that the whole of the people, in a manner, would become Commonwealth's men, and would hold embraced in the strictest bonds of affection a government to which now they had little partiality. They sanguinely anticipated that they should effect all this; and then how glorious would be the consummation to convert their countrymen to the cause of freedom by benefits and honours, to instil into them the knowledge of their true interests by the powerful criterion of experience, and finally to deliver to them the undiminished and inestimable privileges of freemen, saying, "Exercise them boldly and without fear, for you are worthy to possess them."‡

Such, no doubt, was the process of reasoning with the purest and loftiest minded of those men—the Vanes, the Martens, the Sidneys, the Ludlows, the Iretons, the Bradshaws: it may well be disputed in the case of Cromwell; but, admitting all this, it would seem, nevertheless,

‡ Hist. of Com., ii., 118, 119.

to have been a grand mistake to suppose that any lasting beneficial impression could have been produced in the minds of the people by merely administrative talents or glories, however great or triumphant. What the people wanted in the new form of government to lay its foundation deeper in their hearts, was what Vane has so ably pointed out in the political writings I have quoted, new institutions founded on the principles of the old. Granting the truth of what Mr. Godwin urges, it amounts to this, in fact, that the only present guarantee of the new Commonwealth rested in the army. Where, then, was the guarantee for the virtue or fidelity of the army? To themselves alone, or to men who had achieved influence over them, were they accountable. Remarkable as the circumstances were which widely distinguished them from the character of ordinary soldiers, it is yet certain that, when they found themselves the guardians of a Commonwealth in which all things were unsettled, and in which that very power which was more than ever necessary, in such a state of government, to hold together the elements of order and of liberty—the power and the authority of the people—was altogether excluded, the temptation was too great for men of much more than ordinary virtue. “*Qui gardera les gardiens ?*”

There is much reason to believe, in my opinion, that Vane was overruled upon this question, and that he afterward, for that reason, desponded of immediate success in the achievement of the great part of the Republican design.\* Some of his speeches in Richard Cromwell's Parliament will, I think, throw some light on this, and an extract from his friend Sikes's tribute may be urged in illustration of it; but these claim a place hereafter. One thing is quite certain, that Vane exhibited a perpetual uneasiness respecting the dissolution of the Parliament; was constantly mooting it in some form or other; and, as soon as he detected the traitorous design of Cromwell, distinguished himself by a memorable effort to secure those

\* “This prophet or seer of God, in the midst of the greatest successes in the late war, when the churches, Parliament, and army reckoned their work done, thought their mountain so strong that they should never be moved, said the bitterness of death and persecution is over, and that nothing remained but (with those self-confident Corinthians) to be reigning as kings, he discovered himself to be of another spirit, with Paul—he could not reign with them. When they thus mused and spake, ‘We shall sit as a queen, we shall know no more sorrow,’ he would be continually foretelling the overflowing of the finer mystical Babylon by the most grossly idolatrous Babylon, and the slaying of the true witnesses of Christ between them both, as the consequence of such inundation. Ifs not he had his share in the accomplishment of his own prediction? Have not they, by their pride, apostacy, and treachery, been the occasion of his and their own sufferings, who would not believe him when he prophesied of such a suffering season. Have not floods of Belial judges, counsellors, witnesses, jurors, soldiers of Belial, compassed him about? Did Scripture, law, or reason signify anything with them? So the waters went over his soul; they took away his life from the earth. Yes, the rage and violence of brutish men followed him close at the heels, to his very execution stroke. But however it was with him as to a certain foresight of particular events, yet that he could conjecture and spell out the most reserved consults and secret drifts of foreign councils against us (which they reckoned as *secrète*, concealed till executed), the Hollander did experience to their cost.” So says Sikes in his extraordinary pamphlet, and, reduced to the ordinary language, it seems to me to express something like the feeling alluded to in the text. The closing allusion is to that power immortalized by Milton as having been possessed to an eminent degree by Vane—of unfolding “the drift of hollow states hard to be spelled.”

rights for the people that had been so long, and, as he then at last perceived, so fatally delayed.

The steps that were taken to strengthen the present House may be shortly described. The first of May is the day on which we trace the earliest mention of the subject in the journals. It was then determined that the business respecting due elections and equal representatives should be taken into consideration on the third day following. It was mentioned again on the fourth and the fifth, and on the eleventh was revived in the shape of a debate on the question of putting a period to the present Parliament, which was referred to a grand committee, or committee of the whole House. This question appears to have originated with Vane; he was chairman of all committees named respecting it. The committee of the whole House sat on the fifteenth, and prepared a resolution, which was immediately after voted by the House, that, previously to the naming a certain time for the dissolution of Parliament, a consideration should be had of the succession of future Parliaments, and the regulating their elections. This consideration was referred to a committee, consisting of Vane, Ireton, Scot, Nathaniel Rich, Algernon Sidney, and four others, who were to present to the House heads proper for their deliberation in determining on the subject. They were directed to sit every Monday and Friday. It is remarkable to notice the frequent mention of the sittings of this committee recorded in the journals, and the never-failing presence of Vane. The temporary arrangement which dispensed with a dissolution for the present had not dispensed with the sittings of this committee.

That temporary arrangement was at last effected thus: The exact numbers of the House were first ascertained. It had been determined by the act of the first of February that no person should be admitted to sit and vote as a member of the Legislature till he had declared his dissent from the vote of the fifth of December, that the king's answers to the propositions were a ground to proceed on for the settlement of the kingdom. The number of those who on that day voted for the negative was eighty three. But every member was now required to enter his dissent; and by a careful collation of the journals, it appears that the number of these, between the twentieth of December and the thirtieth of June following, could not be less than one hundred and fifty.\* There were only six writs issued during this period, and these were in the room of members deceased. The ninth of June may be considered as the day on which the government first manifested its intention of continuing the existence of the present Parliament. On that day it was resolved that such members of the House as had not sat since the beginning of December should state their cases by the last day of the present month to the committee for absent members, which if they neglected to do, writs should then issue for new elections in the place of those who should so neglect. The question of any farther new writs in the room of members deceased appears to have been laid aside.

The first year of the Commonwealth closed with Cromwell's reduction of the rebellion in

\* Hist. of Com., iii., 181.

Ireland after terrible slaughter, and with the trial and acquittal of the notorious Lilburne on a charge of treason against the government.

Vane again took his seat in the second year's council of state. The historian of the Commonwealth thus notices the gradual construction of the naval administration over which the great statesman presided: "The committee of the admiralty and navy was first named on the 12th of March, twenty-three days from the original instalment of the council of state, and then consisted of only three persons, Vane, Valentine Wauton, and Alderman Rowland Wilson. Two others, Jones and Scot, were added in the course of the month, and two more, Purefoy and Stapeley, on the 6th of June. Vane was all along the principal person in the care of the navy of England: when the war broke out between the Dutch and the English, he and two or three more were appointed commissioners to conduct it; and to his activity and skill contemporary writers principally ascribe the memorable success in which that contest issued. The committee of the admiralty in the second year were Vane, Wauton, Jones, Scot, Purefoy, Stapeley, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Grey of Groby, Alexander Popham, and Robert Wallop." Alderman Rowland Wilson (of whom Whitelocke says, "He was a gentleman of excellent parts and great piety, of a solid, sober temper and judgment, and very honest and just in all his actions, beloved both in the House, the city, and the army, and by all that knew him, and his death as much lamented") had died immediately before.

In the excellence of an administrative system, nothing could surpass the arrangements of the Commonwealth. They again renewed this year five other committees in the council of state—for the ordinance, Ireland, private examinations, the laws, and negotiations with foreign powers. These committees all varied in their amount, being from seven to ten or twelve members each, and the same counsellor of state being often on different committees.\* Immense advantages accrued from this methodical distribution of the business of administration. The council at large, whose order-books are preserved, assembled for the general affairs of government, and to them, in the first instance, were confided the powers of the state. But these different committees, when they sat apart, had their attention directed, without distraction, to the special business for which they had been named, and either prepared matters for the guidance and decision of the council in general, or, as appears from the articles of instructions to the council, being of a certain assigned number, were authorized and empowered to give directions immediately, as from themselves, in the departments consigned to their care.†

Meanwhile young Charles Stuart was in the field against the Commonwealth in Scotland, and Fairfax had accepted the chief command of the expedition against him, when his wife

prevailed with him to resign it. By this fatal weakness Cromwell was left without a rival in the absolute command of the army, and he at once marched, "in glory and in joy," to his great Scotch campaign. The battle of Worcester afterward crowned his triumphs, and settled, for the present, the safety of the Commonwealth from foreign foes.

But with the opening of this second campaign by Cromwell,\* Vane had manifested his suspicion of her danger from a more terrible treason. We observe it in the restless movements that were again resumed in the House of Commons, on the question of dissolution and a new House. We have seen that on the 15th of May, 1649, a committee had been appointed to take the subject into consideration. It consisted of Vane, Ireton, Scot, Algernon Sidney, and five other persons, among whom Vane had placed his father. Its first report, however, was not brought in till the 9th of January of the following year, some change having in the mean time taken place in the members of which it was constituted, and Ireton being on service in Ireland. On that day "Henry Vane the younger" introduced it, and its first proposition appears to have coincided with the suggestion of the Agreement of the People, tendered by the general council of the army twelve months before, that the representation of the people of England should consist of 400 members, though with a distribution to the counties, and the towns within them, somewhat different. It referred the succession of Parliaments, and the qualifications of the electors and elected, to future consideration, and recommended that all members now sitting in Parliament should be counted in the next Parliament as representatives for the places for which they at present sat. The first proposition, that the representatives should be in number 400, was voted by Parliament on the day that the report was brought up. The rest was deferred; and Vane seems to have pressed with great anxiety for its completion, but without effect. He had consented to the provision for the continuance of the present members in the House as in some sort a necessary compromise in the necessities of the case, to enable the original achievers and founders of the Commonwealth to deliver into the hands of the new representatives such a statement as they alone could give of their motives and reasons for the late memorable actions, and to report themselves, no less than their cause, aright to the unsatisfied; but still the dissolution was delayed.

\* Mr. Godwin, always too partial to the motives of Cromwell, dates his own suspicion of the intentions of the usurper at a somewhat later date. "It was only," he observes, "by slow degrees that he came to entertain those ambitious thoughts that in the sequel proved fatal to his own character and the welfare of his country. But they found entrance; and imperceptibly they proceeded to undermine the pillars of integrity and honesty in his bosom. He saw himself without a competitor. He had no equal. He began to disdain and despise those with whom he had hitherto acted. Incomparably the man of the highest genius he now met in the council-chamber at Whitehall was Sir Henry Vane. But what was Vane? He was wholly unfit to command an army. He did not possess that most glittering and striking of human accomplishments, to look through whole files and squadrons of athletic, well formed, and well armed men, and inspire them at once with confidence, submission, and awe, and make them move as if they had only one soul, and march at his word unflinching, even to the cannon's mouth."—iii., 218, 219.

\* We find the name of Vane in almost all the various administrative measures of the time. And it is interesting to observe him engaged, among other things, on the measure which had last occupied the great mind of Pym. "Referred," says one of Whitelocke's notes, p. 392, "to a committee to prepare an act upon Sir Henry Vane's report touching the excise."

† Hist. of Com., lii., 181.

Again the committee resumed its sittings, and through this and the following year would seem to have met upward of fifty times. Still nothing decisive was done. At last Vane procured the passing of a resolution that the subject should be again discussed in the House on the 24th of September, 1651.

Cromwell had arrived meanwhile from the triumphant field of Worcester, "brooding strange thoughts by the way." Finding matters in the House of Commons brought to this crisis by Vane, he seems at once to have decided on practising one of his profoundest arts of deception. He professed broadly his concurrence in the measure proposed, and announced his earnest desire for a new Parliament and a popular representation! Whether Vane was in any way moved by this to forego his suspicions, does not with any certainty appear.

The debate took place on the day appointed, and on the 25th the House voted, upon a division, Cromwell and Scot being tellers for the majority, that a bill should be brought in for fixing a certain time for closing the present Parliament and calling another; and it was referred to Saint John, Whitelocke, Lisle, Priedeaux, Say, Miles Corbet, and eight others, to prepare the bill. Next day the names of Vane, Cromwell, Marten, and Salway were added to this committee; and it was ordered that all that came should have voices in their decisions. On the 1st of October it was directed that this committee should sit every afternoon till the bill was ready. At the expiration of one week the bill was brought in and read a first time, and, two days after, a second time. It was then committed to a committee of the whole House, which was ordered to sit daily from the 14th to the 28th. The committee sat with few interruptions till the 4th of November. On that day it was directed that a new chairman should take the chair; and on the 12th it was found necessary that the sergeant-at-arms should go into Westminster Hall and summon the members, as well judges as others, to attend the House for the farther consideration of the bill. On the 13th the House was desired to examine the question, whether it be now a convenient time to fix the period at which the sittings of the present Parliament should cease; and on the 14th it was decided that this *was* a proper time. This decision was not adopted without two divisions, the first of fifty to forty-six, and the second of forty-nine to forty-seven; Cromwell and Saint John being in each instance tellers for the majority. On the 18th it was voted without a division that the period should be the 3d of November, 1654.†

The conquest of Scotland now led to the incorporation of that country with the English Legislature. A union was devised on large and liberal terms, and the genius of Vane, exerted with such effect in Scotland on a previous most memorable occasion, was thought essential to the successful achievement of the measure. He at once consented to proceed to Scotland as one of the commissioners for the settlement of the union. It was a trying time for

such a duty; but his country never required his services in vain. "It marks," says Mr. Godwin, "the generous and unsuspicious mind of Vane, who consented to go upon a journey to Scotland for certainly not less than two months, and to leave the military party without his personal opposition during that term. We may also infer from this fact the slow, deliberate, and cautious procedure of Cromwell. Vane would scarcely have engaged in this transaction, and have withdrawn himself for so long a time from the metropolis, if Cromwell and he had not been seemingly on terms of friendship."

The instructions to the commissioners were finally given on the 18th of December. They reached Scotland in the course of the following month, and opened their proceedings at Dalkeith, six miles from Edinburgh. Their purpose was to summon deputies from the different shires and boroughs of Scotland to meet them, and declare their assent to the proposed union. They sat during the greater part of January and the whole of February, and on the 1st of March they sent up Vane and another of the commissioners to report to Parliament the progress they had made, from whose statement it appeared that twenty shires and thirty-five boroughs had already assented to the union.\* In consequence of this report the act of union was brought in, and read a first and a second time on the 13th of April. In a very remarkable speech in the Parliament of Richard Cromwell (reported in the recently published *Diary*, by Burton), in which Vane argued most subtly for the exclusion of the Scotch nominees or members who would have turned the majority against the Republicans, he stated that this act of union, in so far as it related to representation, had never been duly perfected. I insert the speech here, both as illustrative of his share in this famous transaction, and of those sound philosophical views of the necessity of "laying foundations" in matters of government which we have been doomed to see defeated in these first years of the Commonwealth.

"This gentleman's discourse about the union has called me up. I shall represent the true state of that union. Admitting the premises agreed by the whole House, I shall deny the conclusion that it is right, convenient, or possible to admit them to a right, either in law or fact, to sit here.

"Those that you sent to treat had their great aim to settlement and peace, and to lay aside all animosities. The difference arose about imposing a king upon us. We conquered them, and gave them the fruit of our conquest in making them free denizens with us."

He read the declaratory part, and acknowledged that to be the union, and stated the progress of it.

"It is the interest of this nation to own and countenance that union. None of my arguments shall weaken it. The ordinance for union relates to this declaration. It was thus brought back again by your members from Scotland, that there should be one Parliament, by successive representatives. This is your union, and, when opened, none will deny it. To the

\* "That man would make himself our king!" said Hugh Peters, who saw him on the road.

† I ascertain these various divisions from Godwin's *History of the Com.*, p. 305, 306.

\* Godwin, *Hist. of Com.*, iii., 320.

completing of this, accordingly, commissioners attended the Parliament. We agreed then the number to be thirty-five to represent Scotland. The Parliament accepted the result from our and their commissioners. A bill was prepared to pass if that Parliament had not been broken up. In that respect, the public faith of the nation was much concerned to promote it. He that will deny it, departs from the very cause we have managed.

"It is to be confessed, the union was perfected in the time of last Parliament. It only wanted the last hand, which should have changed the constitution of Parliament. There was no foundation in law in the Long Parliament to receive them from Scotland or Ireland till we had settled our own Constitution. The committees that came from Scotland did not sit here, but only treated with your committee.

"You must vary your own Constitution, as well to make you fit to receive them as for them to come, and therefore I moved that the writs be read. It was the true meaning of the petition and advice to distribute it so, by reducing their own number, to give place for Scotland and Ireland. This the Long Parliament were about to do, to reduce themselves from 500 to 400. This was not done that Parliament. I told you the reason. But this was done, by the providence of God, by the instrument of government—a new Constitution, which reduced our own Constitution suitable to that for Scotland and Ireland—and accordingly the Parliament in 54 and 56 sat. This was reserved to be done by the petition and advice, but prevented also by the providence of God. It was left to no person to declare it, but singly as that Parliament should declare. That was left imperfect.

"It is one thing for us to be united and incorporated, another thing to be equally represented in Parliament by a right constitution. There is a great difference. As soon as you are a representative of that Commonwealth, then must the thirty be called, and not before.

"There being a failure in the petition and advice as to the distribution, they were fain to have recourse to the common law and the old statutes. There being no act of Parliament for another distribution, they were forced to call you as we left it in 1648.

"Now the single question is, whether, by the Act of Union, any right was created to any one shire or borough of Scotland. If they send them, you cannot receive them without overturning your own foundation. Your being thus called upon the old bottom, when no law was afoot to call Scotland or Ireland, your commission is clear; otherwise they were brought hither upon you; that if you will see it, you may; if you will not, you may let it pass.

"I think you are bound in duty and convenience to perfect this union, both as to the distribution and all other defects.

"I assert two things, which I would gladly have answered: 1. That those gentlemen that are chosen from those shires or boroughs have no right to sit as members of the representative of England, either by statute, common law, or agreement. 2. That there is no possibility of receiving them till you agree, by act of Parliament, on the distribution, and other things.

To say the chief magistrate may do it is expressly against the petition and advice. He cannot do it, it being neither in law, state, nor in the commission.

"Durham had as much a possessory right; why was not his oath broken as well in that as in this? Haply, he knew more what the people of Durham would say when they were applied to.

"*Honestly and uprightly make it your first business to settle your own Constitution.* It is said you go slowly on. Whose is the fault? If no new commission had been sent out, you might have gone on to have done a great deal of good. This is an imposing upon you.

"I would have this to be your first business—to lay foundations. Obstructions in the fountain are dangerous: that body cannot live. There is no remedy but to do that by law which cannot possibly be done without it. *The single person may as well send one hundred as thirty, and all for one place, and so rule your debates as he pleases.* This is the highest breach that can be. *Where are you, or posterity, upon the account of prudence? You see how the state of your affairs is abroad—how the Swede is, since your mighty debate. France and Spain are very likely speedily to agree!*

"It is an ill time for any man to assume to rule without a Parliament. In this juncture of time, I believe the Protector does not know the state of this business. If any counsel him to the contrary, it will fall heavy upon them. I hope you will not call it an excrementitious formality: it is the very essence and being of your privilege.

"Put the question, whether they have by law a right to sit, and that they may withdraw. If they do not, it is against the law of nature and nations to deny it. If they have no right by law to sit, none will insist upon it that they ought to continue."

The commencement of hostilities with Holland furnished a great occasion for the display of the genius of Vane in affairs of government. It had already shone forth in the pre-eminent success of his naval administration in the matter of Prince Rupert's expedition, and left foreign nations, repeating the names of Vane and Blake, to wonder wherein lay the secret of English success, whether in the genius of the council-chamber of the Commonwealth, or the bravery of her sons upon the waves.

During a portion of the Dutch war, Vane was not only at the head of naval affairs, but also president of the council, and his exertions were almost incredible.\* When the war began, the

\* "The next branch of his public usefulness, in a political capacity, was his most happy dexterity at making the best of a war. Armies are to small purpose abroad unless there be sage counsel at home. He heartily laboured to prevent a war with Holland, but the sons of Zerviah, a military party (that too much turned war into a trade), were too many for him in that point. He therefore set himself to make the best of a war for his country's defence. In this war, after some dubious fights (while the immediate care of the fleet was in other hands), he, with five others, were appointed by the Parliament to attend that affair. Hereupon he became the happy and speedy contriver of that successful fleet that did our work in a very critical season, when the Hollander vapoured upon our seas, took prizes at pleasure, hovered about our ports, and was ready to spoil all. His report to the House as to the war-ships by him recruited, ordered, and sent forth in so little time, to find the enemy weak, seemed a thing incredible." The foregoing is the testimony of Sikes, an unimpeachable witness.



Dutch were lords of the ocean. "They were in the full vigour of their strength, and had never yet, by sea, felt the breath of a calamity. They looked with contempt and impatience on the proud style the Commonwealth had assumed. Our navy was comparatively nothing: theirs covered the ocean with their sails." Before the war had concluded, the united powers of Vane and Blake had nevertheless struck down the pride of the United Provinces, and conferred on their beloved country that glorious title of mistress of the seas, which, to the present day, she has so gloriously maintained.

A temporary reverse, which was deeply felt at the time, only served to set off more brilliantly the subsequent exertions of Vane, and the success which crowned them. Blake, with only thirty-seven ships under his immediate command, had encountered Van Tromp in the Downs with a fleet of eighty sail, on the 29th of November, 1652. The fleet of the English admiral, imperfect as it was in number, was not even in proper fighting order; but it was Blake's grand creed\* that the English flag should never decline the challenge of an enemy, whatever his advantages; and the advice of his officers, it is said, coinciding with his own, determined him to engage. The battle was fought with the utmost gallantry on both sides for about five hours, when night came on, and enabled Blake to abandon the fight and escape into harbour with the loss of two ships, and others in a shattered state. Blake's ship was the most forward and fiercely engaged, and he was himself wounded.† The victorious Dutchman, drunk with his triumph, afterward paraded his fleet up and down the English Channel, with a broom fixed to his masthead, in derision of having swept the English navy from the sea.

For this he was soon punished by the unparalleled efforts of Vane. The difficulty was a disastrous one at the moment, but his energies rose to the occasion. On the 29th the battle had been fought. Not many days after, Vane reported the navy estimates to the House, and it was at once resolved that £40,000 per month should be devoted to the navy. The next and most difficult point was to raise the revenue to meet such an appropriation; but Vane's energy and capacity surmounted it. He brought in a bill, and had it at once read a first and second time, to sell Windsor Park, Hampton Court, Hyde Park, the Royal Park at Greenwich, Enfield Castle, and Somerset House, the proceeds of the whole to be for the use of the navy. In the beginning of February, Blake was put to sea by Vane with eighty ships of war, and soon fell in with Tromp, at the head of a squadron of equal size, convoying 200 merchantmen. A battle commenced on the 18th of February, off the Isle of Portland, which, for the weight of the armaments engaged, the determined bravery of the combatants, the length of time during which it lasted, and the brilliancy of its results, far transcended every previous naval

action on record, and has never, perhaps, been since surpassed. It was fought and renewed through three successive days, and at the end of the third day Blake conquered. He captured or destroyed eleven ships of war and thirty merchantmen, slew 2000 men, and took 1500 prisoners. His own ships suffered severely, but only one was sunk, and after her crew had been brought away; but his number slain is stated as nearly equal to that of his enemy.

Thus splendidly did Vane and Blake close the battles of that Republican Commonwealth whose own termination was now near at hand. Vane and Cromwell were at last on the eve of an open rupture.

Before it is described, an interesting circumstance claims our notice. During the progress of Vane's brilliant administration of the government, Milton had addressed to him his famous sonnet; and at the same time, as if with the view of composing those fatal differences between them, which threatened the state with calamity, by showing how the glories of each might be celebrated by the same impartial pen, the divine poet forwarded another and not less famous sonnet to Cromwell. That to Vane was first published in Sikes's book; and it is a singular circumstance that it escaped the notice of the first editors of Milton, and was only subsequently included in his poems. It had been sent privately to Vane, who furnished the copy to Sikes. I present it precisely as it was first printed, and with the commentary I have already referred to.

"The character of this deceased statesman," says Sikes, "I shall exhibit to you in a paper of verses, composed by a learned gentleman, and sent him July 3, 1652.

'VANE, young in years, but in sage council old,  
Than whom a better senator ne'er held  
The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repell'd  
The fierce Eperiot, and the African bold.

'Whether to settle peace or to unfold  
The drift of hollow states, hard to be spell'd,  
Then to advise how war may, best upheld,  
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,

'In all her equipage: besides to know  
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,  
What severs each, thou hast learn'd, which few have done,  
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;  
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans  
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son.'

"The latter part of this sufferer's elegy in the above mentioned verses concerns his skill in distinguishing the two swords or powers, civil and spiritual, and the setting right bounds to each. He held that the magistrate ought to keep within the proper sphere of civil jurisdiction, and not intermeddle with men's consciences, by way of imposition and force, in matters of religion and divine worship. In that healing question for which he was wounded by the late Protector (so called), he did sufficiently manifest this to be as well the magistrates' true interest as the people's just security. 'Tis observed by More and others, on various accounts, that the Roman emperors, owning and incorporating Christianity with the laws of the empire, strengthened the interest of the formal Christian, and drove the true spiritual worshipper into the wilderness. While magistrates pretend, and, it may be, verily think they are doing Christ a high piece of service by such fawning and formal compliance, they are

\* Another noble article in Blake's creed may be recorded here, in contrast to the conduct of Cromwell. He was the staunchest of Republicans; but it is recorded of him that, on receiving the news of the dispersion of the Long Parliament, he at once issued an order to the men of the fleet that their duty as seamen was to defend their country against foreign enemies, and not to meddle with political affairs.

† Hist. from Mackintosh, vi., 168.

directly involved in the anti-Christian interest for the persecuting of Christ in his true spiritual members.

"This lover of his nation, and asserter of the just rights and liberties thereof unto his death, was also for limiting the civil power, delegated by the people to their trustees in the supreme court of Parliament, or to any magistrates whatsoever. He held that there are certain fundamental rights and liberties of the nation, that carry such a universal and undeniable consonancy with the light of nature, right reason, and the law of God, that they are in *nowise* to be abrogated or altered, but preserved. What less than this can secure people's lives, liberties, and birthrights, declared in Magna Charta, and ratified by two-and-thirty Parliaments since? Let but once this truth be exploded and blown away, all the rights and liberties of the nation will soon go after it, and arbitrary domination and rapine may securely triumph over all. Deny that there are any fundamental irrevocable laws, and who can be secure as to life, liberty, or estate? For if, by an overruling stroke of abused prerogative, a majority in Parliament can be procured that will pull up all the ancient mischief by a new law, make reason and duty treason, and that *post factum* too—in this case, he that did things most rational and justifiable by unrepealed or irrevocable laws yesterday, may be condemned by a law made *post factum*, and executed tomorrow. By this means judges may be put into a most unhappy capacity of justifying the wicked and condemning the righteous, under colour of Parliamentary authority; in both which things they are an abomination to the Lord."

Vane was now using the same unparalleled exertions he had made for Blake, to avert the despotism of Cromwell. But Cromwell had completed all his plans, and was more than prepared for the opposition which "even his own beloved Vane" (as Clarendon expresses it) was organizing against him. It should be remarked that his motives for instant procedure had not been lessened by the measure Vane had included in his recent administrative plans, of the sale of Hampton Court, at that time in Cromwell's trust. Vane had also, as soon as Blake left for sea, procured a resolution of the House of Commons, appointing the 3d of November, 1653 (instead of the 3d of November, 1654, before fixed on, as I have said), for the Parliament's dissolution. Roger Williams, Vane's old friend of earlier years in his government of New-England, was staying at this time in Vane's country residence in Lincolnshire, and we find him writing over to his friends of New-England: "Here is great thoughts and preparations for a new Parliament. Some of our friends are apt to think a new Parliament will favour us and our cause more than this has done."\*

Up to this moment, therefore, Vane would seem not to have despaired. Yet Cromwell's plans had left him not a single possibility of success. His instrument was the army, and his immediate agents the Republican officers. These officers had been first most thoroughly deceived; and the silly simplicity of their en-

thusiasm appears to have deserved betrayal. They professed, and indeed felt, almost all of them, a rooted aversion to the government of a single person. Cromwell, therefore, had first to "convince them that Vane, and Bradshaw, and Marten, the great apostles of the Republican school, and whom he had taught them before to look upon with implicit reverence, were dishonest;" he had next to purge himself from the imputation of personal motives, and every alloy of the love of greatness and the love of power. All this he did; and, as Mr. Godwin observes, "by degrees, by multiplied protestations of the purity of his views and a self-denying temper, and by an apparent frankness, and the manifestations of a fervent zeal, he succeeded, and formed to himself a party as strong and as completely moulded to his suggestions and his will as the boldness of his purposes required."

It appeared subsequently (and the circumstance may possibly explain some of the difficulties of Vane's position in holding out the existence of the old Parliament so long) that Cromwell's plan had not always been that of a violent dissolution, but that, as far back as the preceding October, he had brought about various meetings between the officers of the army and certain members of the Parliament opposed to Vane, for the purpose of convincing the latter of the necessity of putting a speedy end to their sittings. There were ten or twelve such meetings in all, and Cromwell's proposition appears to have been that, the Parliament being dissolved, the government *ad interim* should be intrusted in the hands of a small number of persons of honour and integrity, and whose characters should be well known to the public. The number mentioned was forty. They were to supersede the council of state, and to consist of members of Parliament and officers of the army.\* The secret object of this was to prepare the way for his own supremacy or kingship, by removing every existing legislative and executive body that had the appearance of being founded upon the customs and institutions of England. The proposed senate, or council of forty, would have been moulded in a manner agreeable to his wishes; or, at worst, he depended upon having a majority among them whom he could render subservient to his purposes. And all this the military Republicans, saints of Democracy, and men of the Fifth Monarchy simply and gravely listened to, as auguring a blessed republic on the earth, while to these very men the wise and practical counsels of Vane were denounced as visionary!

"Cromwell," says the historian of the Commonwealth, "by calumnies, and the most insidious suggestions, succeeded in alienating the major part of the army from the leaders of the Parliament. His first topic was, that they were statesmen who, without undergoing hardships and being exposed to dangers themselves, were willing to use the army as their tool, and felt no genuine interest in its prosperity and happiness. The next argument was, that these lazy men, these 'baleful, unclean birds, perched as they were at fortune's top,' divided all the good things and the emoluments of the state among them, totally insensible to the adversities and

\* Baker's History of New-England, i., 267.

\* Parl. Hist., xx., 158.

privations which such a system inevitably entailed upon men of greater merit than themselves. Vane he treated as an obscure visionary, whose speculations no man could understand, and who, while he pretended to superior sanctity and patriotism, had no bowels of compassion for such as were not ready to engage themselves, heart and soul, in his projects. Others, agreeably to the austerity of the times, he exclaimed against as men of loose morals, and, therefore, unfit to be intrusted with the public safety. His own professed object was equality and a pure commonwealth, without a king or permanent chief magistrate of any kind."

All was now prepared for submission except the unquenchable resolution of Vane. On the 20th of April, 1653, he hurried down to the House of Commons, resolved to make a last effort to sustain the Republic. By his exertions within the last month, all the amendments from his report on the dissolution bill had already been decided on in the successive sittings of the House, and all that now remained was the third reading, and that sanction of the Parliament which should give the bill the force of a law. Vane, on his arrival in the House, at once rose, and vehemently urged the necessity of passing through these latter forms at once, imploring them, for the most pressing reasons, to hazard no farther delay. Upon this a debate arose, for Cromwell had instructed his myrmidons. Harrison spoke in remonstrance and expostulation, and was answered more warmly still.

Meanwhile Cromwell and his military cabal were sitting in consultation at Whitehall. He had dismissed many who happened to be members of the House on the first announcement of its sitting, but still remained himself with a few others. At length Colonel Ingoldsby reappeared from the House in violent haste and excitement, and told him that if he meant to do anything, he had no time to lose.\* Cromwell hastily commanded a party of soldiers to be marched round to the House of Commons, and, attended by Lambert and five or six other officers, at once proceeded there himself. Some of the soldiers he stationed at the door and in the lobby, and led some files of musketeers to a situation just without the chamber where the members were seated.†

"In plain black clothes, with gray worsted stockings," Cromwell quietly made his appearance on the floor of the House of Commons. Vane was urging passionately the necessity of proceeding to the last stage of the bill, with the omission of immaterial forms, such as the ceremony of engrossing. Cromwell stood for a moment, and then "sat down, as he used to do in an ordinary place." After a few minutes he beckoned Harrison. "Now is the time," he said; "I must do it!" Harrison, doubtful, at the instant, of the effect of what Vane was urging, advised him to consider. "The work, sir," he added, "is very great and dangerous." "You say well," retorted Cromwell, hastily, and "sat still for another quarter of an hour." The question was now about to be put, when Cromwell suddenly rose, "put off his hat, and spake." "At first," says Lord Leicester (on

the information, no doubt, of Algernon Sidney), "and for a good while, he spake to the commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterward he changed his style, told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults"—in other words, he poured out, according to the reports of every one present, a vehement torrent of invective. Vane rose to remonstrate, when Cromwell, as if suddenly astonished himself at the extraordinary part he was playing, stopped and said, "You think, perhaps, that this is not Parliamentary language—I know it!" Then, says Lord Leicester, "he put on his hat, went out of his place, and walked up and down the stage or floor in the midst of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid them soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly upon some persons, as Sir R. Whitelocke, one of the commissioners for the great seal, and Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharp language, though he named them not, but by his gestures it was well known he meant them." One person, he said (aiming, Lord Leicester adds, at Vane), "might have prevented all this, but he was a juggler, and had not so much as common honesty. The Lord had done with him, however, and chosen honest and worthier instruments for carrying on his work." All this he spake, says Ludlow, "with so much passion and discomposure, as if he had been distracted." Vane's voice was heard once more, and Sir Peter Wentworth and Marten seconded him. "Come, come," raved Cromwell, "I'll put an end to your prating. You are no Parliament. I'll put an end to your sitting. Begone! Give way to honest men."

The tyrant then stamped his foot very heavily upon the floor, the door opened, and he was surrounded by musketeers with their arms ready. "Then the general," says Lord Leicester, "pointing to the speaker in his chair, said to Harrison, 'Fetch him down!' Harrison went to the speaker and spake to him to come down, but the speaker sat still and said nothing. 'Take him down!' said the general; then Harrison went and pulled the speaker by the gown, and he came down. It happened that day that Algernon Sidney sat next to the speaker on the right hand. The general said to Harrison, 'Put him out!' Harrison spake to Sidney to go out, but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The general said again, 'Put him out!' then Harrison and Worsley (who commanded the general's own regiment of foot) put their hands upon Sidney's shoulders as if they would force him to go out. Then he rose and went towards the door. Then the general went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the speaker, and said, 'Take away these bawbles!' So the soldiers took away the mace."

Helpless in the midst of this extraordinary scene, the members had meanwhile been gradually withdrawing. As they passed Cromwell, he addressed the leading men with passionate bitterness. He accused Alderman Allen of embezzlement, and Whitelocke of gross injustice. He pointed to Challoner, and told his soldiers he was a drunkard; he called after Sir Peter Wentworth that he was an adulterer;

\* Whitelocke, 539; Perfect Politician, 168.

† Leicester's Journals, 192; Sidney Papers, by Blencowe.

\* Leicester's Journals, p. 140, 141.

and as his old friend Harry Marten passed him, he asked if a whoremaster was fit to sit and govern. Vane passed him among the last, and as he did so, "said aloud, 'This is not honest! Yea, it is against morality and common honesty!'" Cromwell stopped for an instant, as if to recollect what vice he could charge his great rival with, and then addressed to him, in a loud but troubled voice, the memorable words, "Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! *the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!*" He was now master. He "seized on the records, snatched the act of dissolution from the hand of the clerk," commanded the doors to be locked, and went away to Whitehall.\*

When Cromwell arrived that day at Whitehall, he was the absolute dictator of three kingdoms: when Vane reached his own home, he was once more a private man, with no authority in the state, with little fortune left from what he had so generously devoted to his country, with no remaining influence in the world save that of his genius and his virtue. Yet who would have chosen between them!

This memorable Long Parliament had many glorious epitaphs written over it. "It was thus," says Ludlow, "that Cromwell contrived to be rid of this Parliament, that had performed such great things, having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; established the liberty of the people; reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant; maintained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success, that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion; recovered our reputation at sea; secured our trade, and provided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation. And however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity that they were a disinterested and impartial Parliament, who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not in all that time give away among themselves so much as their forces spent in three months." "Thus it pleased God," says the cautious Whitelocke, "that this assembly, famous through the world

for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their own servants; and those whom they had raised now pulled down their masters: an example never to be forgotten and scarcely to be paralleled in any story, by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are, and how apt to fall when we think them highest. All honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this unworthy action." "The Parliament," observes the accomplished Mrs. Hutchinson, "had now, by the blessing of God, restored the Commonwealth to a happy and plentiful condition; and although the taxes were great, the people were rich and able to pay them; they had some hundred thousand pounds in their purse, and were free from enemies in arms within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten, and brought to seek peace upon honourable terms. And now they fell, because they thought it was time to deliver the people from their burdens, which could not be but by disbanding unnecessary officers and soldiers." "When Van Tromp," says Algernon Sidney, "set upon Blake in Folkestone Bay, the Parliament had not above thirteen ships against threescore, and not a man that had ever seen any other fight at sea than between a merchant-ship and a pirate, to oppose the best captain in the world; but, such was the power of wisdom and integrity in those that sat at the helm, and their diligence in choosing men only for their merit was attended with such success, that in two years our fleets grew to be as famous as our land-armies, and the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France, and had the kings of France and Scotland for our prisoners." And these tributes may be closed with the words of one who had been a bitter and a scornful enemy. "Thus, by their own mercenary servants," exclaims Roger Coke, "and not a sword drawn in their defence, fell the haughty and victorious Rump, whose mighty actions will scarcely find belief in future generations; and, to say the truth, they were a race of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour nor by importunity. You scarce ever heard of any revolting from them; no murmur or complaint of seamen or soldiers; nor do I find that they ever pressed any in all their wars. And as they excelled in the management of civil affairs, so it must be owned they exercised in matters ecclesiastic no such severities as either the Covenanters, or others before them, did upon such as dissented from them; nor were they less forward in reforming the abuses of the common law."

It is right, before following Vane to his retirement, to place the reader in possession of the exact question between Cromwell and that great statesman, which we have seen thus insolently silenced by the application of brute force. This can only be done by stating the provisions of the bill on which Vane was content to rest his case with the people and posterity.

\* I have taken the various points in the foregoing account from very many authorities, all of them of the highest veracity. Whitelocke, Ludlow, Lord Leicester, The Perfect Politician, The Parliamentary History, and the Journals of the time. It will complete the curiosity and interest of the narrative to subjoin the "official" account of the incident published two or three days after in Cromwell's paper, the *Mercurius Politicus*: "Westminster, April 30. The lord-general delivered in Parliament *divers reasons* wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of this Parliament, and it was accordingly done, the speaker and the members all departing. The grounds of which proceedings will (it is probable) be shortly made public."

† This circumstance has already been glanced at. Vane's estate had suffered in the civil war; he had assisted the public treasury with various large sums; he had refunded positive receipts from his office, and surrendered an income of £30,000 a year! In point of fact, he was now a poor man—he might have been the wealthiest of the wealthy. But let us hear Sikes: "Such were his abilities for despatch of a business if good, or hindering it if ill, that had his hand been as open to receive as others to offer in that kind, he might have treasured up silver as dust. Many hundreds of persons have been offered to some about him in case they could but prevail with him only not to appear against a proposal. On the least intimation of such a thing to him, he would conclude it to be some corrupt, self-interested design, and set himself more vigilantly and industriously to oppose and quash it."

But this bill was never afterward found! Cromwell himself seized it from the hands of the clerk, and no copy of it remains upon record. By a careful examination of the journals, however, I have gathered sufficient information on the subject to leave no doubt of the general provisions of the bill,\* or of the nature of many of its more important details.

I have already mentioned that Vane was the author of the reports from the select committee presented at various intervals to the House. Tracing these through the innumerable allusions, and votes, and divisions recorded concerning them in the journals, a tolerably complete abstract of it may be made. The number of representatives he fixed at 400. He recommended the abolition of the right of voting in the smallest boroughs, and proposed to throw the members into the larger counties; to give seven members to London and the liberties thereof; and to give members to all the larger cities and towns in England theretofore unrepresented. He presented to them the following list of the numbers of members to which he thought the counties of England and Wales, including the cities and boroughs within them, fairly entitled; and he left the particular distribution of members to each county, city, or borough, to the "pleasure of the House."†

Bedfordshire, and all the places within the same . . .	6	Nottinghamshire, and all the places within the same . . .	6
Buckinghamshire, &c. . . .	9	Oxfordshire, &c. . . . .	6
Berkshire, &c. . . . .	6	Rutlandshire, &c. . . . .	2
Cornwall, &c. . . . .	10	Staffordshire, &c. . . . .	6
Cumberland, &c. . . . .	4	Salop, &c. . . . .	8
Cambridgeshire, &c. . . .	8	Surrey, &c. . . . .	7
Cheshire, &c. . . . .	5	Southamptonshire, &c. . .	13
Derbyshire, &c. . . . .	5	Suffolk, &c. . . . .	16
Devonshire, &c. . . . .	20	Somersetshire, &c. . . . .	14
Dorsetshire, &c. . . . .	8	Sussex, &c. . . . .	14
Durham, &c. . . . .	4	Westmoreland, &c. . . . .	3
Essex, &c. . . . .	14	Wiltshire, &c. . . . .	13
Gloucestershire, &c. . . .	8	Warwickshire, &c. . . . .	7
Hertfordshire, &c. . . . .	6	Worcestershire, &c. . . . .	7
Hesfordshire, &c. . . . .	6	Yorkshire, &c. . . . .	24
Huntingdonshire, &c. . . .	4	Anglesey, &c. . . . .	1
Kent, &c. . . . .	18	Brecknockshire, &c. . . . .	2
Leicestershire, &c. . . . .	6	Cardiganhire, &c. . . . .	2
Lincolnshire, &c. . . . .	15	Carmarvonshire, &c. . . . .	2
Lancashire, &c. . . . .	12	Denbighshire, &c. . . . .	1
Middlesex, &c. (except London) . . . . .	6	Flintshire, &c. . . . .	1
London and the Liberties thereof . . . . .	7	Glamorganshire, &c. . . . .	3
Norfolk, &c. . . . .	14	Merionethshire, &c. . . . .	1
Northamptonshire, &c. . .	8	Monmouthshire, &c. . . . .	3
Northumberland, &c. . . .	8	Montgomeryshire, &c. . . .	2
		Pembrokeshire, &c. . . . .	3
		Radnorshire, &c. . . . .	2

\* Ludlow, in his Memoirs, supplies the following sketch, which is corroborative of the accuracy of what is stated in the text: "The act for putting a period to the Parliament was still before a committee of the whole House, who had made a considerable progress therein, having agreed upon a more equal distribution of the power of election throughout England. And whereas formerly some boroughs that had scarce a house upon them chose two members to be their representatives in Parliament (just as many as the greatest cities in England, London only excepted), and the single county of Cornwall elected forty-four, when Essex, and other counties bearing as great a share in the payment of taxes, sent no more than six or eight; this unequal representation of the people the Parliament resolved to correct, and to permit only some of the principal cities and boroughs to choose, and that, for the most part, but one representative, the city of London only excepted, which, on account of the great proportion of their contributions and taxes, were allowed to elect six. The rest of the 400, whereof the Parliament was to consist (*besides those that served for Ireland and Scotland*), were appointed to be chosen by the several counties, in as near a proportion as was possible to the sums charged upon them for the service of the state, and all men admitted to be electors who were worth £200 in lands, leases, or goods."—ii., 435, 436.

† It is right to state that these details were published by the present writer in some papers written during the dis-

With respect to qualification, he suggested that the elective franchise in towns should be exercised by all housekeepers of a certain rental (which he left to the determination of the House), and with an earnestness rendered remarkable by events of our own day, while he pressed the necessity of extending the franchise in counties, he urged the danger of *vesting it in those tenants whose tenure of estate subjected them to perpetual control*. His plan was to give the right of voting in counties to all persons *seised in an estate of freehold* of lands, tenements, or other profits of the clear yearly value of 40s.; all tenants in ancient demesne; customary tenants; and all copyholders of any estate of inheritance in possession, of the clear yearly value of £5; all tenants *for life* of ancient demesne in possession, and all copyhold and customary tenants *for life* in possession of the clear yearly value of £5; all tenants in actual possession *for the term of one-and-twenty years or more*, in being, upon any lease granted, determinable upon life or lives, of the clear yearly value of £20 over and above the rent reserved or chargeable thereon; and all tenants, *for the term of one-and-twenty years or more*, in being, in possession of the clear yearly value of £20 over and above any rent reserved or chargeable thereon.

After explaining the various heads of his report, Vane moved "that they be referred to a grand committee of the House, to take into consideration and to prepare a bill to be presented." The numerous sittings and delays that followed have been already described, and from the frequent divisions on the journals, some notion may be gathered of the nature of the points that came under sharpest discussion. The disfranchising and enfranchising clauses were debated at very considerable length, each town and county being put separately. One or two circumstances, taken almost at random from the journals during 1652, will intimate a startling resemblance between these debates and those of a later period. Many divisions are there recorded, which betokened hard struggles for condemned boroughs; and we find that immediately after Plympton (so renowned in a certain famous schedule A.) had been consigned to destruction by a decisive division, the claims of Queenborough (also in that notable schedule) seem to have been stoutly debated; for, on a division, the numbers were equal, and the half-convicted borough was suffered to continue in existence only by the casting vote of the speaker. We may mention also that the proposal for uniting East and West Loo, in order to their sending one member, which was offered to and rejected by the Parliament of 1831, had been entertained and accepted by the Long Parliament. Of the enfranchising clauses, we might refer for a specimen to the minutes of one day's proceedings, which gave to Arundel, Honiton, and Reigate (all in schedule B.) the privilege of retaining one member, and to Penryn and Bury (in schedules D. and E.) the right of sending two members each. One circumstance farther is worthy of notice in thus slightly comparing the measures. The dis-

cussion of the Reform Bill in 1831, and afterward published in the Times newspaper, then ably and earnestly advocating that measure.

trous system of dividing the counties was in one instance, and in one instance only, adopted by the statesmen of the Long Parliament. On an amendment, and after long discussion, it was resolved that the members for the county of Yorkshire should be chosen separately, the elections for each riding to be made distinct. Here, however, in dividing a county already parcelled out in separate districts, none of the bad results so fairly to have been presumed, and since so deeply felt, from a general division of the counties, could be expected to accrue. Lastly, I may mention, that when Vane proposed to insert in the bill the county qualification clause already described, Cromwell defeated him in several divisions, and substituted a £200 qualification (real or personal) in its stead.

Thus are established the popular claims of Sir Henry Vane the younger to the respect and admiration of posterity, in this his last Parliamentary struggle for the liberties of the Commonwealth. One striking circumstance more in connexion with the subject should still be noticed. When Cromwell called his second and third Parliaments, he seems to have tried the experiment of the principal provisions of this famous bill. His "Instrument of Government" directed that a Parliament should be summoned once in every third year; that all petty boroughs should be suppressed, and that the representation should be, as nearly as might be, proportioned to the amount of taxation. It fixed the number of English members at 400; of these, 261 were to be county members, besides six for London, two for the Isle of Ely, two for the Isle of Wight, and two each for Exeter, Plymouth, Colchester, Gloucester, Canterbury, Leicester, Lincoln, Westminster, Norwich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Bristol, Taunton, Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds, Southwark, Coventry, New Sarum, Worcester, and York. It gave one each to the two Universities, and one each to all the towns and boroughs that were thought worthy to be represented, among which are Manchester, Leeds, Halifax, &c., and it fixed the amount of qualification at £200 of real or personal estate. And what was the result? The compilers of the Parliamentary History, no indifferent friends to the cause of the Royalists, say that "this popular and equitable scheme had filled the House of Commons with so great a number of independent gentlemen of the best families and estates in the kingdom, that he (Cromwell) had no way to manage them but by excluding either by fraud or force those who were the true friends of the Constitution." And he scrupled not to do so. He dissolved the first of the new Parliaments because it presumed to discuss the question, whether the government should be in a single person. He endeavoured strenuously, but in vain, to pack the second, by using various means to influence the elections; and failing in that, excluded a hundred members by allowing none to enter without a certificate from the council of state. Such was the practical working of even an imperfect copy of Vane's scheme.

Whatever may be thought, then, of the motives or policy of that statesman in deferring this measure, supposing, which is scarcely probable, that the delay was not beyond his con-

trol, no doubt he fell gloriously in his unsuccessful struggle to achieve it at last. He was driven from the government of the Commonwealth by a traitorous usurper because he proposed to strengthen it with new institutions, and replenish its languid veins with the vigorous blood of the people. He carried with him into his retirement that glorious consolation.

Some few days after the usurpation saw him quietly settled at Raby Castle. Here, or at his other seat of Belleau, in the county of Lincoln, with his family around him, he resumed the studies so inexpressibly dear to him, of learning, philosophy, and religion, and waited patiently for the first fitting occasion of striking another stroke for the GOOD OLD CAUSE.

Cromwell, meanwhile, drunk with power, was setting at naught the advice of his wisest counsellor. "Consider frequently," wrote Milton to him, with noblest eloquence, and some thing of poetic license, on his first assumption of the power, "consider in thy inmost thoughts how dear a pledge, from how dear a parent intrusted (the gift liberty, the giver thy country), thou hast received into thy keeping. Reverse the hope that is entertained of thee, the confident expectation of England; call to mind the features and the wounds of all the brave men who, under thy command, have contended for this inestimable prize; call to mind the ashes and the image of those who fell in the bloody strife; respect the apprehension and the discourse that is held of us by foreign nations, how much it is they look for in the recollection of our liberty, so bravely achieved, of our Commonwealth, so gloriously constructed; which if it shall be in so short a time subverted, nothing can be imagined more shameful and dishonourable; last of all, *revere thyself*, so deeply bound, that that liberty, in securing which thou hast encountered such mighty hardships, and faced such fearful perils, shall, while in thy custody, neither be violated by thee, nor any way broken in upon by others. *Recollect that thou thyself canst not be free unless we are so; for it is folly so provided in the nature of things, that he who conquers another's liberty, in the very act loses his own*; he becomes, and justly, the foremost slave. But, indeed, if thou, the patron of our liberty, should undermine the freedom which thou hadst but so lately built up, this would prove not only deadly and destructive to thine own fame, but to the entire and universal cause of religion and virtue. The very substance of piety and honour will be seen to have evaporated, and the most sacred ties and engagements will cease to have any value with our posterity; than which a more grievous wound cannot be inflicted on human interests and happiness, since the fall of the first father of our race. Thou hast taken on thyself a task which will probe thee to the very vitals, and disclose to the eyes of all how much is thy courage, thy firmness, and thy fortitude; whether that piety, perseverance, moderation, and justice really exist in thee, in consideration of which we have believed that God hath given thee the supreme dignity over thy fellows. To govern three mighty states by thy counsels; to recall the people from their corrupt institutions to a purer and a nobler discipline; to extend thy thoughts and send out

ing mind to our remotest shores; to foresee and provide for all; to shrink from no labour; to trample under foot and tear to pieces all the snares of pleasure, and all the entangling seducements of wealth and power: these are matters so arduous, that, in comparison of them, the perils of war are but the sports of children. These will winnow thy faculties, and search thee to the very soul; they require a man sustained by a strength that is more than human, and whose meditations and whose thoughts shall be in perpetual commerce with his Maker."\*

Cromwell had now decisively shown that he was not that man. He had already richly entitled himself to the doom he had stirred against Charles the First; for, like that unhappy prince, he had abruptly closed three Parliaments in succession because they threatened to thwart his will. The splendid trust of foreign victories and supremacy which he had inherited from Vane's administration of the Commonwealth he indeed maintained, and the glories of his foreign administration served to conceal or patch over the ragged condition of his domestic government. In that government existed no single principle of stability. Plots and treasons shook it in every month of its existence, till at last, abandoning merely desultory acts of despotism, he was driven to organize a system of military inquisition (in his instructions to the major-generals) that should have the effect of superseding the conditions of civil government. Having accomplished this, he bethought him of getting together a more manageable Parliament, and began to consider it possible that the nation, thoroughly discontented with military despotism, might possibly not be indisposed to listen to some compromise, involving the old institutions of kingship. Nothing could be attempted, at all events, without some shadow or form of a Parliament. Old habits were much, and the English people might still farther be deceived by a prudent conciliation on that score. Alas! he was indeed teaching them all the while an indifference to the liberty they had suffered so much in achieving—but not for himself the melancholy advantage! England was at this time a scene of beggarly and disgraceful rehearsal for the grand farce of the 29th of May, 1660.

Cromwell's preparation for his present move in the game was very characteristic; he published, on the 14th of March, 1656, a declaration, calling upon the people to observe a general fast, for the purpose of "applying themselves to the Lord to discover the Achan who had so long obstructed the settlement of these distracted kingdoms." He had fixed his gloating aspirations on a crown, and with admirable originality he therefore expressed the idea in this proclamation, that he and others associated with him in the government desired to humble themselves before God for their sins, and earnestly longed for light that they might discern their errors and faults, and therefore that it became them, with a spirit of lowliness, and mind open to conviction, to receive counsel and direction, in whatever methods Providence might adopt.

Sir Henry Vane had hitherto kept aloof from

\* *Declaratio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano.*

public affairs, engaged in the studies I have named. In the interim he had published the "Retired Man's Meditations" (a quarto volume of 430 pages) already described and quoted from, and other works illustrative of his views in religion and philosophy. With deep interest, indeed, he watched the proceedings of the usurper,\* but in all the conspiracies and consultations of the disaffected he peremptorily refused to take part. Reason and public spirit were his weapons, and he left every other to the simple "visionaries" and "enthusiasts" who, having stripped the Commonwealth and her greatest statesmen of their liberties to clothe Cromwell with them, now conceived the noble project of assassination by way of hastening that saints' reign which their idol had once promised them. The apples in that fool's paradise were sour at last.

Now, however, Vane entered the field, after his nobler fashion, against the dictator of the Commonwealth. He wrote a political treatise, which he entitled "A Healing Question propounded and resolved, upon Occasion of the late public and seasonable Call to Humiliation, in order to Love and Union among the honest Party, and with a Desire to apply Balm to the Wound before it become incurable. By Henry Vane, Knight." In this treatise he enforced his old doctrines of civil and religious liberty, and added some theories and recommendations concerning the construction of a civil government, the result, no doubt, of quiet and philosophical reflection on the occurrences of his political life, which are in the last degree striking and memorable. He here proposed, in fact, for the first time in the records of history, that expedient of organizing a government "on certain fundamentals not to be dispensed with," which was thought "visionary" and impracticable by the world till the world learned to venerate the name of Washington.

Vane begins with a statement of the question thus: "The question propounded is, What possibility doth yet remain (all things considered) of reconciling and uniting the dissenting judgments of honest men within the three nations, who still pretend to agree in the spirit, justice, and reason of the same good cause, and what is the means to effect this?" Of that cause he proceeds to say, that surely it "hath still the same goodness in it as ever, and is, or ought to be, as much in the hearts of all good people that have adhered to it; it is not less to be valued now than when neither blood nor treasure were thought too dear to carry it out, and hold it up from sinking; and hath the same omnipotent God, whose great name is concerned in it, as well as his people's outward safety and welfare; who knows also how to give a revival to it when secondary instruments and visible means fail or prove deceitful." And that the latter had been proved, the writer added significantly, "It seemed as if God were pleased to stand still, and be as a looker-on" during the last three years, that is, during Cromwell's tyranny.

\* Clarendon not very accurately describes his conduct to have been, that he "retired quietly to his house in the country, poisoned the affections of his neighbours towards the government, and lost nothing of his credit with the people, yet carried himself so warily that he did nothing to disturb the peace of the nation, or to give Cromwell any advantage against him upon which to call him in question."

In a subsequent passage this is more distinctly stated, with all the dangers it was bringing the nation into, thus: "In the management of this war it pleased God, the righteous Judge (who was appealed to in the controversy), so to bless the counsel and forces of the persons concerned and engaged in this cause, as in the end to make them absolute and complete conquerors over their common enemy; and by this means they had added unto the natural right which was in them before (and so declared by their representatives in Parliament assembled), the right of conquest, for the strengthening of their just claim to be governed by national councils, and successive representatives of their own election and setting up. This they once thought they had been in possession of, when it was ratified, as it were, in the blood of the last king. But of late a great interruption having happened unto them in their former expectations, and, instead thereof, something rising up that seems rather accommodated to the private and selfish interest of a particular part (in comparison) than truly adequate to the common good and concern of the whole body engaged in this cause: hence it is that this compacted body is now falling asunder into many dissenting parts (a thing not unforeseen nor un hoped for by the common enemy all along as their last relief); and if these breaches be not timely healed, and the offences (before they take too deep root) removed, they will certainly work more to the advantage of the common enemy than any of their own unwearied endeavours and dangerous contrivances in foreign parts put altogether."

Enlarging next on the universal advantages of liberty in civil and religious matters, Vane goes on to develop the method by which he thinks it might be secured to the people, and therein suggests the idea of a FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTION. He then directs the following vigorous passage against Cromwell: "The offence which causes such great thoughts of heart among the honest party (if it may be freely expressed, as sure it may, when the magistrate himself professes he doth but desire and wait for conviction therein), is, in short, this: that when the right and privilege is returned, nay, is restored by conquest unto the whole body (that forfeited not their interest therein), of freely disposing themselves in such a constitution of righteous government as may best answer the end held forth in this cause; that, nevertheless, either through delay they should be withheld as they are, or through design they should come at last to be utterly denied the exercise of this their right, upon pretence that they are not in a capacity as yet to use it, which, indeed, hath some truth in it, if those that are now in power, and have the command of the arms, do not prepare all things requisite thereunto, as they may, and, like faithful guardians to the Commonwealth, admitted to be in its nonage, they ought. But if the bringing of true freedom into exercise among men, yea, so refused a party of men, be impossible, why hath this been concealed all this while? and why was it not thought on before so much blood was spilt, and treasure spent? Surely such a thing as this was judged real and practicable, not imaginary and national. Besides, why may it not suffice to

have been thus long delayed and withheld from the whole body, at least as to its being brought by them into exercise now at last? Surely the longer it is withheld, the stronger jealousies do increase, that it is intended to be assumed and engrossed by a part only, to the leaving the rest of the body (who, in all reason and justice, ought to be equally participants with the other in the right and benefit of the conquest, for as much as the war was managed at the expense and for the safety of the whole) in a condition almost as much exposed, and subject to be imposed upon, as if they had been enemies and conquered, not in any sense conquerors. If ever such an unrighteous, unkind, and deceitful dealing with brethren should happen, although it might continue above the reach of question from human judicature, yet can we think it possible it should escape and go unpunished by the immediate hand of the righteous Judge of the whole world, when he ariseth out of his place to do right to the oppressed?"

After this wise, solemn, and searching reproof, Vane proceeds with masterly ingenuity to present such a view of events and affairs as, without any personal allusion, made it clear to all eyes that the ambition of Cromwell was the obstacle in the way of the establishment of a just and free government; that he was "the Achan who obstructed the settlement of these distracted kingdoms," and that, in preferring his own aggrandizement to the common good, and seizing an unlawful power, he had taken "of the accursed thing." He then delineates, in a passage ever deserving of remembrance, the course of proceedings by which a CONSTITUTION might be agreed upon and established, in reparation of all these injuries. The method, the reader will perceive, is exactly that which more than a century after was adopted by Washington and his immortal associates.

"The most natural way for which would seem to be by a general council, or CONVENTION of faithful, honest, and discerning men, chosen for that purpose by the free consent of the whole body of adherents to this cause, in the several parts of the nation, and observing the time and place of meeting appointed to them (with other circumstances concerning their election), by order from the present ruling power, but considered as general of the army; which convention is not properly to exercise the legislative power, but only to debate freely and agree upon the particulars, that by way of FUNDAMENTAL CONSTITUTIONS shall be laid and inviolably observed, as the conditions upon which the whole body so represented doth consent to cast itself into a civil and politic incorporation, and under the visible form and administration of government therein declared, and to be by each individual member of the body subscribed in testimony of his or their particular consent given thereunto; which conditions so agreed (and among them an act of oblivion for all) will be without danger of being broken or departed from, considering of what it is they are the conditions, and the nature of the convention wherein they are made, which is of the people represented in their highest state of sovereignty, as they have the sword in their hands unsubjected unto the rules of civil government, but what themselves, orderly assembled for that purpose, do think fit to



make. And the sword, upon these conditions, subjecting itself to the supreme judicature thus to be set up, how suddenly might harmony, righteousness, love, peace, and safety unto the whole body follow hereupon, as the happy fruit of such a settlement, if the Lord have any delight to be among us !"

More need not be given\* to show the spirit and philosophy of this great political treatise, its sincere and serious admonition, its fearless and vigorous exhortation, its moderate and respectful tone. It was in all respects calculated to work a great sensation; and perhaps the most striking circumstance connected with it remains to be noticed. Its author, resolved to maintain a perfect good faith even towards Cromwell, *transmitted to him privately*, through the hands of General Fleetwood, *a copy before its publication*, not disregarding even the faint hope there existed that Cromwell might be induced to follow his advice, and adopt some such course as he had proposed, in which event the public feeling needed not, by its publication, be exasperated unnecessarily; but after the lapse of a month it was returned without comment, and Sir Henry immediately issued it from the press, with a postscript, in which allusion was made to the fact that it had previously been communicated to Cromwell. It is more than probable, however, that Fleetwood had feared to provoke the usurper by it, and therefore purposely withheld it from him.

Vane at once published it. The writs for the new Parliament came out at the same time, and a great excitement arose in many quarters. It was increased by the sudden appearance of another pamphlet, which was attributed also, though not on sufficiently good authority to render it quite certain,† to "Sir Harry Vane." It was called "England's Remembrancer," and its tone was much more violent than that of the Healing Question. Some of the Republicans had been scrupling to act upon Cromwell's writs, as it would be a recognition of his authority. This pamphlet answered the objection by putting the case of a thief, who, having kept one out of his house for a time, bids him return to it. "Would any of you scruple to go home because the thief had before exercised a power to which he had no right?" "What," said the author in conclusion, "shall I say more to you, dear Christians and countrymen! Do not the cries of the widows and the fatherless speak! Do not your imprisoned friends speak! Do not your banished neighbours speak! Do not your infringed rights speak! Do not your invaded properties speak! Do not your affronted representatives, who have been trodden upon with scorn, speak!"

Cromwell is recorded to have "trembled" at last. He summoned Vane before the council. The conduct adopted by Vane in consequence, observes the historian of the Commonwealth, "is entitled to particular notice. His high spirit recoiled from the arbitrary proceeding of being summoned, absolutely, and without cause

shown, to appear before the council. He had a short time before been second to no man in the island, and, in reality, the principal director of the councils of the Commonwealth. No man was ever more deeply imbued with a Republican spirit; and his high rank and ample fortune\* had not exactly prepared him to be commanded by any one. He had now spent some years in retirement, and kept aloof from all cabals and private consults and disquisitions in political matters. His principal family seat was Raby Castle, in the bishopric of Durham; but his more favourite residence appears to have been at Belleau, in the county of Lincoln, where this summons, dated on the 29th of July, reached him on the 4th of August."

The summons was of the true despotic kind. It was couched in the most unceremonious form, without the word "Sir," or any term of address at the beginning; and the mandatory clause was expressed simply in the phrase, "you are to attend."

Thursday, the 12th of August, was the day on which his presence was demanded before the council; but in a note to the president, he stated that it would be impossible for him to be in town till some days later. On the 14th he sent a message signifying that he had that evening arrived at his house at Charing Cross, and was ready to appear when sent for. His attendance was not required till the 21st; and he appears to have been merely questioned as to the authorship of the tract entitled "A Healing Question," which he admitted to be his, and was suffered to leave the council. An order was then made in these words: "Sir Henry Vane having this day appeared before the council, and they having taken consideration of a seditious book by him written and published, entitled 'A Healing Question, &c.,' tending to the disturbance of the present government and the peace of the Commonwealth, ordered that, if he shall not give good security in bond for £5000 by Thursday next [in the warrants of September 4, entered in the council books, it stands Tuesday], to do nothing to the prejudice of the present government and the peace of the Commonwealth, he shall stand committed."† Upon this order being sent to him, he wrote for answer that he could on no account comply with what was required, and by his own act do that which might blemish or bring in question his innocence, and the goodness of the cause for which he suffered. He farther said, "I am well content to take this as a mark of honour from those who sent it, and as the recompense of my former services;" and added, with a terrible significance, "I cannot but observe in this proceeding with me how exactly they tread in the steps of the late king, whose design being to set the government free from all restraint of laws as to our persons and estates, and to render the monarchy absolute, thought he could employ no better means to effect it than by casting into obloquy and disgrace all those who desired to preserve the laws and liberties of the nation." He concluded thus: "It is with no small grief to be

\* The whole of the treatise will be found in the Appendix (A) at the end of this article. The reader is particularly referred to it.

† He stated this himself, without mentioning Fleetwood's name, in a letter he wrote to the council on being questioned before them.

† Thurloe's State Papers, v., 342.

\* The recent death of his father had placed him in possession of the family estates.

† "Proceeds of the Protector (so called) and Council against Sir Henry Vane," p. 1-4.

lamented that the evil and wretched principles by which the late king aimed to work out his design *should now revive and spring up under the hands of men professing godliness.*"

Cromwell appears to have been brought to a stand for some little while by this high resolution and courage. Fourteen days were suffered to elapse before a warrant was made out, directing the sergeant-at-arms to apprehend Vane, and conduct him to the Isle of Wight; another was sent to the governor of the island to receive him as a prisoner, and not to suffer any one to speak to him but in the presence of an officer.\*

No public reason, it is to be observed, was given for this step. The English people were left to suppose, when they saw this great statesman sent by the Protector's order to a dungeon, that he had committed some terrible crime. In vain had Sir Henry declared himself a member of the Long Parliament, which had never been legally dissolved, and claimed the privilege of security from personal arrest. He was seized by Cromwell's officers, sent to the island on the 9th of September, and committed to Carisbrook Castle, the very prison in which Charles I. had been confined during the last year of his life. The remark of Mr. Godwin on this infamous proceeding may fully close the account of it.

"Henry Cromwell describes Vane as one of the most rotten members of the community.† Such was not apparently the opinion of the Protector. He pays a high compliment to his victim, at the same time that he casts a burning disgrace on his own government, when he fairly states the tract in question as the sole ground for taking the author into custody, and sending him into confinement in the southernmost point of England. It was clearly confessing that they had no charge against him, that his conduct had been altogether irreproachable, and that he was placed under restraint for an unlimited time for having given his advice to his countrymen and their governors at a most critical period, in a style of exemplary temperance and sobriety. What must be the government of a country when the first men in it are liable to such treatment, and no other accusation is pretended to be brought against them!"

But this "conscience doth make cowards of us all," and the once brave and gallant Cromwell, driven to the cowardice of this oppression against Vane, as little dared to keep him long a prisoner. He was released from Carisbrook on the 31st of December, 1656.

The Parliament which had met meanwhile will be hereafter (in the life of Marten) alluded to. Conspiracies once again surrounded Cromwell, and his anticipated crown was dashed from his hands. The "Healing Question" was read continually at private meetings,‡ and discontent and danger lodged everywhere. The Protector strove to hide his troubles in every kind of fantastic resource, and to conceal pistols always upon his person; but both were pretty well ascertained by this time, and he had lost all pity, and sacrificed all esteem.

\* "Order Book" of the council of state.

† Thurloe, iv., 509.

‡ Ib., 185.

§ A curious incident which occurred on the 29th of September may illustrate the remark of the text. It is thus re-

lated in Thurloe: "His highness, accompanied only by the secretary, and a few of his gentlemen and servants, went to take the air in Hyde Park, where he caused a few dishes of meat to be brought, and made his dinner; after dinner the thought took him to drive his own coach, to which there were harnessed six fine horses, that had been sent him as a present by the Count of Oldenburgh. He accordingly put Thurloe into the coach, and himself mounted the box. For some time he drove very well; but by-and-by, using the whip a little too violently, the horses set off at full speed. The postillion, endeavouring to hold them in, was thrown; and, soon after, Cromwell himself was precipitated from the box, and fell upon the pole, and from thence to the ground. His foot got entangled with the harness, and he was so carried along a good way, during which a pistol went off in his pocket (a proof that he was never without firearms). At length his foot got clear, and he escaped, the coach passing along without injuring him." He was confined with the consequences of the accident for two or three weeks.

Still Vane remained to torture and be tortured. His influence perceptible everywhere, Cromwell, afraid to assault his liberty again, resolved, if he could, to strip him of his property, harass him by constant vexation, and thus compel him at last to submit to his government. With this view, measures were adopted to involve his estates in the meshes of the law. The attorney-general was employed to discover or invent flaws in the titles by which they were held. Bills were filed in the Exchequer, and legal proceedings of various kinds were instituted. At the same time, he was given to understand, that if he would support the government, all these measures should be stopped. In this way the whole power of Cromwell was brought to bear upon him; every art was used; and it was systematically and deliberately attempted, by a kind of slow torture, to wring from him his great fortune, and, by reducing him to poverty, to humble and break his spirit—but to no purpose. Among the faithless he was still found faithful: when all others proved false, he stood by his principles and redeemed his pledges. When hope had been driven from the heart of every other Republican, he did not despair or despond for a moment; when the name of liberty had become a proverb, a by-word, a reproach throughout the world, and its cause seemed utterly and forever lost, his allegiance never faltered, and his spirit was filled with a "serene and undoubting confidence in its final triumph, which neither prisons, nor chains, nor the scaffold could shake or impair."

In the interval which now intervened before the death of Cromwell, he appears to have written various matters. On the appearance of Harrington's "Oceana" he addressed a letter to him, which was published, entitled, "A needful Corrective or Balance in popular Government." He also published a theological work, entitled, "Of the Love of God, and Union with God;" and other learned treatises, chiefly on points of religion, were issued by him at this time.

Oliver Cromwell died on the anniversary of his great days of Worcester and Dunbar, the 3d of September, 1658, and wrote for a Parliament were at once issued by the council of his son and successor, Richard Cromwell, returnable on the 27th of the following January. The people kept quiet and waited the issue. Upon this Parliament, it was understood, it would rest to effect a settlement of the form of government, and so far to determine the fortunes of the nation. It was the natural consequence of this impression that the election of its mem-

bers became the occasion of the highest possible interest throughout the country. By the result of those elections, the struggle between the two great parties would be brought to a decision and a close. It is a proof of the fear which shook the residents of Whitehall, that the old and corrupt system of election was restored by them on this occasion.

Farther, and in no less memorable proof of their fear, they held it an object of paramount importance to prevent the election of Sir Henry Vane to the ensuing Parliament, and resorted to the most extraordinary and extreme measures to keep him out. He offered himself at Kingston-upon-Hull, of which place he claimed, as of right, to be considered the lawful representative, having sat as such in the Long Parliament. His right was confirmed by the electors; he was rechosen by a full majority of their votes; but the managers of the election, being creatures of Richard Cromwell's party, in defiance of justice and public sentiment, gave the certificate of election to another. Vane was determined not to be defeated by such means; he therefore proceeded to Bristol, entered a canvass, and received a majority of the votes. Here, also, the same bold and impudent outrage was committed by the officers; and others whose names stood below his on the poll-books were declared to be elected. He still persevered, and was finally returned from Whitechurch in Hampshire.

On the 27th of January Vane once more took his seat in the House of Commons. The terror his presence inspired among what was called the "court" party was only a little counterbalanced by the "packed House" they had managed to get together. They had named the Scotch and Irish representatives, and commanded the votes of actual and expectant placemen, for the most part lawyers, to the amount of 170. There were, besides, about 100 Moderates, Waiters upon Providence, and masked Royalists. The number of Republicans to set against all this were only 40, but they were headed by Vane, and ranked among them the names of Ludlow, Scot, and Bradshaw. Therefore the "court" trembled still.

They soon found that they had good reason for trembling. It was well understood among the Republicans that the first proceeding would be to confirm the government of Richard, and to sanction the House of Peers which his father had created. Vane had organized a small but resolute opposition to these measures with masterly power and skill. Their consultations before entering the House were always held at his residence at Charing Cross; he managed their debates in the House itself with the consummate genius of a popular leader, and was supported with infinite resolution and energy by Scot and Ludlow. The court party had, indeed, good reason to tremble.

His first great display against Richard Cromwell was on the debate upon the question of a recognition of his "undoubted" right, founded on the "Petition and Advice" of the late Protector. On the 9th of February, 1659, having reserved himself to a late day, after the usages of the more eminent and influential Parliamentary speakers in all times, "Sir Harry Vane" rose, and spoke thus. The speech includes

so many matters of importance, is so masterly an evidence of Vane's power, and embraces such an interesting sketch of his political experiences, that the reader will wish it longer even than it is.

"I know very well the great disadvantage that any person suffers, that in this great and grave assembly shall, at this time of day, offer you anything. You have spent three days in the debate, and it is not unsuitable to your wisdom to be yet on the threshold. The more time you have taken, the more successful, probably, it may be.

"That which called me up at this time was what the last gentleman said, that is, to do things with unity. At least we shall be at greater unity, if not greater amity, by having patience to hear one another, and admitting the variety of reasons and judgments which are offered by all men. Though a large field has been led into, the thing is very short. Consider what it is we are upon—a protector in the office of chief magistrate. But the office, of right, is in yourselves. It is in your hands, that you may have the honour of giving or not giving, as best likes you. You may confer it, if you please, for any law to the contrary brought now into your House. I shall advise you to this, as was moved: *give not by wholesale, so as to beg again by retail.* To give will at any time get you many friends. It therefore concerns you in this business to have your eyes in your heads, to look well about you, that it slip not from you without considering what is your right, and the right of the people.

"The wise providence of God has brought things, in these our days, to the state of government as we now find it. I observe a variety of opinions as to what our state of government is. Some conceive that it is in king, Lords, and Commons; that the principles of old foundations yet remain entire, so that all our evils, indeed, are imputed to our departure from thence.

"It hath pleased God, by well-known steps, to put a period, and to bring that government to a dissolution. All the three Parliaments in the late king's time found the state of things in slavery. I have had some experience since the two Parliaments in 1640, and remember, when the Parliament considered the state of the nations, that they found them in a grand thralldom of oppression and tyranny, endeavouring to carry us up even into popery. God made us see the state and condition we were then in. The consideration of these things would have made us make long sweeps to redress it; but Providence led us on step by step. Therefore, having the legislative power, God saw it good that we should change the government; *but we found great difficulties in the work, as most men were willing rather to sit down by slavery than to buy themselves out of it at so great a price.*

"The first thing expected was, that justice should be done upon delinquents, who had so much the ear of that prince, that they told him he had power enough to protect himself and them too. He had the power of the militia. These grievances brought us to consider where the right of the militia lay; and when we saw it was in ourselves, we thought to make use

it with moderation, choosing rather to use it to reduce the king by fair means than otherwise.

"So well satisfied was this House then with the principles of that government, that there was then a declaration drawn in favour of it. I was one of that committee. *I hear reflections as if I changed from that. I think it now my duty to change with better reason.* They did think fit to publish that which was to preserve that ancient fabric of government, according to such qualifications as might be for the public service. I am well satisfied it was the clear intent of their hearts. But this encouraged the king, and brought it to that issue at last that he hardened his heart, till it was resolved to make no more addresses, but to bring him to judgment. But, in the mean time, applications were made to him, still imploring him to be reconciled; and nothing was wanting in the House, that, if possible, he might have saved the government, and himself with it; but God would not have it so. God knows best what that work is which he is to bring forth. When all applications could not prevail, they thought fit to bring the king to judgment; thereby the state of affairs was much altered.

"This House then thought fit to apply themselves to the Lords against the Scots' invasion, and in the great case of justice upon the king. The Lords refused both. In this juncture, they were reduced to the necessity of doing that which is now the foundation of that building upon which you must stand if you expect to be prosperous. When they came to look upon the delinquency of the king, and considered him as an object of justice, it was declared by them that the taking away of kingship was the only happy way of returning to their own freedom. Their meaning thereby was, that the original of all just power was in the people, and was reserved wholly to them, the representatives.

"When the Parliament, in questions as to what was just and right, had gathered up all into themselves, it was disputed in what way the king should be tried. They counted themselves then prepared to grant out a commission to try the king. *I confess I was then exceedingly to seek, in the clearness of my judgment, as to the trial of the king. I was for six weeks absent from my seat here, out of my tenderness of blood; yet, all power being thus in the people originally, I myself was afterward in the business.*

"The king upon his trial denies this power to be in the Parliament: they try it, and they seal it with the blood of the king. This action of theirs was commanded by this House to be recorded in all the courts of Westminster Hall, and in the Tower. If you be not now satisfied with this business, you will put a strange construction upon that action, and upon all that has been done by the general and soldiers. *If you, here, will now doubt this right to be in you, you draw the guilt upon the body of the whole nation. You join issue with him upon that point. It will be questioned whether that was an act of justice or murder.*

"Brought step by step unto your natural right by an unavoidable necessity, that little remnant of the Parliament were now the representative of the nation, springing up from another root. This had a more clear founda-

tion, being thus the supreme judicature, to comprehend all government in itself. Whether the death of the king caused not a dissolution of that Parliament, as to that doing it then had, and as it was taken to be, I know not: I leave that to the long robe.

"It was then necessary, as the first act, to have resort to the foundation of all just power, and to create and establish a free state, to bring the people out of bondage from all pretence of superiority over them. *It seemed plain to me that all offices had their rise from the people, and that all should be accountable to them. If this be monstrous, then it is monstrous to be safe and rational, and to bear your own good.*

"It is objected that this nation could not bear that government; but Holland bears it against the power of Orange. They keep the office of stadtholder vacant to this day: so do other places. *This is a principle that we may bear it, if we can bear our own liberties, or, that if we have not the importance of the people of Israel: unless, with the Israelites, we will return to Egypt, weary of our journey to Canaan.*

"This being the case, we were declared a free state. We were after tossed upon all those billows that sunk us in the sands. Though we miscarried then, though this free state was shipwrecked, yet you have got a liberty left to say it is now again in your possession, else I am mistaken. *If it be so, I hope you will not part with it but upon grounds of wisdom and fidelity. If you were but arbitrating in the cause of a private friend, you would make the best bargain for him that you could: you would so do as not to give away the right of him by whom you were intrusted but upon good grounds.* That which you give, give it freely on grounds of justice: understand well your terms.

"This brings me to the consideration of another thing, which is, that the first government being dissolved, another is brought into the room. Though not perfect, yet it is said the foundations are laid, upon which we may build a superstructure of which we need not be ashamed. NOW, SHALL WE BE UNDER-BUILDERS TO SUPREME STUART! We have no need, no obligation upon us to return to that old government. I have a vote.

"For the covenant with the Scots, their invasion did render that covenant invalid. They would have repossessed a king and imposed him upon this nation by virtue of that covenant which they had broken. The Parliament showed that their shackles were broken; it did not oblige any farther. That it was famous and had power! That was the Israelites' argument for worshipping the sun and moon. If we return to an obligation by virtue of the covenant, by the same reason we may return to worship the sun and moon. I hope those shall not sway here.

"Lastly, at the dissolution of the Long Parliament, you lost your possession, not your right. The chief magistrate's place was assumed without a law. There was assumed with it, not only the power of the crown on the terms of former kings, which hath its foundation and regulation by the laws, but the possession was assumed. You were then under various forms of administration: some that had not the characters of trust upon them;

some too limited. Still, you were kept out of possession. Parliaments have been called, and as often broken.

"This 'Petition and Advice,' which is now so much insisted upon, was never intended to be the settled government, but only to be a pair of stairs to ascend the throne; a step to king, Lords, and Commons. It pleases God to let you see you have not been ill counselled to wait upon him a first day, and a second, and a third day, to see what he will hold out for your peace and safety for asserting the liberties of the people. *This bill huddles up in wholesale what you have fought for, and is hasted on lest you should see it.*

"We have now a 'Petition and Advice' that comes in place of the ancient government, the 'instrument,' and all other forms. Yet, if this were the case, you are, notwithstanding the Petition and Advice, in the clear, rightful possession of this government, which cannot be disposed of but by your consent. The old Protector thought it fit to have it given him from you, and had it, by your pleasure, invested upon him; but, although it was acknowledged that he had power to get it, yet he thought fit to make it your free gift. It will not be denied now. A presenting this office by that Parliament, and the open investiture of him in your chair, prove it. Yet, as to this gift of yours, I dare be bold to say, the thing given was hardly understood. By giving of this office, they gave, in the 18th article, the power of their own dissolution!

"It being acknowledged to have been your gift, let us consider what was given, and how given.

"The gift was the executive power, the ruling power: that is, the office of chief magistrate. All the Legislature was then in the people. The Commonwealth would not put the executive power out of their hands. For this reason, they set up those shadows, the keepers of the liberties of England, as an executive power, to distinguish it from the Legislature. This, then, was the thing given, and this the Petition and Advice hath made a difficulty of returning! The power of the purse, indeed, is left us, because they know not how to take it from us. There is no dispute but you have a right to open the people's purse, because kings knew *they* could not well take it; but the chief magistrate! they would not allow you that to give!

"Now this power and the office were given, it seems, by the regulation of the Petition and Advice; the whole executive power of the late king was all given, at one clap, to the late Protector for life. This being given to him, was not given absolutely to any other for life. Nothing was given him more, only the nomination and declaration of a successor, which must be according to law. So says the Petition and Advice. This nomination must first appear before we can say this gentleman is the undoubted Protector. Had I thought this had been said before, I should have spared both you and myself.

"That which is now brought in, the bill of recognition, takes it for granted that there is no one in possession of the Protectorship; for it requires that you acknowledge his right and

title, not that we should acknowledge his person, and then inquire what is this right and title. It is hard we should be put upon that. Let us know what this right and title is that we must recognise. But it seems the Parliament that made the petition and advice, they gave it, and we must acknowledge it!

"If he hath any right, it must be by one of these three ways: 1. Either by the grace of God and by God's providence, that if he hath a sword, he may take whatever is within the reach of it, and thus maintain his right. 2. Or as the son of the conqueror. He was, indeed, a conqueror on your behalf, but never of yourselves fit for you to recognise. 3. Or, lastly, by the Petition and Advice. But that cannot be urged until it doth appear that he hath it according to that. Yet that is only a nomination, which hath nothing of constitution until you have made it. He must come to you for that. I appeal, then, if this has not deserved three days' debate. Deserves it not more to set nails upon it! May it not deserve a grand committee, to convince one another in love and unity!

"Therefore I shall move that this bill may, upon the whole matter, be committed to a grand committee, where reason may prevail.

"It is not a sudden recognition, a sudden obtaining of the first steps, that will direct us fairly into the room. It must be on an unshaken foundation that you can ever hope to maintain it against the old line. *If you be resolved to resort to the old government, you are many steps from the old family. THEY WILL TOO HARD FOR YOU IF THAT GOVERNMENT BE STORED.*

"Instead of the son of a conqueror by nature, make him a son by adoption. Take him into your own family, and make him such a one as great One shall direct you. *When the army that they are yours, they will be PROTECTED by you.*

"I would have all names of sectaries laid aside, and righteousness go forward. Let ~~for~~ laws and extortions be looked into, which make laws themselves your oppressors. I have charged my conscience, and look on it as a special testimony of God's providence that I am here to speak this before you."

Vane's retirement had not impaired his powers! It is impossible to imagine, from this outline, a speech more able in itself, or better adapted to the purpose and position of the speaker; yet history still excludes such speeches from her consideration in treating of the questions they refer to.\*

The Republicans were beaten, however, upon the extreme question, and, it being resolved to have the government vested in a "single person," Vane was driven to make the hardest fight he could for an extreme limitation of his power. On the 18th of February he addressed the House on this point.

"I would have the nature of the thing opened at little, that is to be the occasion of the farther debate. I shall offer you my thought preparatively. You are now bounding the chief magistrate.

\* This, and the other masterly efforts of Vane I am shortly quote, were published about ten years ago in "Beaton's Diary," by Mr. Towill Butt. They have not been noticed since.

"The office of chief magistrate hath something in it essential, and which must be inviolably kept for him for the necessary preservation of the good of the whole, and the administration of justice.

"But it hath also something superfluous, and very chargeable. Such as are: 1. A thing called kingly power, which implies the whole affair of monarchy and prerogative, which are great occasions of vain expenses and waste all the nation over. *Lay aside this state of kingly power, and keep your chief magistrate.* 2. The power of the chief magistrate as to the negative voice. The denying it by you to the chief magistrate as by the law of the nation now set up is fit and requisite. *When all these things are in our power, must we dispute it over again between the people and the chief magistrate?*

"The chief magistrate pretends to a power, not only of executing laws, but to enact laws; whereas it is the right of all to bind themselves, and to make those laws by which they are to be ruled. If corporations, or any society of men, have a right to make by-laws, surely much more hath this House, which is the representative of the body of the nation. If the interest of the whole nation should lie at one man's door, it were worse than in the meanest corporation, especially to serve a single person, or the interest of a few courtiers or flatterers.

"Thus it should be, that he should not deny what you find to be for your good. This our laws have declared that the single person ought to grant: *leges quas vulgus elegerit.* It was urged by Lord Fiennes, who drew the declaration, that it was undeniable that the king should not deny laws.

"This, therefore, is of so great concernment, agreeable to the law of nature and the constitution of the nation. It was before—though, if it were not, it is now—in your power. Great weight was laid upon it in all propositions of peace, and so much weight depends upon it as in the proportion of restraining or binding of power it ought to be a principal ingredient. The chief magistrate may do well without it.

"On the other side, *I would have him possess all things needful to his acting for the people; all the power to draw in the public spirits of the nation to a public interest; but not power to do them or you any hurt. This is to make him more like God himself, who can do none. Flatterers will tell him otherwise; but they that wish his safety and honour will agree that he shall have power to do everything that is good, and nothing that is hurtful. It is therefore necessary so to bind him as he may grow up with the public interest.*

"It was offered that the militia and negative voice be included in the vote of your chief magistrate. Then it was answered that the previous vote provided that nothing should be binding. It was then allowed the reason. Why is that reason denied now? That Parliament that made the other House surely had the legislative. They must either own that the legislative power was in that House, else nothing passed to them. If it stand not on that Constitution, then it must stand on the old Constitution.

"I shall clear it that we are going to settle that which is fallacious. It will strip you at one time and at one breath. You make void

all your former expressions, which to me is as clear as day. If they can do none of those things till they have set up a co-ordinate power, then you can pass nothing here, but must have their concurrence. Pass this, and you will have that brought in upon you from the other House, that will confirm the single person in all things that concern him, and so your own liberties are left at loose. *If you have a mind to do aught for the people, do it clearly. Pronounce your judgment, that the chief magistrate shall have no negative upon the people assembled in Parliament. Do this, else I shall take it for granted that you will have no fruit of your debate, and that you intend nothing for the people.*"

The people—still the people! for them he had struggled his whole life through, and still his hopes and objects were fixed alone on them.

The next effort Vane made against Richard was aimed at him through his administration. On February 21, Secretary Thurlow moved the order of the day for going into details connected with the war, and asked the immediate sanction of the House to the preparation of such shipping and forces as might be necessary to promote the success of a mediation in the affairs of the kings of Sweden and Denmark in relation to the Baltic Sea, and to the command of the Sound, wherein Sweden was to be assisted by England, and Denmark by the Dutch. Upon this proposition, very peremptorily urged, Vane rose and said,

"I am yet perplexed in my thoughts; therefore *I shall only mind you of the old order in Parliament. Upon such reports as this, or letters, or messages from the king, we never looked upon them the same day, but had a jealousy and suspicion of some court design in them, to engage us in such rash designs before we knew where we were.*

"I do not say there is any such thing now, but it looks like some such thing. I told you, at first, that I feared matter of money was our chief concern. I fear still the same thing is now intended, in that we must not have leave to sleep so much as one night upon it. We must give a million of money by a side wind! Sure we must find out this money, and yet we must not sleep upon it! I dare not think of the sad consequence of this, unless your wisdoms will disintricate you in it.

"It hath been the great wisdom of princes, that heretofore have had to do with the House of Commons, who see not at first the sad consequences of things, to make a war, and then presently to make a peace, and then put up the money that was given them towards the pretended war. I do not say such things are now, but I desire we may sleep upon this at least forty-eight hours.

"I perceive many things are taken for granted, of which I am not yet fully satisfied: 1. That the King of Denmark must be dispossessed. 2. That we must fit ourselves to take possession of some part of it, like birds of prey. 3. That Holland is your enemy already.

"If it be our interest that Sweden should be emperor of the Baltic Seas, I should be very glad to understand how.

"France may, perhaps, be willing to engage us in this quarrel; and *when we are engaged, he will be as fit to bridge over somebody else as any other.* I move for Thursday or Friday."

The government were here assailed in a weak point, and were at last obliged to give way. Three days after Vane again spoke to the same question, in answer to Thurloe. He insisted on a series of gross errors that had been committed, in promoting peace with Holland instead of war, in stirring up war with Spain instead of settling peace, and in flinging English influence at the feet of the most despotical minister of Europe, the Cardinal Mazarin.

"We are not yet at the bottom. Many considerable things have been offered in the last matter of fact by Mr. Secretary.

"What is declared is to me very satisfactory. He assures us there is no engagement, nothing of any private treaty between us and the Swede, that he knows of. But may there not be an underhand, secret treaty, that he knows not of? I have heard something to that purpose, and upon very good intelligence, that there is an engagement.

"If the good providence of God had not interrupted it, I believe the question had not now been to have been decided by you. The fleet should have gone long since, but it was prevented; and if it had gone, this debate had been determined before this time. But I shall not go upon that ground, but only upon the grounds that are offered, and suit my discourse to that.

"The coalition with that state, the Dutch, if it had been well pursued, you had shut out all correspondency with the Spanish interest.

"I am not able to see through it, nor to understand how the whole style of managing the peace with Holland, and war with Spain, hath been agreeable at all to the interest of the state, but rather *very much to the interest of a single person.*

"The interest then used, and the endeavouring to bring the two nations to a coalition, which had made a great progress, would have drawn off the States wholly from the Spanish interest, which now mingles much in their counsels; and if that had been then followed home, it would have made that state at that time wholly yours. If, when you sent ten thousand men to Jamaica, where you have left your dead men to your reproach, you had sent the same fleet to the Sound and fallen upon the Dutch, that would have done your business. You might have been a great way in Germany, and have made an emperor there yourself.

"That which increases my jealousy is, that I see this affair all along managed *but to support the interest of a single person, and not for the public good, the people's interest.*

"Our counsels have been mingled with France, and taken from the cardinal, who goeth upon the most tyrannical principles of government in the world. The French put us upon this remote design; and out of that bow, I doubt, comes this shaft, to be sent into the Sound. Looks not this like a principle of Cardinal Mazarin, for your *single person* to get a fleet into his hands?

"I know no reason you have to send a fleet indefinitely, implicitly upon this design. The Swede is absolute possessor of both sides of the Sound, and he will make sure of the passage too, if you do but assist him; and when he hath it, he must either give it you by new

treaty, or you must take it out of his hands by force.

"When one half was in the Dane's hands, and the other in the Swede's, it was then best for us, for we might be as necessary to the Dane as any other. And now France, when they see an opportunity, can easily resent former injuries. This business is not fit to be so openly debated; it requires more secrecy.

"A twofold necessity has been thought of, and is put upon you: 1. It is not to be delayed till to-morrow. That will be too late. This is the very nick of time, and they put it upon you with so great necessity, that all other arguments must receive no favour. 2. You must transmit wholly to the disposal of your *single person* to do what he pleases. There is nothing lost in the preparations of the fleet. Your officers, I believe, are all commissioned upon that presumption, that the militia is already in him. Naught will satisfy unless the militia be granted in the *single person* within twenty-four hours.

"In answer to the objection: 1. The vote will not seclude us, unless the disposal be in the *single person*, and by that you give away implicitly the power of the militia before you have asserted your own right or taken it upon yourselves. Oh! but you make the *single person* no other than a committee-man!

"Yet, though loath to own it, lest you come to a *commonwealth again, so dangerous, not so much as advice will be admitted!*

"2. And as you do not assert your right in the militia, so you do not assert your interest, or take that part of it that belongs to you in the very business before you. You must have the persons' names brought in to you to be approved. It is told you, you are not able here to make or manage peace or war! your commander-in-chief must do it. I hope you will express your interest as well as a declaration. Assert the practice as well as the right of the militia. Be assured of the faithfulness of the Commonwealth; first, of those persons that you send. I hope you will have an able commander, and one that hath given good testimony of his good affection towards you.

"3. You must at one day give up all the interest in the militia upon the necessity that is urged upon you; the necessity that it must be done in this manner, and no other way.

"You have better methods! 1. Assert your militia to be in you. 2. Refer it to your commissioners to see that no delay be in it. 3. Have your officers before you, and approve of them. 4. Appoint a committee of your own to advise about disposing of this to the most public advantage."

This speech produced a very great effect. Its last recommendations in especial were most subtly and effectively aimed. They revived the old disputes between the Long Parliament and Charles, which had so many significant associations connected with them, and brought back in its full force the startling question he had put to them in his previous speech of the 9th of February, "~~SHALL WE BE UNDER-BUILDERS TO SUPREME STUART?~~" Shall we lay the foundation of a system that must bring a "Charles the Second" back to us sooner or later?

Some days after this, on the 1st of March, 1658, we accordingly find the old dispute upon

The source of Richard's power, the famous "Petition and Advice" to bind the present Parliament, and the propriety of admitting of the title of the "other House" (as the miserable assembly of Lords was contemptuously called), again in discussion. Vane's speech ran thus:

"The more I consider this, the more difficult I meet with. I have my eye upon the Petition and Advice; and if you consider how things are left, upon the death of the late Protector, by that Petition and Advice, I am sure, unless you shut your eyes, you may see that you are the undoubted legislative power of the nation, even by that Constitution by which you are called, and the Protector himself proclaimed.

"1. You know, when the Recognition was pressed, how much it was urged that the Protector should be made out to be so, according to the Petition and Advice, namely, by due nomination, which hath never been done unto this day. The declaration of his highness appears not!

"Admit that he was duly nominated himself; yet there is no power in that Petition and Advice for this Protector to nominate another House: and that power in him is defective, because it was singly given to the late Protector.

"I would have you first examine whether those now sitting have any foundation, as now called, by that law; there will be no cause of complaint against you by keeping to that rule.

"I understand not that objection that we are since-shrunk and manacled, and cannot proceed; that we can effect nothing unless we transact with these men. You have as much power to make a House of Lords with the concurrence of the Protector as the last Parliament had.

"I thought you would have gone to clear the rights and liberties of the people, and to have passed that between you and his highness, without owning the other House.

"Sir, we have as much power as those that made the Petition and Advice. It is but the using of the just power. We are wandering and cannot find the door, so great and wilful blindness is upon us. It has pleased God to confound us in our debates, that we cannot, in a third, come to a question, because we wander from our Constitution.

"Cannot we despatch the business of this Parliament, and leave the other House alone till next Parliament? Why may it not be left till then? Keep but true to the things you have already. I know not how we are limited. *Discourse abroad says your vote is with them. How it comes, I know not!*

"It will be told you next that a House of Commons is unnecessary, and out of your ruins the Seventy shall be built up! Consider clearly whether this House now sitting have any foundation, by this calling, to sit upon the Petition and Advice. If they have not, I think you are as fit to advise about calling them as the council that called them."

Six days later, these questions assumed a more serious shape, and a very long and arduous debate was taken on the question of recognising this House of Lords, which Secretary Thurloe, with amazing assurance, urged was as much entitled to existence under the "Petition and Advice" as the House of Commons or the protectorate. This called up Vane, who

gave way to greater passion, and even fierceness of manner, than he had ever shown before. The terrible intensity of every word in this speech is truly astonishing.

"I am very sorry to trouble you so late. Could I satisfy myself with these grounds that have been offered, I should not trouble you.

"If you pass in the negative, all the power is here. If the contrary, I dare say then all the power is gone hence.

"I conceive, in passing this in the negative, you do bring all power into this House, but not into that way of a commonwealth.

"When the power of king or House of Lords is melted down into this House, it is in the people by the law of nature and reason. Death, and tract of time, may melt it and bring it down, but this shall never die. Where is then the anarchy, the sneaking oligarchy?

"The representative body never dies, whoever die. Provision is made for it. By the law of the land, they could have come together if there had been no protector de facto. You are ever thus.

"You have voted a protector de facto, and put it in a way of a bill, to put it de jure, and I hear no arguments now against it!

"The question is not now whether the Petition and Advice shall be a law, but whether it shall be so far as it is argued to be a law; or whether it be not a lame law, to bring in king, Lords, and Commons, insensibly.

"It was told you by Mr. Attorney, of the duchy, that this was a restitution. But it is not told you how the power came into the hands of your old servants, that turned you out of doors.

"As to the Petition and Advice, they declared here that it was made elsewhere; and they gave you no more than they thought fit—a mere show!

"A new family; one peer in the room of another; and here's face about again!

"Consider the fate of that king. I wonder to hear arguments of force used.

"If you pass this, you pass all. The question is as catching as that of the French king. When I consider how comprehensive this question is, I wonder how it should be thought to pass in the affirmative.

"1. You admit this 'House' to be a rightful house, upon the same rightful foot with yourself. You admit them to be fit and meet persons, and that this is for the good of the people. 2. You set up a means to perpetuate an arbitrary power over you, to lay yourselves aside, and make you forever useless—I may say odious forever!

"You settle £130,000 per annum, such as never was done. You have granted the excise and customs forever, and farmed them in such a way as to make the people cry out their governors are very unnatural. The people would never part with customs. You can relieve no grievances.

"Formerly you might have gone alone. Possession—you see how far it goes.

"The sore is, they are afraid that you should go alone to his highness and complain of his sneaking counsellors!

"God is almighty!

"Will not you trust him with the consequences? He that has unsettled a monarchy of so many



*descents in peaceable times, and brought you to the top of your liberties, though he drive you back for a while into the wilderness, he will bring you back. He is a wiser workman than to reject his own work.*

"Go you on to advise with his highness. Advise him, in his tender years, of the mal-administration! I know no hinderance but you may transact with his highness alone, and agree of 'another House' in the best way for the good of the nation."

The effect of this speech was so great, that upon an actual division of the English members it is thought the Republicans must have won the day. The Scotch and Irish nominees of the crown once more turned the balance against them.

Against these nominees Vane now directed his assaults. On the 9th of March he startled the House by telling them that in present circumstances they were no House, and that "they had been out of order ever since they sat." Upon a point of order he rose and said,

"I could not attend you yesterday in your great debate. If I understand anything of order, you have been out of order ever since you sat. Till this was cleared, you ought to have done naught but choose your speaker.

"It arises thus to me. As your question was last Parliament whether you would keep out so many members as that those that were in might make the Petition and Advice, now the question is whether you shall take in so many as are not members that may confirm it. You propose to transact with those persons here that have no foundation, that you may transact with persons that have no law to be another House. By this means you have subverted your own foundation. Your wisdom will be concerned in it to part with a prize in your hands that you know not how to manage. Again, it must be considered that they should withdraw while this debate is afoot. Otherwise they will hang upon you perpetually as a negative. As you lay your foundation, so will the weight of it be. You will look for peace, and have none.

"The vote for the single person passed with the greatest unanimity that ever was. When a man is asleep, he finds no hunger till he wake. I doubt the people of England will be hungry when they awake!"

"A greater imposition never was by a single person upon a Parliament, to put 60 votes upon you. By this means, it shall be brought upon you insensibly to vote by Scotch and Irish members, to enforce all your votes hereafter."

It is a remarkable proof of the surpassing influence of Vane and the party he chiefly represented in this House, that notwithstanding even these nominees, and all the scandalous resources which had been employed to influence the elections, the Republicans actually managed in the end to achieve a majority upon the omission of the word "undoubted" from the recognition of the Protector's title.

The last speech I shall notice in Burton's Diary of this Parliament attests Vane's impartial justice and humanity. A petition had been presented to the House on the part of seventy persons, Royalist prisoners, who had some years before been sent to Barbadoes. It appears that when they arrived, after much ill-

treatment, at the place of their destination, they were sold in the public market. It was alleged, however, in answer to the petition, by some of the Protector's party, that their slavery was limited to five years, and that a distinction was made in favour of their condition above that of the negroes who worked in the cultivation and preparation of sugar. These face-making friends of liberty protested, besides, that these men had basely resisted the cause of the right faith, and deserved extreme punishment. Most admirably did Vane answer them. A better retort was never made, nor was ever the distinction between hostilities, public and private, or between sincere enemies and false friends, more exquisitely given. The allusion from Lucretius, at the close, is in perfect keeping with the whole.

"I do not look on this business as a cavalierish business, but as a matter that concerns the liberty of the freeborn people of England.

"To be used in this barbarous manner, put under hatches, to see no light till they came thither, and sold there for £100—such was the case of this Thomas!

"I am glad to hear the old cause so well resented; that we have a sense and loathing of the tyranny of the late king, and of all that tread in his steps, to impose on liberty and property! As I should be glad to see any discouragement upon the Cavaliers, so I should be glad to see any discouragement and indignation of yours against such persons as tread in Charles Stuart's steps, whoever they be. The end of the major-generals was good as to keeping down that party, but the precedent was dangerous.

"Let us not be led away. Whenever the tables turn, the same will be imposed upon your best men that is now designed to the worst. There is a fallacy and subtlety on both hands. I would have you be as vigilant against that party as you can; but if you find the liberty and property of the people of England thus violated, take occasion from these ill precedents to make good laws.

"That which makes me hate the Cavaliers is their cause, and when I see others hate their cause, I shall believe them that they hate their persons. I detest and abhor them as much as any. Let us not have new Cavaliers and old. Let us hate it in those that tread in their steps as well as in themselves. Be not cozened by popularity on the one hand, in complaints of this nature, nor on the other hand swallow up your liberties and properties. Do not that which is *bonum* only, but *boni*."

An extraordinary party, meanwhile, had been formed without the doors of the House. It was supposed, by a large class of the more liberal section of Cromwell's officers, that Vane's objects might at last prevail, such was the irresistible power and energy with which, unsubdued and unrelaxing, he still urged them forward. They now suddenly resolved upon the policy of hastening their achievement by forcing a dissolution of the present corrupt House; and a petition had accordingly been prepared by these men, and was forwarded through the hands of Fleetwood, the young Protector's brother-in-law, and Desborough, his uncle, to Richard, requesting him to dissolve the Parliament. Richard, in alarm, accordingly despatch-

ed the keeper of the seal, as he was bidden, to dissolve the Houses; but, having received information of the design, the House of Commons determined not to be dissolved, ordered their doors to be closed, and the gentleman usher of the black rod to be refused the permission of entry. Some of the members abruptly quitted the House. It was voted that the fugitives should be called back, and that no member should henceforth quit his place without leave. The Protector's summons to attend him in the House of Lords was not obeyed; and while the usher unsuccessfully pressed for admittance, it is said\* that Vane, resolved to use even this last opportunity of bringing Richard into contempt, rose, and addressed the speaker in these words:

"Mr. Speaker,—Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country as the English at this time have done: they have, by the help of divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuart, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man among us who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare to attempt the ravishing from us that freedom, which cost us so much blood and so much labour. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are fallen into the error of those who poisoned the Emperor Titus to make room for Domitian, who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero. I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans in those days were buried in lewdness and luxury, whereas the people of England are now renowned all over the world for their great virtue and discipline, and yet suffer an idiot without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition, to have dominion in a country of liberty! One could bear a little with Oliver Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgments, our passions, might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions; he had under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general. But as for Richard Cromwell his son, who is he? what are his titles? We have seen that he had a sword by his side; but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet we must recognise this man as our king, under the style of Protector! a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master."

Richard Cromwell never appeared in public again. The government continued for a short

time to be administered in his name, but he was himself "null and void."

After his formal abdication, which speedily followed, an open coalition was announced between the Republicans and the more liberal division of officers, by the leaders of the respective parties, Vane and Fleetwood. The result of this was the resuscitation of the famous Long Parliament, and the administration of the government, for a short period, on Republican principles. But for many reasons, which need not be discussed here, the cause was soon found hopeless. Upon the subsequent rupture between the Parliament and the officers, Vane adhered to the latter, as the last resource against Monk in favour of a republic, accepted a commission,\* and was ultimately, when that inextinguishable Parliament revived itself again, carried under arrest for it into his seat in Lincolnshire. This adhesion to the officers has nevertheless been truly called "one of those acts which prove Vane a sagacious and sound politician." He saw that the Commonwealth could be saved only by union with the army. He detected earlier than any other the designs of Monk, but strove in vain to collect materials for their overthrow. Hazlerig and his silly associates of the Long Parliament were meanwhile in process of cajolement to their heart's content. Vane stayed at Belleau, now confident of the worst; and never at any time had Oliver Cromwell's despotism struck him so with anger or with shame, as when he now reflected on that state of indifference to liberty into which it had brought his countrymen.

I will rapidly sketch the general features of his conduct before his arrest, and then proceed to the "Restoration." During his adhesion to the officers, he was appointed one of the committee of safety, to whom the supreme and entire power of the country was intrusted, until Parliament could make farther arrangements. The authority of this committee was to continue only for eight days. A council of state was subsequently agreed upon, and on the 13th of May he was nominated one of its members. He was also, at that time, chairman of a committee of this council, to whom the whole military and naval force of the country was committed, with power to make all appointments in each branch of the service. Soon afterward a special commission was formed to administer the affairs of the admiralty, and he was placed at its head. In September, 1659, he was made president of the council, and continued to serve in every important trust, as the leading member of committees of safety, and other executive and legislative committees. Upon one of the latter committees, he discharged his last noble effort for the great cause his life had been

\* This was made matter of charge against him on his trial. He observed upon it thus: "That which remains of farther charge yet to me is the business of a regiment, an employment which I can in truth affirm mine own inclinations, nature, and breeding little fitted me for, and which was intended only as honorary and titular, with relation to volunteers who, by their application to the council of state, in a time of great commotions, did propound their own officers, and, without any seeking of mine, or my considering any farther of it than as the use of my name, did, among others, nominate me for a colonel, which the council of state approved, granting commissions to myself and all other officers relating thereunto; and the Parliament confirmed my said commission upon report thereof made to them."

\* By the authors of the Biographia Britannica, Oldmixon, and others. The speech is not in Burton, because that diary abruptly closes before the day in question.

devoted to, by reporting a bill for the future and permanent settlement of the government, of which the following were the heads :

"1. That the supreme power, delegated by the people to their trustees, ought to be in some fundamentals not dispensed with ;" that is, that a Constitution ought to be drawn up and established, specifying the principles by which the successive "trustees," or representatives assembled under it, should be guided and restrained in the conduct of the government, and clearly stating those particulars in which they would not be permitted to legislate or act. 2. One point, which was to be determined and fixed in this Constitution, so that no legislative power should ever be able to alter or move it, was this : "That it is destructive to the people's liberties (to which, by God's blessing, they are fully restored) to admit any earthly king, or single person, to the legislative or executive power over this nation." 3. The only other principle reported as fundamental, and to be placed at the very basis of the Constitution, was this : "That the supreme power is not intrusted to the people's trustees, to erect matters of faith and worship, so as to exercise compulsion therein."

Such services as these, however, were past forever, for the people were now drunk with the orgies of the "Restoration." Upon the occurrence of this event, Vane left his seat in Lincolnshire, and came up to a favourite residence he had at Hampstead, near London.\* He was not "conscious of having done anything in relation to public affairs for which he could not willingly and cheerfully suffer." He had taken no share in the trial or death of Charles I., and the new king had graciously promised a wide and merciful indemnity. But in the early part of July, 1660, he was arrested at Hampstead and flung into the Tower.

Lord Clarendon was the author of this measure. A glance at the proceedings by which Vane was excepted from the indemnity shows it beyond the possibility of doubt. Long debates, and many conferences between the two Houses of Parliament, had taken place previously to the passing of that act. The House of Commons proposed to subject to capital punishments those alone who had been immediately concerned in the trial and execution of Charles I., at the same time not exempting other offenders from penalties and forfeitures. The king himself, in a speech addressed to the Lords on the subject of the Act of Indemnity, assured the House that he never had entertained a thought of excepting any besides those immediately concerned in the murder of his father, and begged them not to exclude others from the benefit of the act. This mercy and indulgence, the king said, would be the best way to bring them to repentance, and the safest expedient to prevent future mischief. The House of Lords, however, urged the necessity of excluding Vane, and this was distinctly on Clarendon's suggestion. In one of the conferences, the "Lord-chancellor Hyde" advised the exclusion of Vane as "a man of mischievous activity." *The Commons opposed this for some time.* At length, after three conferences, they agreed to except him, on a suggestion from the

lord-chancellor that the two Houses should petition the king to spare his life. A petition of the two Houses was accordingly presented, praying the king, on behalf of Sir Henry Vane, that if he should be attainted, his execution might be remitted. The king received the petition and granted the request. Even Bishop Burnet admits the king gave a favourable answer, though in general words. On his trial Vane pleaded the royal promise in his defence, and the fact of such a promise was not denied by the counsel for the prosecution. The promise itself was absolutely read in the court.

During these debates the illustrious prisoner had been moved from prison to prison, and was at length immured in a solitary castle on one of the isles of Scilly.

Here he was deliberately kept till a more pliant Parliament could be got together for the purposes of his murder. It is not a harsh expression to use in this case. From the moment of the restoration, Charles and his chancellor had resolved upon the murder of Vane. They procured his exception from the indemnity act by a trick, and now waited till a House of Commons, more slavish and more zealous for royalty than that of the Convention Parliament, could be set on to clamour for his death.

For two years, necessary to the completion of this diabolical plan, he was kept a prisoner; and here, on Scilly, while waiting this slow approach of vengeance, in the solitary and dismal recesses of a desolate castle, he lost neither his lofty spirit nor his calm philosophy. Although separated from his family and friends, and severed, as it were, from the earth itself, shut out from the light of heaven and the intercourse of man, hearing no sound but the dashing of the ocean's waves against the foundation stones, and the howling of its storms among the turrets of his feudal prison, his soul was serene and unruffled, the abode of peace and light. Religion and philosophy, to whose service he had devoted his great faculties and pure affections in the days of his ardent youth and glorious manhood, when power and prosperity were his lot, and the world was bright before him, now came to solace, and cheer, and bless him in the reverse of his earthly fortunes, and when the dark clouds were gathering around the close of his career. "Although," pursues an eloquent writer, speaking of him at this period, "to human eye all his efforts had failed, and the cause of liberty was utterly lost and undone, when even hope itself had fled from every other breast, he did not despond. Not a shadow of doubt passed over his spirit. His confidence was founded upon a rock, and his faith in the promises of God disclosed to his clear and heaven-illuminated vision the sure prospect of the happy period when there would be no more tyranny or oppression on the earth. He felt that the hour of his final trial was rapidly approaching; and, although there was a constitutional delicacy and tenderness in his nature, which had even made him so sensitive to physical suffering as to lead his enemies to charge him with a want of personal courage, he contemplated death with a singular calmness and complacency of spirit. And well he might; for when he looked back over his life, his mind rested with a just satisfaction upon the faithful

\* Ludlow, vol. iii., p. 111.

and constant devotion of his talents to the cause of God and his people; and when he turned towards the future, he contemplated, with a glorious hope and blessed assurance, the rewards in reserve for sincerity, benevolence, and piety, in that world where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

Some of the writings with which this imprisonment was thus dignified and solaced happily remain on record. It was here he wrote the "People's Case Stated," which I have already fully described, and other religious works, in accordance with the pure faith and the elevated doctrine which have also received ample illustration in these pages. Other fragments of works remain, and are, many of them, of a deeply touching character. He wrote of "Government," of "Religion," of "Life," of "Death," of "Friends," of "Enemies," with all the calmness of an ancient philosopher, but in the deepest and most generous spirit of diviner Christianity. The good old cause was now apparently lost forever. All its greatest friends had sunk into the grave, or were wandering in exile, or immured in dungeons, or perishing on the scaffold. His own blood was, he well knew, thirsted after by powerful enemies; yet he contemplated all things as he had ever contemplated them; he saw all the objects of his glorious life as they had ever been present with him, save only that now his hope was gone of himself surviving to witness their achievement.

"The people's cause, whom God after trial hath declared free, is a righteous one, though not so prudently and righteously managed as it might and ought to have been. God's doom is therefore justly executed upon us, with what intent and jugglings soever it was prosecuted by men."

In his Meditations on Death, he regarded that event not only with cheerful fortitude, but in the profoundest spirit of philosophy.

"Death is the inevitable law God and nature have put upon us. Things certain should not be feared, but expected. Things doubtful only are to be feared. Death, instead of taking away anything from us, gives us all, even the perfection of our natures; sets us at liberty both from our own bodily desires and others' domination; makes the servant free from his master. It doth not bring us into darkness, but takes darkness out of us, us out of darkness, and puts us into marvellous light. Nothing perishes or is dissolved by death but the veil and covering, which is wont to be done away from all ripe fruit. It brings us out of a dark dungeon, through the crannies whereof our sight of light is but weak and small, and brings us into an open liberty, an estate of light and life, unveiled and perpetual. It takes us out of that mortality which began in the womb of our mother, and now ends to bring us into that life which shall never end. This day, which thou fearest as thy last, is thy birthday into eternity.

"Death holds a high place in the policy and great commonwealth of the world. It is very profitable for the succession and continuance of the works of nature.

"The fading corruption and loss of this life is the passage into a better. Death is no less essential to us than to live or to be born. In flying death thou flyest thyself: thy essence is

equally parted into these two, life and death. It is the condition and law of thy creation. Men are not sent into the world by God but with purpose to go forth again; which he that is not willing to do, should not come in.

"The first day of thy birth bindeth thee and sets thee in the way as well to death as to life. To be unwilling therefore to die, is to be unwilling to be a man, since to be a man is to be mortal. It being therefore so serviceable to nature and the institution of it, why should it be feared or shunned? Besides, it is necessary and inevitable: we must do our best endeavour in things that are not remediless, but ought to grow resolute in things past remedy.

"It is most just, reasonable, and desirable to arrive at that place towards which we are always walking. Why fearest thou to go whither all the world goes? *It is the part of a valiant and generous mind to prefer some things before life, as things for which a man should not doubt nor fear to die.* In such a case, however matters go, a man must more account thereof than of his life. He must run his race with resolution, that he may perform things profitable and exemplary.

"The contempt of death is that which produceth the boldest and most honourable exploits. He that fears not to die, fears nothing. From hence have proceeded the commendable resolutions and free speeches of virtue, uttered by men of whom the world has not been worthy."\*

Of "Life" he had then instructed himself to think as only the passage to a place where knowledge and virtue would be better achieved after the body was in the grave:

"There is a time to live and a time to die. A good death is far better and more eligible than an ill life. A wise man lives but so long as his life is more worth than his death. The longer life is not always the better. To what end serves a long life? Simply to live, breathe, eat, drink, and see this world. What needs so long a time for all this? Methinks we should

\* Again, in another passage of this exquisite fragment, he says, "True natural wisdom pursueth the learning and practice of dying well, as the very end of life; and, indeed, he hath not spent his life ill that hath learned to die well. It is the chiefest thing and duty of life. The knowledge of dying is the knowledge of liberty, the state of true freedom, the way to fear nothing, to live well, contentedly, and peaceably. Without this there is no more pleasure in life than in the fruition of that thing which a man feareth always to lose. In order to which, we must above all endeavour that our sins may die, and that we see them dead before ourselves, which alone can give us boldness in the day of judgment, and make us always ready and prepared for death. Death is not to be feared and fled from, as it is by most, but sweetly and patiently to be waited for, as a thing natural, reasonable, and inevitable."

I cannot resist giving one extract more, in which we find two thoughts expressed almost literally in Shakespeare's words: "It is a good time to die, when to live is rather a burden than a blessing, and there is more ill in life than good. There are many things in life far worse than death, in respect whereof we should rather die than live. The more voluntary our death is, the more honourable. Life may be taken away from every man by every man, but not death."

"It is a great point of wisdom to know the right hour and fit season to die. Many men have survived their own glory. That is the best death which is well recollected in itself, quiet, solitary, and attendeth wholly to what at that time is fittest."

"They that live by faith die daily. The life which faith teaches works death. It leads up the mind to things not seen, which are eternal, and takes it off, with its affections and desires, from things seen, which are temporary."

soon be tired with the daily repetition of these and the like vanities. Would we live long to gain knowledge, experience, and virtue? This seems an honest design, but is better to be had other ways by good men, when their bodies are in the grave."

In another most beautiful passage on this subject, his peculiar religious faith is strikingly shown:

"The knowledge, sight, and experience of such a kind of subsisting and heavenly manner of life that man is capable of, is the best preparative and most powerful motive to leave the body, and surcease the use of our earthly organs. This, in effect, is all that bodily death, rightly known and understood, doth impart: a lawful surceasing the use and exercise of our earthly organs, and our willing and cheerful resorting to the use and exercise of that life without the body, which man is capable to subsist in when made perfect in spirit, an equal and associate with angels, under the power and order of expressing what he inwardly conceives, as they do. This made Paul look upon life in the body, and life out of it, with no indifferent eye; as accounting the being at home in the body an absence from the Lord; and such a kind of absence from the body as death causes, to be that which makes us most present with the Lord; which, therefore, he should be most willing unto, and, with greatest longing after, desire."

Towards the close of the second year of his imprisonment, we ascertain the desperate efforts his enemies were making to force on his trial, in passages of a most affecting letter to his wife.

"MY DEAR HEART," he begins, "the wind yet continuing contrary, makes me desirous to be as much in converse with thee (having this opportunity) as the providence of God will permit, hoping these will come safe to your hand. It is no small satisfaction to me, in these sharp trials, to experience the truth of those Christian principles, which God, of his grace, hath afforded you and me the knowledge, and imboldened us to make the profession of. Have faith and hope, my dearest. God's arm is not shortened; doubtless great and precious promises are yet in store to be accomplished in and upon believers here on earth, to the making of Christ admired in them. And if we cannot live in the power and actual possession of them, yet if we die in the certain foresight and embracing of them by faith, it will be our great blessing. *This dark night and black shade which God hath drawn over his work in the midst of us, may be, for aught we know, the ground-colour to some beautiful piece that he is now exposing to the light.*" Dwelling next upon the trials he had been called to, with a view to the working out of this most sublime image, he expresses the good and holy influence which afflictions are intended by Providence to exert upon the Christian aspects of man's character. "Nor would I have it thought that I have already attained the powerful practice of this holy duty and perfection; but it is much in my desire, aim, and hope. The difficult circumstances I am in, and that I am still more and more every day cast into, by God's wise-disposing providence, to the sequestering me from the world, and withholding all sensible comforts from me, so much

as he doth, make me, in some sort, confident it is for a good end, and that out of love and faithfulness I am made to drink of this bitter cup, the better to help forward that necessary work in me, and upon me, wherein consists the glorious liberty of the sons of God.

"If I may have and enjoy this, it would seem a very little matter to me to be in outward bonds, banishment, want, or any other afflictions. Help me, then (in all your cares and solitudes about me), to what will further and advance this work in me. The Lord grant me and mine to be content, if he deny us to live of our own, and will bring us to the daily bread of his finding, which he will have us wait for, fresh and fresh from his own table, without knowing anything of it beforehand. Peradventure there is a greater sweetness and blessing in such a condition than we can imagine till we have tried it. This may add to my help, even our making little haste to get out of our troubles, patiently waiting till God's time come, wherein he will open the prison doors, either by death, or some other way, as he please, for the magnifying his own great name, not suffering us to be our own choosers in anything, as hitherto hath been his way with us.

"And why should such a taking up sanctuary in God, and desiring to continue a pilgrim and solitary in this world, while I am in it, *afford still matter of jealousy, distrust, and rage, as I see it doth to those who are unwilling that I should be buried and lie quiet in my grave, where I now am. They that press so earnestly to carry on my trial, do little know what presence of God may be afforded me in it and issue out of it, to the magnifying of Christ in my body, by life or by death.* Nor can they, I am sure, imagine how much I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which of all things that can befall me I account best of all. And till then, I desire to be made faithful in my place and station, to make confession of him before men, and not deny his name, if called forth to give a public testimony and witness concerning him, and to be herein nothing terrified. What, then, will the hurt be, that I can or shall receive by the worst that man can do unto me, who can but kill the body, and thereby open my prison door, that I may ascend into the pleasures that are at Christ's right hand? If the storm against us grow still higher and higher, so as to strip us of all we have, the earth is still the Lord's and the fulness thereof; he hath a good storehouse for us to live upon. God can, and (if he think fit) will chalk out some way wherein he may appear by his providence to choose for us, and not leave us to our own choice; and being contracted into that small compass which he shall think fit to reduce us unto, we may, perhaps, meet with as true inward contentment, and see as great a mercy in such a sequestration from the world, as if we were in the greatest outward prosperity. I know nothing that remains to us but, like a tossed ship in a storm, to let ourselves be tossed and driven with the winds, till He that can make these storms to cease, and bring us into a safe haven, do work out our deliverance for us. I doubt not but you will accordingly endeavour to prepare for the worst."

In this letter, it will be seen, Vane's touching design is not solely to prepare his wife and

family for his death, which he knew to be near, but also to sustain and solace them in the poverty to which they would be left, should his estates suffer the forfeitures of treason. Soon after its date, which was March 7th, 1662, he was removed from Scilly to the Tower of London. The grand jury having found a bill against him as "a false traitor," &c., he was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench on the 2d of June, 1662.

Vane was refused the assistance of counsel, and stood alone on the floor of the court that memorable day against the attorney-general,\* the solicitor-general, and four others of the most eminent lawyers in the kingdom, among whom were men that had been agents in the affairs of the Commonwealth when Vane was its most eminent chief! He was not permitted to see his indictment before it was now read, or to have a copy of it afterward, and he had been denied the benefit of legal advice or consultation out of the court as well as in; yet he stood upon the floor of that court the most cheerful and unmoved person there.

The indictment charged him with compassing and imagining the death of Charles II., and conspiring to subvert the ancient frame of the kingly government of the realm. The overt acts laid in the indictment were, that the prisoner, in concert with other traitors, assembled and consulted to destroy the king and the government, and to exclude the king from the exercise of his royal authority; and that he took upon himself the government of the forces of the nation by sea and land, and appointed officers to hold command in an army raised against the king; and for the purpose of effecting his design, did actually, in the county of Middlesex, levy war against the king.

This indictment, at Vane's request, was read over to him twice, in English; he then desired that it might be read over to him in Latin, but this was refused. After taking some objections to the indictment, the most important of which was, that, as the offences charged in it were committed in his capacity as a member of Parliament, or as acting under its commission, he could only be held to answer for them before Parliament itself, and not at the bar of any inferior or other tribunal, the judges peremptorily overruled them, and required him to answer to the indictment "Guilty" or "Not Guilty."

Vane then urged, at great length, those reasons which led him to decline to put himself on trial by pleading to the indictment. Never were undeniable reasons pressed with such power and ability. He showed that it was impossible for him to have that equal and just trial which was his right as an Englishman. He argued that, contrary to all the authorities and principles of English law which he cited, he was

arraigned before judges who, in another place, had prejudged his case and recorded their votes against him. He dwelt upon the months and years that had been occupied in contriving and collecting secret evidence to sustain the prosecution, while he had all the time been kept a close prisoner.\* He entered upon a particular examination of the specifications brought against him, and showed that they were vague and general, and such as did not bear against him individually, but as a member of a Parliament to which he was lawfully elected, and in which he had acted in concurrence with the nation from time to time. In conclusion, he addressed his judges in this nervous and solemn strain:

"Unto this, unless some remedy be afforded by the justice, candour, and favour of this court, it may be better for the prisoner (for aught he yet knows) to be immediately destroyed by special command (if nothing else will satisfy), without any form of law, as one to whom quarter, after at least two years' cool blood, is thought fit to be denied in relation to the late wars. This may seem better than under a colour and form of justice to pretend to give him the benefit of the law and the king's courts, whose part it is to set free the innocent, upon an equal and indifferent trial had before them,

"It is observable how early hard measure appeared in the way wherein the prisoner became excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, when the Commons, his proper judges, declared him in their thoughts not fit to be endangered in the point of life; yet unto the judgment of the Lords (that ought not to judge commoners unbrought before them by the Commons, much less in opposite judgment to the Commons) the Commons were necessitated to yield, lest otherwise the Act of Indemnity to the whole nation should stop upon this dispute and essential difference between the two Houses; a competition easily overruled; although, as it proves by the sequel, that act of indemnity is like to become *felo de se*, or a destroyer of itself, if your lordships should conceive yourselves at liberty, notwithstanding that act, not only to bring anew into memory upon the stage the state of all the past differences from first to last, but to try and judge the merit of them in my person, and therein call in question the validity of that waste act, and make void the benefit intended by it, in case the war undertaken and managed by both or either of the Houses of Parliament be judged unlawful, and within the statute of 25 Edward III.; for thus alledge all the people of England morally guilty of the evil of a sin and offence against the law of nature, which once done, whatever promised indemnity be granted for the present, the evil of the action remaineth upon record, not only to the infamy of the whole people of England, but their future danger, upon pretence that they have forfeited the very indemnity granted.

"The length of time taken to search out matter against the prisoner, and the undue practices and courses to find out witnesses, do farther evidence how unlike the prisoner is to have an equal and indifferent trial. He doubts not this will appear in his two years' close imprisonment (six months whereof was banishment), during which time he was never so much as once examined, or had any question put to him whereby he might conjecture wherefore he was committed to prison, any farther than was expressed in the warrants of commitment. Now these were so general that nothing certain or particular could be gathered out of them. But upon the received opinion that he was excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, and, in the sense of both Houses, a great delinquent, his estate was attempted to be inventoried, his rentals demanded, his rents were actually seized in the tenants' hands, and they forbidden to pay them. His very courts were prohibited by officers of great personages, claiming the grant of the estate, and threatening his officers from doing their duty. By these kind of undue proceedings, the prisoner had not wherewithal to maintain himself in prison, and his debts, to the value of above £10,000, were undischarged, either principal or interest. The hopes of private lucre and profit hereby was such in the tenants and other persons sought out for far and near to be witnesses, that it is no wonder at last something by way of charge comes to be exhibited." The foregoing is from a paper he left behind him in his prison, endorsed "*Memorandum pleadeable on my arraignment.*"

\* This was the eccentric Sir Geoffrey Palmer, of whom Roger North gives a very graphic sketch. He was distinguished by his ability and masterly knowledge in his profession, and his wisdom and generosity are said to have been incomparable. During all the troubles of the age, he lived quiet in the Temple, a professed and known Cavalier; and temptation of fear or profit could ever shake his principles. He had great business in conveyancing, and would not keep a clerk who was not a strict Cavalier. One of his clerks was said to be so rigid that he would never write the word Oliver with a great O, and the attorney-general himself was reported to have purchased the manor of Charlton from its resemblance to the name of his royal master.

if their cause will bear it; but it is very visible beforehand that all possible means of defence are taken and withheld from him, and laws are made *ex post facto* to forejudge the merit of the cause, the party being unheard.

"And when he hath said all this, that, as a rational man, does occur to him, and is fit for him to represent in all humility to the court, he craves leave farther to add, that he stands at this bar not only as a man, and a man clothed with the privileges of the most sovereign court, but as a Christian that hath faith and reliance in God, through whose gracious and wise appointment he is brought into these circumstances, and unto this place at this time, whose will he desires to be found resigned up into, as well in what he now calls him to suffer, as in what he hath called him formerly to act, for the good of his country, and of the people of God in it. Upon this bottom, he blesses the name of his God, he is fearless, and knows the issue will be good, whatever it prove. God's strength may appear in the prisoner's weakness; and the more all things carry the face of certain ruin and destruction unto all that is near and dear to him in this world, the more will divine deliverance and salvation appear, to the making good of that Scripture, that he that is content to lose his life in God's cause and way, shall save it, and he that, instead thereof, goes about to save his life upon undue terms, shall lose it.

"Far be it, therefore, from me to have knowingly, maliciously, or wittingly offended the law, rightly understood and asserted, much less to have done anything that is *malum per se*, or that is morally evil. This is what I allow not, as I am a man, and what I desire with steadfastness to resist, as I am a Christian. If I can judge anything of my own case, the true reason of the present difficulties and straits I am in is because I have desired to walk by a just and righteous rule in all my actions, and not to serve the lusts and passions of men, but rather to die than wittingly and deliberately sin against God and transgress his holy laws, or prefer my own private interest before the good of the whole community I relate unto, in the kingdom where the lot of my residence is cast."

Before resuming his seat, Vane once more claimed the benefit of council. The court told him that if he would plead, and put himself on the issue, he should then have counsel assigned. After considerable urging, and with evident reluctance and distrust of the sincerity of the court and its promise, he was prevailed upon to comply, and to plead not guilty. He was at once remanded to prison, and, four days after, was brought up to trial.

Upon taking his place in the court, he claimed the promise of his judges, and was told that *they* would be his counsel! So went on this deliberate murder. Since the first promise was made, Chief-justice Forster (who presided at the trial) had been to Hampton Court and received instructions. He and his associates throughout were merely the instruments of the murderers behind the scene, Charles and Clarendon. Chief-justice Forster had even been overheard to say on the day of arraignment, when the convincing arguments of the prisoner had left the prosecuting officers without the power of answering them, "Though we know

not what to say to him, we know what to do with him."

The attorney-general, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, now stated the nature of the overt acts charged against the prisoner, and the particulars of the proofs. "We shall prove," he said, "that the prisoner sat with others in several councils, or rather confederacies, encroached the government, levied forces, appointed officers, and at last levied open and actual war at the head of a regiment; and though he be chargeable for any crime of treason since the beginning of the late war, yet we shall confine the facts of which we charge him to the reign of his present majesty." The first piece of evidence was a warrant under the hand and seal of the prisoner, directed to the officers of the navy, and commanding them to issue out stores for the service of the government. The signature of the prisoner was proved by two witnesses acquainted with the general character of his handwriting. Several entries in the journals of the House of Commons were then read. One of them, dated the 1st of February, 1649, purported to be an order for establishing a council of state. Another entry, of the date of the 13th of February in the same year, contained instructions to the council of state, requiring them to suppress the attempts of any who should pretend title to the kingly government, from the late king, or from his son, or from any other person. The attorney-general insisted that the former part of these instructions showed an interest to destroy the person of the king, and that the latter part showed an interest to destroy the kingly government. It appeared from another entry in the journals of the 14th of February, 1649, that the prisoner had been chosen a member of the council of state, and had acted upon the instructions before mentioned, and usually sat in the council; and that he had also acted as treasurer of the navy. The fact of his sitting as member in a committee of council was also proved by witnesses. It was farther proved that in 1651 he was appointed president of the council of state, and as such signed orders for military equipments. Another entry was read, dated 7th of May, 1650, from which it appeared that a committee of safety had been appointed for the care of the Commonwealth, and that the prisoner was one of its members, and, as such, had acted in conference with foreign ambassadors, and nominated officers to commands in the army, and had made several orders, and acted in various other ways in the service of the Commonwealth. A witness of the name of Marsh proved that the prisoner proposed a new model of the government, Whitelocke presiding in the chair; and that one of the particulars proposed was a resolution declaring it destructive to the people's liberty to admit any king into power. Another witness stated that he believed Sir Henry Vane had proposed this resolution to the chairman, and affirmed positively that he gave reasons in its support. A third proved that Sir Henry Vane had been at the head of a company of soldiers in Southwark.\*

Such was the substance of the evidence in support of the prosecution. Sir Henry Vane was now called upon for his defence. He ar-

\* Phillips's State Trials.

gued, first, in point of law, that the word "king," in the statute of treasons, could only be understood to mean a king regnant, one in the actual possession of the crown, and not a king merely *such de jure*, who is not in possession of the throne; that the Parliament was the only power regnant at the time alleged, consequently that no treason could be committed against the king. He was proceeding in this argument, when the court observed that, previous to entering into his defence in matters of law, it would be proper for him to call witnesses, if he had any. Upon this, he said that, not having been informed of the nature of the charges, nor of the evidence to be brought against him, he had not been able to provide witnesses, and he therefore desired process of the court to summon witnesses, and a farther time to answer the charge; but the court declared that such a delay could not be allowed. Undaunted, he then, with infinite learning and ability, grappled with all the evidence against him, and justified every particular of his conduct. The learning, the eloquence, the lofty courage with which he did this, will appear in the following masterly passages:

"The causes that did happen to move his late majesty to depart from his Parliament, and continue for many years, not only at a distance and in a disjunction from them, but at last in a declared posture of enmity and war against them, are so well known and fully stated in print, *not to say written in characters of blood on both parts*, that I shall only mention it, and refer to it.

"*This matter was not done in a corner.* The appeals were solemn, and the decision, by the sword, was given by that God who, being the judge of the whole world, does right, and cannot do otherwise.

"By occasion of these unhappy differences, thus happening, most great and unusual changes and revolutions, like an irresistible torrent, did break in upon us, not only to the disjoining that Parliamentary assembly among themselves (the head from the members, the co-ordinates from each other, and the Houses within themselves), but to the creating such formed divisions among the people, and to the producing such a general state of confusion and disorder, that hardly any were able to know their duty, and with certainty to discern who were to command and who to obey. All things seemed to be reduced, and in a manner resolved into their first elements and principles.

"Nevertheless, as dark as such a state may be, the law of England leaves not the subjects thereof, as I humbly conceive, without some glimpses of direction what to do, in the cleaving to, and pursuing of which, I hope I shall not be accounted nor judged an offender, or if I am, I shall have the comfort and peace of my actions to support me in and under my greatest sufferings.

"The king is acknowledged to have two capacities in him: one a natural, as he is descended of the blood royal of the realm; and the body natural he hath in this capacity is of the creation of almighty God, and mortal: the other is a politic capacity, in respect of which he is a body politic or mystical, framed by the policy of man, which is immortal and invisible. To

the king, in both these capacities conjoined, allegiance is due; that is to say, to the natural person of the king, accompanied with his politic capacity, or the politic appropriated to the natural.

"The politic capacity of the king hath properly no body nor soul, for it is framed by the policy of man.

"In all indictments of treason, when any one does intend the death and destruction of the king, it must needs be understood of his natural body, the other being immortal. The indictment therefore concludes, *contra legiantie sue debitum*, against the duty of his allegiance, so that allegiance is due to the natural body.

"Admitting, then, that thus by law allegiance is due to the king (as before recited), yet it is always to be presumed that it is to the king in conjunction with the Parliament, the law, and the kingdom, and not in disjunction from or opposition to them; and that while a Parliament is in being and cannot be dissolved but by the consent of the three estates.

"This is therefore that which makes the matter in question a new case, that never before happened in the kingdom, nor was possible to happen, unless there had been a Parliament constituted, as this was, unsubjected to adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution, by the king's will. Where such a power is granted, and the co-ordinates thereupon disagree and fall out, such effects and consequents as these that have happened will but too probably follow; and if either the law of nature or England inform not in such case, it will be impossible for the subjects to know their duty, when that power and command which ought to flow from three in conjunction comes to be exercised by all or either of them, singly and apart, or by two of them against one.

"When new and never-heard-of changes do fall out in the kingdom, it is not like that the known and written laws of the land should be the exact rule, *but the grounds and rules of justice, contained and declared in the law of nature*, are and ought to be a sanctuary in such cases, even by the very common law of England; for thence originally spring the unerring rules that are set by the divine and eternal law for rule and subjection in all states and kingdoms."

In a subsequent passage of this immortal defence he illustrated the emphatic differences which separated his case from that of almost every other, though he avowed the same devotion to the good cause common to all who had suffered for it, and proudly appealed to his virtuous and unstained conduct in his days of power.

"The resolutions and votes for changing the government into a Commonwealth or free state were passed some weeks before my return to Parliament; yet afterward, so far as I judged the same consonant to the principles and grounds, declared in the laws of England, for upholding that political power which hath given the rise and introduction in this nation to monarchy itself, by the account of ancient writers, I conceived it my duty, as the state of things did then appear to me, notwithstanding the said alteration made, to keep my station in Parliament, and to perform my allegiance therein to king and kingdom, under the powers then reg-



nant, upon my principles before declared, yielding obedience to their authority and commands; and having received trust, in reference to the safety and preservation of the kingdom, in those times of imminent danger both within and without, I did conscientiously hold myself obliged to be true and faithful therein. This I did upon a public account, not daring to quit my station in Parliament by virtue of my first writ. Nor was it for any private or gainful ends to profit myself or enrich my relations. This may appear as well by the great debt I have contracted, as by the destitute condition my many children are in as to any provision made for them; and I do publicly challenge all persons whatsoever that can give information of any bribes or covert ways used by me during the whole time of my public acting. Therefore I hope it will be evident to the consciences of the jury that what I have done hath been upon principles of integrity, honour, justice, reason, and conscience, and not, as is suggested in the indictment, by instigation of the devil, or want of the fear of God.

“A second great change that happened upon the constitution of the Parliament, and in them, of the very kingdom itself and the laws thereof, to the plucking up the liberties of it by the very roots, and the introducing of an arbitrary regal power, under the name of Protector, by force and the law of the sword, was the usurpation of Cromwell, which I opposed from the beginning to the end, to that degree of suffering, and with that constancy, that well near had cost me not only the loss of my estate, but of my very life, if he might have had his will, which a higher than he hindered; yet I did remain a prisoner, under great hardship, four months, in an island, by his orders.

“Hereby that which I have asserted is most undeniably evident, as to the true grounds and ends of my actions all along, that were against usurpation on the one hand, or such extraordinary actings on the other as I doubted the laws might not warrant or indemnify, unless I were enforced thereunto by an overruling and inevitable necessity.”

In conclusion, he put in these questions to the court:

“1. Whether the collective body of the Parliament can be impeached of high treason?”

“2. Whether any person acting by authority of Parliament can, so long as he acteth by that authority, commit treason?”

“3. Whether matters acted by that authority can be called in question in an inferior court?”

“4. Whether a king *de jure*, and out of possession, can have treason committed against him, he not being king *de facto*, and in actual possession? And prayed it might be argued by counsel.

“5. Whether matters done in Southwark, in another county, may be given in evidence to a Middlesex jury?”

All these masterly arguments to law and appeals to simplest reason were of course unavailing. The court held that the Parliament was determined and dissolved by the death of Charles I.; that the proceedings subsequent to that event, though conducted in the name of Parliament, were without any legal authority, and absolutely void; that Charles II. became

king *de facto* as well as *de jure* from the moment of his father's death; and that all acts done with intent to exclude him from the exercise of his kingly office were overt acts of high treason. As to the objection respecting the counties, the court held that any overt act tending to prove the compassing of the death of the king might be given in evidence, in whatever county that overt act had been committed.

Vane, resolute and undaunted, still prayed the benefit of a bill of exceptions upon these points; but this the court refused, being of opinion that the statute of Westminster 2, chap. 31, which allows of bills of exceptions, does not apply to a criminal case, but only to actions between party and party. He then proved, by a few witnesses, the utter falsehood of much of the crown evidence, and so closed his defence.

The solicitor-general now rose, and made a most brutal speech. He openly declared “that the prisoner must be made a public sacrifice;” and, in allusion to his urgent demands for the benefit of counsel, held this indecent language: “What counsel, does he think, would dare to speak for him in such a manifest case of treason, unless he could call down the heads of his fellow-traitors, Bradshaw or Cook, from the top of Westminster Hall!” When the solicitor had ended, the court sent out the jury without saying a word on the merits of the case, in order that the effect of his harangue might not be impaired, and he was even permitted to hold a secret consultation with the foreman as they were leaving the box. After an absence of half an hour, the jury returned into court with a verdict of *guilty*, and Vane was carried back to the Tower.

Some friends visited him in his cell immediately after his return to it, and they were surprised to find him in cheerful spirits. Although he had been in court for more than ten hours without any refreshment, and engaged for a large part of the time in the most earnest and energetic efforts of argument and oratory, he seemed, at the conclusion, to be clothed with new strength and animation of soul. They questioned him, and he explained the feeling thus: “He had all along,” he said, “foreseen the prosecution which had then been consummated. He knew that the offences to be charged upon him would be such as would equally involve the whole nation, and that, in defending himself, he might, therefore, be considered as defending the liberty and life of every Englishman who had acted in the cause of the Commonwealth. He had been deeply impressed with a sense of the obligation that rested upon him to make a defence worthy of the importance and magnitude of the occasion, and he had formed the resolution to avail himself of every security which the Constitution and laws of the country had provided to protect the subject against injustice and oppression. Actuated by these views, he had refused to plead to the indictment until he was assured he should have the benefit of counsel. When, on the morning of that day, he found that he had been deceived and betrayed, and was without counsel to advise with him, aid him, and speak for him, and that the great cause of liberty and right was left for him alone to vindicate, he was oppress-

ed with a sense of his incompetency to do it justice; but in looking back, at the close of the day, upon the defence he had been enabled to make, his heart overflowed with devout gratitude and joy. He blessed the Lord that he had been strengthened to maintain himself at the post which Providence had assigned him; that arguments had been suggested to his mind; that he had not been left to overlook any means of defence; that his lips had been clothed with more than their usual eloquence, and that, by his gracious help, he had been enabled to discharge, to his own entire satisfaction, the duty he owed to his country and to the liberty of his countrymen. He had spoken that day, as he told the judges, 'not for his own sake only, but for theirs and for posterity.' He had done his best and his utmost for himself and for his fellow-men; his conscience was discharged, his obligations to society were fulfilled, and his mind was therefore at peace with itself, at peace with the world, and full of satisfaction, comfort, and joy.\*

The real murderers now appear upon the scene. We are able to uplift the curtain which has concealed them hitherto, and show them to the execration of posterity.

The time had come for the redemption of the king's solemn promise that he would remit Vane's sentence should he be proved guilty. Instead of interfering to redeem, he interfered to whet the zeal of Clarendon. He thus wrote, the day after the trial, to his pious chancellor:

"Hampton Court, Saturday, {  
Two in the afternoon.

"The relation that has been made to me of Sir Henry Vane's carriage yesterday in the Hall is the occasion of this letter, which, if I am rightly informed, was so insolent as to justify all he had done, acknowledging no supreme power in England but a Parliament, and many things to that purpose. You have had a true account of all; and if he has given new occasion to be hanged, certainly *he is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way.* Think of this, and give me some account of it to-morrow, till when I have no more to say to you. C. R."

On Wednesday, the 11th of June, Vane was brought up to receive his sentence. After the usual formalities, he was called upon to answer "whether he had anything to say why sentence

\* I will subjoin a few details from Sikes: "On this day, liberty being given to friends to visit him in the Tower, he received them with very great cheerfulness and with a composed frame of spirit, having wholly given up himself to the will of God. It being told him by a friend that his death would be a loss to the people of God, he answered, that God would raise up other instruments to serve him and his people." And as to the king's promise: "Upon friends persuading him to make some submission to the king, and to endeavour the obtaining of his life, he said, if the king did not think himself more concerned for his honour and word than he did for his life, he was very willing they should take it. 'Nay, I declare,' said he, 'that I value my life less in a good cause than the king can do his promise. I think the king himself is so sufficiently obliged to spare my life, that it is fitter for him to do it than myself to seek it.'" The following is extremely touching: "Mention being made to him of the cruel proceedings against him, 'Alas!' said he, 'what adds they keep to make a poor creature like me suffer!' In discourse he said, 'If the shedding of my blood may prove an occasion of gathering together in one the dispersed interests and remnant of the adherents to this cause, of whatever differing persuasions, I should think ten thousand lives, if I had them, well spent in such a service.'"

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of death should not be passed upon him." Vane rose upon this, "with an air which sufficiently indicated that he not only had something, but a good deal, to say, why sentence of death should not be passed upon him." He commenced by observing that he had not yet heard the indictment read in Latin, and he claimed it as a right undeniable. This led to a sharp debate between him and the judges and lawyers, in which he finally prevailed. When the indictment had been read in Latin, he next claimed counsel to make exceptions to the indictment, according to law. After much discussion this was overruled; but he would not relinquish his claim until the court had distinctly assumed the responsibility of refusing it. The next thing he offered was a bill of exceptions, which, in the want of counsel, he had framed himself. It had been offered on the day of his trial, and the judges had then refused to sign it. He now showed that the statute of Edward had never been repealed, and he adduced passages from Sir Edward Coke to prove that, if the justices should refuse to sign a bill of exceptions, they might be compelled by a writ to sign it, and otherwise proceeded against. This bold measure on the part of the prisoner confounded and staggered the court. "The statute was explicit, the law clear, the right certain." But, after much evasion and disputation, the court refused to sign or receive it; and on this point also Vane would not relinquish his claim, until the judges had, one by one, assumed the responsibility of the refusal.

The bill of exceptions prepared by Vane has been preserved. It is a paper of great ability, learning, and interest, setting forth all the particulars in which he had been unjustly used, and the law violated in his person. In the course of it, he mentions several interesting circumstances, implying the baseness of Monk, and other matters.\*

\* "On the day of my arraignment, an eminent person was heard to say I had forfeited my head by what I said that day before ever I came to my defence. What that should be I know not, except my saying in open court, 'sovereign power of Parliament,' which the attorney-general wrote down, after he had promised at my request no exception should be taken at words; and whole volumes of lawyers' books pass up and down the nation with that title, 'sovereign power of Parliament.' Six moderate men, that were like to consider what they did before they would throw away my life, were summoned to be of my petty jury, which the king's counsel hearing, wrote a letter to one of the sheriffs to unsummon them; and a new list was made the night immediately before the day of verdict, on purpose that the prisoner might not have any knowledge of them till presented to his view and choice in Westminster Hall. Yet one of the forty-eight of this list (who said he would have starved himself before he would have found Sir Henry Vane guilty of treason) was never called, though he walked in the hall all the while. And in that hurry of those that compassed about, I being alone, stripped of all assistance, Sir William Roberts foreman, and Sir Christopher Abdy, were sworn by the court before I was aware; so my challenging them might seem a personal disobliging and exasperation of them against me, after they were sworn and fixed. The solicitor also had a long whisper with the foreman of the jury, in the court, before they went to verdict; telling him the prisoner must be a sacrifice for the nation, &c.; suddenly after which I am here called to receive my sentence. After the day of my trial, the judges went to Hampton Court."

The foregoing is from a paper he had prepared in arrest of judgment. This also is an extract from his most able and convincing argument on the law of treason:

"The law is made for the benefit and security of the subject, whom the law requires not to examine the right of sovereignty. Nor is the danger less under one government

Vane's next step was to request the reading of the petition of the Parliament in favour of his life, and the king's promise, in reply, not to take it away. After much dispute he prevailed on this point, and the proceedings in reference to that petition were read in open court. He then reminded the court, who had begun to show signs of impatience under his searching and effectual management of his cause, that there were certain questions of law which must be settled before sentence could be passed upon him. He wished to argue them, by counsel if permitted, if not in person, before their lordships. He proceeded to instance them: "1. Whether a Parliament were accountable to any inferior court. 2. Whether the king, being out of possession—"

The court suddenly broke in upon him at this point, and, with considerable vehemence, declared that "the king was never out of possession." Sir Henry instantly replied, with great coolness, that if *the king was never out of possession, the indictment against him must inevitably fall to the ground; for the charge it alleged was, "that he endeavoured to keep out his majesty."*

The judges now showed themselves highly excited; and Vane, after again demanding to be heard in assigning his reasons for an arrest of judgment, and after having exhausted the various provisions of the English law in favour of the security of the subject, desisted from all farther attempts. As he folded up his papers, he appealed from that tribunal to the righteous judgment of God, who, he reminded his judges, would judge them as well as him, and he concluded by expressing his willingness to die upon the testimony he had borne.\*

As he uttered these last words, Sergeant

than another. The statute is, for securing the subjects from all dormant titles, that they may safely pay their allegiance when they receive protection, and that they may not be in danger of being destroyed by two powers at the same time. For that power which is supreme and *de facto* will be obeyed, and make it treason to do otherwise, be it right or wrong. And if the subject be at the same time in danger of committing treason against the power *de jure*, then is he in a miserable condition and state of unavoidable necessity, which is provided against by the laws of the land. Otherwise, if he be loyal to the king *de jure*, he shall be hanged by the king *de facto*; and if he be faithful to the king *de facto*, he shall die by the king *de jure*, when he recovers possession. Against this it was that the statute of 11 Henry VII. was provided, in the difference betwixt the two houses of York and Lancaster. My case is either the same with that, and then I desire the benefit of that statute; or else it is new, and then I desire, as is provided 25 Edward III., that it be referred to the Parliament."

And lastly (one of these points respecting the indictment he subsequently, as I have said, achieved):

"I have not been permitted to have a copy or sight of the indictment, nor so much as to hear it read in Latin, which is the original record of the court, and ought to be the foundation of their whole proceeding with me. I often desired these things of the court. I was put (after two years' close imprisonment) to answer for my life to a long indictment, read in English, which, whether it were rightly translated, how should I know, that might not hear the original record in Latin? Counsel also, learned in the law, were denied me, though pressed for by me again and again before I pleaded. And had they been granted, what could they have said as to defects of law in the indictment, unless they might have had a copy of it beforehand? My trial for life was huddled up. The jury, as was told me, must not eat or drink till they had done their work: but why such haste and precipitancy for a man's life, that is more than meat or estate, when you can let civil causes about men's estates depend many years? If an erroneous judgment be passed in such matters, it is reversible; but if innocent blood be spilled, it cannot be gathered up again."

\* Upham's Life.

Keeling, who had manifested great passion during the trial, exclaimed, "So you may, sir, in good time, by the grace of God." This lawyer had been very abusive on several occasions, and Vane had rebuked his rudeness. Once, for instance, while the latter was reading a passage from a volume of the statutes, Keeling, wishing to look at the book, attempted rather rudely to snatch it from his hands. Vane withheld the volume, remarking, "When I employ you as my counsel, sir, I will find you books."

I close the account of this most memorable trial with one portion of the grand appeal which Vane had taken occasion to make on this last day, not to his judges, but to posterity. The first has reference to the old charge of having violated the Covenant.

"And in the asserting and adhering unto the right of this highest sovereign, as stated in the Covenant before mentioned, the Lords and Commons jointly before the year 1648, and the Commons alone afterward, to the very times charged in the indictment, did manage the war and late differences within these kingdoms. And whatever defections did happen by apostates, hypocrites, and time-serving worldlings, there was a party among them that continued firm, sincere, and chaste unto that cause to the last, and loved it better than their very lives, of which number I am not ashamed to profess myself to be; not so much admiring the form and words of the Covenant, as the righteous and holy ends therein expressed, and the true sense and meaning thereof, which I have reason to know.

"This general and public case of the kingdom is so well known by the declarations and actions that have passed on both sides, that I need but name it, since this matter was not done in a corner, but frequently contended for in the high places of the field, and written even with characters of blood. And out of the bowels of these public differences and disputes doth my particular case arise, for which I am called into question; but, admitting it come to my lot to stand single in the witness I am to give to this glorious cause, and to be left alone, as in a sort I am, yet, being upheld with the authority before asserted, and keeping myself in union and conjunction therewith, I am not afraid to bear my witness to it in this great presence, nor to seal it with my blood, if called thereunto; and I am so far satisfied in my conscience and understanding, that it neither is nor can be treason, either against the law of nature or the law of the land, either *malum per se* or *malum prohibitum*; that, on the contrary, it was the duty I owed to God the universal king, and to his majesty that now is, and to the Church and people of God in these nations, and to the innocent blood of all that have been slain in this quarrel. Nothing, it seems, will now serve, unless by the condemnation passed upon my person they be rendered to posterity murderers and rebels, and that upon record in a court of justice in Westminster Hall. And this would inevitably have followed, if I had voluntarily given up this cause without asserting their and my innocency, by which I should have pulled that blood upon my own head, which now I am sure must lie at the door of others, and, in particular, of those that knowingly and precipitately shall imbrue their hands in my innocent

blood, under whatever form or pretext of justice.

"My lords, if I have been free and plain with you in this matter, I beg your pardon; for it concerns me to be so, and something more than ordinarily urgent, where both my estate and life are in such imminent peril; nay, more than *my life—the concerns of thousands of lives are in it, not only of those that are in their graves already, but of all posterity in time to come.* Had nothing been in it but the care to preserve my own life, I needed not have stayed in England, but might have taken my opportunity to have withdrawn myself into foreign parts, to provide for my own safety; nor needed I to have been put upon pleading, as now I am, for an arrest of judgment, but might have watched upon advantages that were visible enough to me in the managing of my trial, if I had consulted only the preservation of my life or estate.

"No, my lords, I have otherwise learned Christ *than to fear them that can but kill the body, and have no more that they can do.* I have also taken notice, in the little reading that I have had of history, how glorious the very heathens have rendered their names to posterity in the contempt they have showed of death (when the laying down of their life has appeared to be their duty), from the love which they have owed to their country."

The appropriate answer of the judges was "judgment of death." They sentenced him to execution on Tower Hill.\*

The space between Wednesday and Saturday was granted to him wherein to prepare for death. He passed it chiefly in exhortations and prayers with his wife and children, who were

allowed to remain with him.\* At the hour of midnight previous to the day of his execution, the sheriff's chaplain came to his cell with the warrant for his execution. He related the circumstance to his friends in the morning, and said, "There was no dismalness at all in it. After the receipt of the message I slept four hours so soundly, that the Lord hath made it sufficient for me; and now I am going to sleep my last, after which I shall need sleep no more." Early that forenoon his wife, children, and friends were all assembled in the prison. Many and most impressive were his entreaties to them all that they should not mourn for him.

"I know a day of deliverance for Sion will come. Some may think the manner of it may be as before, with confused noise of the war-rrior, and garments rolled in blood; but I rather think it will be with burning and fuel of fire. The Lord will send a fire that shall burn in the consciences of his enemies, a worm that shall not die, and a fire that shall not go out. Man they may fight against, but this they cannot fight against. And why," said he, speaking before all the company, "should we be frightened with death! I bless the Lord I am so far from being affrighted with death, that I find it rather shrink from me than I from it." Then, kissing his children, he said, "The Lord bless you—he will be a better Father to you—I must now forget that ever I knew you. I can willingly leave this place and outward enjoyments for those I shall meet with hereafter in a better country. I have made it my business to acquaint myself with the society of heaven. Be not you troubled, for I am going home to my Father."

Subsequently he prayed with them; and these were passages of his prayer:

"*I die in the certain faith and foresight that this cause shall have its resurrection in my death. My blood will be the seed sown, by which this glorious cause will spring up, which God will speedily raise.* Then, laying down this earthly tabernacle is no more but throwing down the mantle, by which a double portion of the Spirit will fall on the rest of God's people. And if by my being offered up, the faith of many be confirmed, and others convinced and brought to the knowledge of the truth, how can I desire greater honour and matter of rejoicing! As for that glorious cause, which God hath owned in these nations and will own, in which so many righteous souls have lost their lives, and so many have been engaged by my countenance and encouragement, shall I now give it up, and so declare them all rebels and murderers! No, I will never do it; that precious blood shall never lie at my door. As a testimony and seal to the justness of that quarrel, I leave now my life upon it, as a legacy to all the honest in-

\* From his exhortations to his children I may take the following:

"Live in the spirit and walk in the faith of our father Abraham. Listen to the experiences of your father in this dying hour and season of darkness, who can and doth here give a good report of that heavenly and better country he is now going to the more free and full enjoyment of. In the midst of these his dark circumstances, his enjoyments and refreshings from the presence of the Lord do more abound than ever." "Regard not the reproaches that are fallen on your father. Say or do men what they will, Abraham's faith will find the blessing Abraham found, in whosoever it is."

\* It is worth subjoining here the opinions of two of the most eminent of English lawyers on this infamous judgment. "When," says Blackstone, "a usurper is in possession, the subject is excused and justified in obeying and giving him assistance; otherwise, under a usurpation, no man could be safe, if the lawful prince had a right to hang him for obedience to the powers in being, as the usurper would certainly do for disobedience. Nay, farther, as the mass of the people are imperfect judges of title (of which, in all cases, possession is *prima facie* evidence), the law compels no man to yield obedience to that prince whose right is, by want of possession, rendered uncertain and disputable, till Providence shall think fit to interpose in his favour, and decide the ambiguous claim; and, therefore, till he is entitled to such allegiance by possession, no treason can be committed against him." Mr. Justice Foster takes the same view of the statute, and maintains that when the throne is full, any person out of possession, but claiming title, be his pretensions what they may, is no king within the statute of treason. "I am aware," he adds, "of the judgment of the court of King's Bench in the case of Sir Henry Vane; that King Charles II., though kept out of the exercise of the kingly office, yet was still a king, *both de facto and de jure*, and that all acts done to the keeping him out were high treason." The case of Sir Henry Vane, he then remarks, was a very singular case; and he concludes with these words, which are, in truth, conclusive on the question: "I will therefore say nothing on the merits of the question more than this, that the rule laid down by the court involved in the guilt of treason every man in the kingdom who had acted in a public situation under a government possessed in fact for twelve years together of sovereign power, but under various forms at different times, as the enthusiasm of the herd, or the ambition of their leaders, dictated." It is an historical fact, that Lord-chief-justice Hale, when of high rank at the bar, took the engagement "to be true to the Commonwealth of England without a king or House of Lords." This, as Mr. Justice Foster remarks, was plainly, in the sense of those who imposed it, an engagement for abolishing kingly government, or at least for supporting the abolition of it; and with regard to those who took it, it might, upon the principles of Sir Henry Vane's case, have been easily improved into an overt act of treason against King Charles II.

terest in these three nations. Ten thousand deaths rather than defile my conscience, the chastity and purity of which I value beyond all this world! I would not for ten thousand lives part with this peace and satisfaction I have in my own heart, both in holding to the purity of my principles and to the righteousness of this good cause, and to the assurance I have that God is now fulfilling all these great and precious promises in order to what he is bringing forth. Although I see it not, yet I die in the faith and assured expectation of it."

Again:

"Thou hast promised that thou wilt be a mouth to thy people in the hour of trial; for thou hast required us to forbear the preparatory agitations of our own minds, because it is not we that are to speak, but the Spirit of our heavenly Father that speaketh in us, in such seasons. In what seasons more, Lord, than when thou callest for the testimony of thy servants to be writ in characters of blood! Show thyself in a poor weak worm, by enabling him to stand against all the power of thy enemies. *There hath been a battle fought with garments rolled in blood, in which (upon solemn appeals on both sides) thou didst own thy servants*, though, through the spirit of hypocrisy and apostacy that hath sprung up among us, these nations have been thought unworthy any longer to enjoy the fruits of that deliverance. THOU HAST THEREFORE ANOTHER DAY OF DECISION YET TO COME! Such a battle is to begin, and be carried on by the faith of thy people; yea, as in some sort begun by the faith of thy poor servant, that is now going to seal thy cause with his blood. Oh that this decision of thine may remarkably show itself in thy servant at this time, by his bold testimony while sealing it with his blood! We know not what interruptions may attend thy servant; but, Lord, let thy power carry him in a holy triumph over all difficulties."

He concluded thus:

"My hourglass is now turned up, the sand runs out apace, and it is my happiness that death doth not surprise me. It is grace and love thou dost show thy poor servant, that thou hastenest out his time, and lettest him see it runs out with joy and peace. Little do my enemies know (as eager as they are to have me gone) how soon their breaths may be drawn in. *But let thy servant see death shrink under him*. What a glorious sight will this be, in the presence of many witnesses, to have death shrink under him, which he acknowledgeth to be only by the power of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, whom the bands of death could not hold down! Let that spirit enter into us that will set us again upon our feet, and let us be led into that way that the enemies may not know how to deal with us. *Oh, what abjuring of light, what treachery, what meanness of spirit has appeared in this day!* What is the matter! Oh! death is the matter. Lord, strengthen the faith and heart of thy poor servant to undergo this day's work with joy and gladness, and bear it on the heart and consciences of his friends that have known and seen him, that they also may say, the Lord is in him of a truth. Oh that thy servant could speak any blessing to these three nations! Let thy remnant be gathered to thee.

Prosper and relieve that poor handful that are in prisons and bonds, that they may be raised up and trample death under foot. Let my poor family that is left desolate—let my dear wife and children be taken into thy care; be thou a husband, father, and master to them; let the spirit of those that love me be drawn out towards them. Let a blessing be upon these friends that are here at this time; strengthen them; let them find love and grace in thine eyes, and be increased with the increasings of God. Show thyself a loving Father to us all, and do for us abundantly above and beyond all that we can ask or think, for Jesus Christ his sake."

Sikes was present at the last scene of all, and has described the triumphal progress (for such it was) from the Tower to the scaffold.

"Then one of the sheriff's men came in and told him there was no sled to come, but he was to walk on foot.

"Then Mr. Sheriff coming into the room, was friendly saluted by him, and after a little pause communicated a prohibition that he said he had received, which was, that he must not speak anything against his majesty or the government. His answer to this, he himself relates on the scaffold. He farther told Mr. Sheriff he was ready; but the sheriff said he was not, nor could be this half hour yet. 'Then, sir, it rests on you, not on me (said Sir Henry), for I have been ready this half hour.' Then the sheriff, at his request, promised him his servants should attend him on the scaffold and be civilly dealt with, neither of which was performed; for (notwithstanding this promise) they were beaten and kept off the scaffold, till he said, 'What! have I never a servant now?'

"After this, one of the sheriff's men came and told him there must be a sled; to which Sir Henry replied, 'Any way, how they please, for I long to be at home, to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is best of all.' He went very cheerfully and readily down the stairs from his chamber, and seated himself on the sled (friends and servants standing about him); then he was forthwith drawn away towards the scaffold. As he went, some in the Tower (prisoners as well as others) spake to him, praying the Lord to go with him. And after he was out of the Tower, *from the tops of houses and out of windows, the people used such means and gestures as might best discover, at a distance, their respects and love to him*, crying aloud, 'The Lord go with you; the great God of heaven and earth appear in you and for you;' whereof he took what notice he was capable in those circumstances, in a cheerful manner accepting their respect, putting off his hat and bowing to them. Being asked several times how he did by some about him, he answered, 'Never better in all my life.' Another replied, 'How should he do ill that suffers for so glorious a cause?' To which a tall black man said, 'Many suffered for a better cause.' 'And many for a worse,' said Sir Henry; wishing 'that when they came to seal their better cause,' as he called it, 'with their blood, as he was now going to seal his, they might not find themselves deceived. And as to this cause,' said he, '*it hath given life in death to all the owners of it, and sufferers for it.*'

"Being passed within the rails on Tower Hill, there were many loud acclamations of the people, crying out, 'The Lord Jesus go with your dear soul,' &c. One told him that was the most glorious seat he ever sat on. He answered, 'It is so indeed,' and rejoiced exceedingly.

"Being come to the scaffold, he cheerfully ascends; and being up, after the crowd on the scaffold was broken in two pieces to make way for him, he showed himself to the people on the front of the scaffold with that noble and Christian-like deportment, that he rather seemed a looker-on than the person concerned in the execution, inasmuch that it was difficult to persuade many of the people that he was the prisoner. But when they knew that the gentleman in the black suit and cloak, with a scarlet silk waistcoat (the victorious colour) showing itself at the breast, was the prisoner, they generally admired that noble and great presence he appeared with. 'How cheerful he is!' said some. 'He does not look like a dying man!' said others; with many like speeches, as astonished with that strange appearance he shined forth in.

"Then, silence being commanded by the sheriff, lifting up his hands and his eyes towards Heaven, and afterward resting his hand on the rails, and taking a very serious, composed, and majestic view of the great multitude before and around him, he spake."

His address was a vigorous statement of all he had urged on his trial, and all the injustice he had suffered. When he was describing the conduct of the judges, however, in refusing to seal his bill of exceptions, Sir John Robinson, lieutenant of the Tower, who attended the execution for no other purpose than to prevent any dangerous impression being made by the prisoner, interrupted him, saying, in a most furious manner, which gave great dissatisfaction even to the Loyalists who were present, "Sir, you must not go on thus—you must not rail at the judges; it is a lie, and I am here to testify that it is a lie." Vane replied, "God will judge between you and me in this matter. I speak but matter of fact, and cannot you bear that? 'Tis evident the judges have refused to sign my bill of exceptions." The trumpeters were then ordered to approach nearer to the prisoner and blow in his face, to prevent his being heard; at which Sir Henry, lifting up his hand, and then laying it on his breast, said, "What mean you, gentlemen! Is this your usage of me? Did you use all the rest so? I had even done (as to that), could you have been patient; but, seeing you cannot bear it, I shall only say this, that, whereas the judges have refused to seal that with their hands that they have done, I am come to seal that with my blood that I have done."

He then resumed his address to the people, and proceeded to detail some of the circumstances of his life. Sikes's 'report,' with its interruptions, is too striking to be omitted. He was himself present on the scaffold, and held one of the "note books" referred to:

"Gentlemen, Fellow-countrymen, and Christians,—When Mr. Sheriff came to me this morning, and told me he had received a command from the king that I should say nothing reflecting upon his majesty or the government, I an-

swered, I should confine and order my speech, as near as I could, so as to be least offensive, saving my faithfulness to the trust reposed in me, which I must ever discharge with a good conscience unto death; *for I ever valued a man according to his faithfulness to the trust reposed in him, even on his majesty's behalf, in the late controversy.* And if you dare trust my discretion, Mr. Sheriff, I shall do nothing but what becomes a good Christian and an Englishman; and so I hope I shall be hereafter civilly dealt with.

"I stand here this day to resign up my spirit into the hands of that God that gave it me. *Death is but a little word; but 'tis a great work to die.* It is to be but once done; and after this cometh the judgment, even the judgment of the great God, which it concerns us all to prepare for. And by this act I do receive a discharge, once for all, out of prison, even the prison of the mortal body. In all respects wherein I have been concerned and engaged as to the public, my design hath been to accomplish good things for these nations.' Then, lifting up his eyes and spreading his hands, he said, 'I do here appeal to the great God of heaven and all this assembly, or any other persons, to show wherein I have defiled my hands with any man's blood or estate, or that I have sought myself in any public capacity or place I have been in.'"

"The cause was three times stated:

"I. In the Remonstrance of the House of Commons.

"II. In the Covenant, the Solemn League and Covenant—"

"Upon this the trumpets again sounded, the sheriff caught at the paper in his hand, and Sir John Robinson, who at first had acknowledged that he had nothing to do there, wishing the sheriff to see to it, yet found himself something to do now, furiously calling for the writer's books, and saying, 'He treats of rebellion, and you write it.' Hereupon six note-books were delivered up.

"The prisoner was very patient and composed under all these injuries and soundings of the trumpets several times in his face, only saying, 'Twas hard he might not be suffered to speak; but,' says he, 'my usage from man is no harder than was my Lord and Master's; and all that will live his life this day must expect hard dealing from the worldly spirit.' The trumpets sounded again to hinder his being heard. Then again Robinson and two or three others endeavoured to snatch the paper out of Sir Henry's hand, but he kept it for a while, now and then reading part of it; afterward, tearing it in pieces, he delivered it to a friend behind him, who was presently forced to deliver it to the sheriff. *Then they put their hands into his pockets for papers,* as was pretended, which bred great confusion and dissatisfaction to the spectators, seeing a prisoner so strangely handled in his dying words. This was exceedingly remarkable, that in the midst of all this disorder, the prisoner himself was observed to be of the most constant composed spirit and countenance, which he throughout so excellently manifested, that a Royalist swore 'he died like a prince.'"

What the feelings of the people may have been at this instant, an eloquent writer has at-

tempted to describe. "As might have been expected, and as the government had most seriously apprehended, a great impression had by this time been made by the prisoner upon the vast multitude that surrounded him. The people remembered his career of inflexible virtue and patriotism. They had been roused to indignation by the treatment he had received at the hands of Cromwell and of the restored monarch. His trial had revived the memory of his services and sufferings. The fame of his glorious defence had rung far and wide through the city and nation. The enthusiasm with which he had been welcomed by weeping and admiring thousands as he passed from prison to Tower Hill; the sight of that noble countenance; the serene, and calm, and almost divine composure of his deportment; his visible triumph over the fear of death and the malice of his enemies—all these influences, brought at once to bear upon their minds, and concentrated and heightened by the powers of an eloquence that was the wonder of his contemporaries, had produced an effect which, it was evident, could not, with safety to the government, be permitted to be wrought any higher."

Vane, meanwhile, had turned aside, and simply observing, "It is a bad cause which cannot bear the words of a dying man," knelt upon the scaffold, and for a few minutes busied himself in prayer. Sikes resumes his description: "Before the stroke, he spake to this effect: 'I bless the Lord, who hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his name. Blessed be the Lord that I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day. I bless the Lord I have not deserted the righteous cause for which I suffer.' But his very last words of all at the block were as follows: 'Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of men, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country.'"

In an instant, as Vane stretched out his arms, the executioner, at a single blow, discharged his dreadful office; and one of the greatest and purest of men that ever walked the earth, to adorn and elevate his kind, had left the world, which was not worthy of him.

Sikes has a remark on the result of this infamous murder, which is as striking as it is true: "Cromwell's victories are swallowed up of death: Vane has swallowed up death itself into victory. He let fall his mantle, left his body behind him, that he had worn nine-and-forty years, and is gone to keep his everlasting jubi-

lee in God's rest. It is all day with him now—no night or sorrow more—no prisons or death. He is gone from a place where so much as the righteousness of man cannot be endured. He is gone to a place where the righteousness of God is the universal garb of all the inhabitants. He is gone to that better city, the New Jerusalem. He had served his generation in his mortal body, done his work, and was glad to fall asleep, and go look for his reward somewhere else. You see what this ungrateful world has afforded him for all his kindness—reproach, prisons, and death: he had need have other returns somewhere. Great is his reward in heaven."

"Well! they have done all they can do to this lover of his country and the laws thereof. But I would willingly have their understandings disabused in one point. Let them not think they have conquered him. They knew him not. He judged his judges at the bar. He triumphed over his executioners on the scaffold, R. and the rest. Such a public execution was more eligible than to have lingered out some small time in a prison, as a condemned person, liable to any arbitrary after-claps, on any future motion or pretence of motion in our troubled sea. He had more ease; God more glory; the honest party of the nation and their just cause more advantage; and, why may I not say, his most intimate friends and dearest relations more comfort, in this way of his deliverance, once for all!"

That "just cause" was indeed once more elevated by the death of Vane, and his own sublime hopes abundantly realized. The government of Charles II. scarcely ever recovered the shock his genius and his sufferings had given them. Burnet says "that it was generally thought the government had lost more than it gained by his death." Pepys, a thorough-paced Loyalist, witnessed the execution, and says that the people regarded it as a "miracle," and that it was a most impressive spectacle. He remarks farther, "that the king lost more by that man's death than he will get again for a good while;" and expresses the opinion that it had given the bishops a blow from which they would never recover.

Vane's eldest son, who bore his name, and had been reinstated in his inheritance and honours, was sworn into William's privy council at that revolution of 1689 which banished forever from England the detested family of the Stuarts.

# APPENDIX

## TO THE

### LIFE OF SIR HENRY VANE THE YOUNGER.

A.

*A Healing Question propounded and resolved, upon Occasion of the late public and reasonable Call to Humiliation, in order to Love and Union among the honest Party, and with a Desire to apply Balm to the Wound before it become incurable.*

THE question propounded is, What possibility doth yet remain (all things considered) of reconciling and uniting the dissenting judgments of honest men within the three nations, who still pretend to agree in the spirit, justice, and reason of the same good cause, and what is the means to effect this?

*Answer.* If it be taken for granted (as, on the magistrate's part, from the ground inviting the people of England and Wales to a solemn day of fasting and humiliation, may not be supposed of) that all the dissenting parties agree still in the spirit and reason of the same righteous cause, the resolution seems very clear in the affirmative; arguing not only for a possibility, but a great probability hereof: nay, a necessity daily approaching nearer and nearer to compel it, if any or all of the dissenting parties intend or desire to be safe from the danger of the common enemy, who is not out of work, though at present much out of sight and observation.

The grounds of this are briefly these: First, the cause hath still the same goodness in it as ever, and is, or ought to be, as much in the hearts of all good people that have adhered to it: it is not less to be valued now, than when neither blood nor treasure were thought too dear to carry it on, and hold it up from sinking; and hath the same omnipotent God, whose great name is concerned in it, as well as his people's outward safety and welfare; who knows, also, how to give a revival to it when secondary instruments and visible means fail or prove deceitful.

Secondly, The persons concerned and engaged in this cause are still the same as before, with the advantage of being more tried, more inured to danger and hardship, and more endeared to one another, by their various and great experiences, as well of their own hearts as their fellow-brethren. These are the same still in heart and desire after the same thing, which is, that, being freed out of the hands of their enemies, they may serve the Lord without fear, in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life.

As they have had this great good finally in their aims (if declarations to men and appeals to God signify anything), as, as a requisite to attain this, they did with great cheerfulness and unanimity draw out themselves to the utmost in the maintenance of a war, when all other means, first essayed, proved ineffectual. In the management of this war, it pleased God, the righteous Judge (who was appealed to in the controversy), so to bless the counsel and forces of the persons concerned and engaged in this cause, as in the end to make them absolute and complete conquerors over their common enemy; and by this means they had added unto the natural right which was in them before (and so declared by their representatives in Parliament assembled), the right of conquest, for the strengthening of their just claim to be governed by national councils, and successive representatives of their own election and setting up. This they once thought they had been in possession of, when it was ratified, as it were, in the blood of the last king. But of late a great interruption having happened unto them in their former expectations, and, instead thereof, something rising up that seems rather accommodated to the private and selfish interest of a particular part (in comparison) than truly adequate to the common good and concerns of the whole body engaged in this cause: hence it is that this compacted body is now falling asunder into many dissenting parts (a thing not unforeseen nor unhop'd for by the common enemy all along as their last relief); and if these breaches be not timely healed, and the offences (before they take too deep root) removed, they will certainly work more to the advantage of the common enemy than any of their own unwearied endeavours and dangerous contrivances in foreign parts put all together.

A serious discussion and sober enlarging upon these grounds will quickly give an insight into the state of the question, and naturally tend to a plain and familiar resolution thereof.

That which is first to be opened in the nature and goodness of the cause; which, had it not carried in it its own evi-

dence, would scarce have found so many of the people of God adherers to it within the three nations, contributing either their counsels, their purses, their bodily pains, or their affections and prayers, as a combined strength; without which, the military force alone would have been little available to subdue the common enemy, and restore to this whole body their just natural rights in civil things, and true freedom in matters of conscience.

The two last-mentioned particulars, rightly stated, will evidence sufficiently the nature and goodness of this cause.

For the first of these, that is to say, the natural right, which the whole party of honest men adhering to this cause are by success of their arms restored unto, fortified in, and may claim as their undeniable privilege, that righteously cannot be taken from them, nor they debarred from bringing into exercise, it lies in this:

They are to have and enjoy the freedom (by way of dutiful compliance and condescension from all the parts and members of this society) to set up meet persons in the place of supreme judicature and authority among them, whereby they may have the use and benefit of the choicest light and wisdom of the nation that they are capable to call forth, for the rule and government under which they will live; and through the orderly exercise of such measure of wisdom and counsel as the Lord in this way shall please to give unto them, to shape and form all subordinate actings and administrations of rule and government so as shall best answer the public welfare and safety of the whole.

This, in substance, is the right and freedom contained in the nature and goodness of the cause wherein the honest party have been engaged; for in this all the particulars of our civil right and freedom are comprehended, conserved in, and derived from their proper root; in which, while they grow, they will ever thrive, flourish, and increase; whereas, on the contrary, if there be never so many fair branches of liberty planted on the root of a private and selfish interest, they will not long prosper, but must, within a little time, wither and degenerate into the nature of that wherewith they are planted; and hence, indeed, sprung the evil of that government which rose in and with the Norman Conquest.

The root and bottom upon which it stood was not public interest, but the private lust and will of the conqueror, who by force of arms did at first detain the right and freedom which was and is due to the whole body of the people; for whose safety and good, government itself is ordained by God, not for the particular benefit of the rulers, as a distinct and private interest of their own; which yet, for the most part, is not only preferred before the common good, but upheld in opposition thereunto. And as at first the conqueror did, by violence and force, deny this freedom to the people, which was their natural right and privilege, so he and his successors all along lay as bars and impediments to the true national interest and public good, in the very national councils and assemblies themselves, which were constituted in such a manner as most served for the upholding of the private interest of their families; and this being challenged by them as their prerogative, was found by the people assembled in Parliament most unrighteous, burdensome, and destructive to their liberty. And when they once perceived that by this engine all their just rights were like to be destroyed especially (being backed, as it was, with the power of the militia, which the late king, for that purpose, had assumed into his hands, and would not, upon the people's application to him in Parliament, part with into the hands of that great council, who were best to be intrusted with the nation's safety), this was the ground of the quarrel, upon a civil account between the king and his party, and the whole body of adherents to the cause of the people's true liberty; whereof this short touch hath been given, and shall suffice for the opening of the first branch of this cause.

The second branch which remains briefly to be handled is that which also upon the grounds of natural right is to be laid claim unto, but distinguishes itself from the former as it respects a more heavenly and excellent object wherein the freedom is to be exercised and enjoyed, that is to say, matters of religion, or that concerns the service and worship of God.

Unto this freedom the nations of the world have right and title by the purchase of Christ's blood, who, by virtue of his death and resurrection, is become the sole Lord and Ruler



in and over the conscience; for to this end Christ died, rose, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living, and that every one might give an account of himself, in all matters of God's worship, unto God and Christ alone, as their own Master, unto whom they stand or fall in judgment, and are not in these things to be oppressed, or brought before the judgment-seats of men. For why shouldst thou set at naught thy brother in matters of his faith and conscience, and herein intrude into the proper office of Christ, since we are all to stand at the judgment-seat of Christ, whether governors or governed, and by his decision only are capable of being declared with certainty to be in the right or in the wrong?

By virtue, then, of this supreme law, sealed and confirmed in the blood of Christ unto all men (whose souls he challenges a propriety in, to bring under his inward rule in the service and worship of God), it is that all magistrates are to fear and forbear intermeddling with giving rule or imposing in those matters. They are to content themselves with what is plain in their commission, as ordained of God to be his minister unto men for good, while they approve themselves the doers of that which is good in the sight of men, and whereof earthly and worldly judicatures are capable to make a clear and perfect judgment: in which case the magistrate is to be for praise and protection to them. In like manner, he is to be a minister of terror and revenge to those that do evil in matters of outward practice, converse, and dealings in the things of this life between man and man, for the cause whereof the judicatures of men are appointed and set up. But to exceed these limits, as it is not safe nor warrantable for the magistrate (in that he who is higher than the highest, regards, and will show himself displeased at it), so neither is it good for the people, who hereby are nourished up in a biting, devouring, wrathful spirit one against another, and are found transgressors of that royal law which forbids us to do that unto another which we would not have them do unto us, were we in their condition.

This freedom, then, is of high concern to be had and enjoyed, as well for the magistrate's sake as for the people's common good; and it consists, as hath been said, in the magistrate forbearing to put forth the power of rule and coercion in things that God hath exempted out of his commission: so that all care requisite for the people's obtaining this may be exercised with great ease, if it be taken in its proper season, and that this restraint he laid upon the supreme power before it be erected, as a fundamental constitution, among others, upon which the free consent of the people is given, to have the persons brought into the exercise of supreme authority over them and on their behalf; and if, besides, as a farther confirmation hereunto, it be acknowledged the voluntary act of the ruling power, when once brought into a capacity of acting legislatively, that herein they are bound up, and judge it their duty so to be (both in reference to God, the institutor of magistracy, and in reference to the whole body by whom they are intrusted), this great blessing will hereby be so well provided for that we shall have no cause to fear, as it may be ordered.

By this means a great part of the outward exercise of anti-Christian tyranny and bondage will be plucked up by the very roots, which, till some such course be held in it, will be always apt to renew and sprout out afresh, under some new form or refined appearances, as by late years' experience we have been taught: for, since the fall of the bishops and persecuting presbyteries, the same spirit is apt to arise in the next sort of clergy that can get the ear of the magistrate, and pretend to the keeping and ruling the conscience of the governors, although this spirit and practice hath been all along decried by the faithful adherents to this cause as a most sore oppression and insufferable yoke of bondage, most unrighteously kept up over the consciences of the people, and therefore judged by them most needful to be taken out of the way; and in this matter the present governors have been willing very eminently to give their testimony in their public declarations, however in practice there is much of grievance yet found among us, though more, in probability, from the officiousness of subordinate ministers than any clear purpose or design of the chief in power.

Having thus showed what the true freedom is, in both the branches of it, that shines forth in the righteous cause, wherein the good people of these nations have so deeply engaged, it will not be improper, in the next place, to consider two particulars more that give still farther light into the matter in question, as, first, the qualifications of the persons that have adhered to this cause; secondly, the capacity wherein they have been found from time to time carrying it on.

As to their qualification, they have, in the general, distinguished themselves and been made known by a forwardness to assist and own the public welfare and good of the nation, for the attaining and preserving the just rights and liberties thereof, asserted and witnessed unto in the true stating of this cause, according to the two branches thereof already spoken to. They have showed themselves, upon all occasions, desirers and lovers of true freedom, either in civil

or in spirituals, or in both. To express their value thereof, and faithfulness to the same, they have largely contributed, in one kind or other, what was proper to each in his place to do; which actions of theirs, proceeding from hearts sincerely affected to the cause, created in them a right to be of an incorporation and society by themselves, under the name of the good party, having been from the beginning unto this day publicly and commonly so acknowledged, by way of distinction from all neutrals, close and open enemies, and deceitful friends or apostates. These, in order to the maintaining of this cause, have stood by the army, in defence and support thereof, against all opposition whatever, as those that, by the growing light of these times, have been taught and led forth in their experiences to look above and beyond the letter, form, and outward circumstances of government, into the inward reason and spirit thereof, herein only to fix and terminate, to the leaving behind all empty shadows that would obtrude themselves in the place of true freedom.

Secondly, as to the capacity wherein these persons, thus qualified, have acted, it hath been very variable, and subject to great changes: sometimes in one form, and sometimes in another, and very seldom, if ever at all, so exactly and in all points consonant to the rule of former laws and constitutions of government as to be clearly and fully justified by them any longer than the law of success and conquest did uphold them who had the inward warrant of justice and righteousness to encourage them in such their actings.

The utmost and last reserve, therefore, which they have had, in case all other failed, hath been their military capacity, not only strictly taken for the standing army, but in the largest sense, wherein the whole party may (with the army, and under that military constitution and conduct which, by the providence of God, they shall then be found in) associate themselves in the best order they can for the common defence and safety of the whole; as not ignorant that when once embodied in this their military posture, in such manner as by common consent shall be found requisite for the safety of the body, they are most irresistible, absolute, and comprehensive in their power, having that wherein the substance of all government is contained, and under the protection whereof, and safety that may be maintained thereby, they can contrive and determine in what manner this irresistible, absolute, and boundless power, unto which they are now arrived in this their military capacity, shall have just and due limits set unto it, and be drawn out in a meet and orderly way of exercise for the commonweal and safety of the whole body, under the rule and oversight of a supreme judicature, unto the wisdom of whose laws and orders the sword is to become most entirely subject and subservient; and this without the least cause of jealousy or uneasiness, either to the standing army, or any member thereof, or unto the good people adhering to this cause, or any of them, since the interest of both, by this mutual action of either, will be so combined together in one (even in that wherein before they were distinct), that all just cause of difference, fear, animosity, emulation, jealousy, or the like, will be wholly abolished and removed.

For when once the whole body of the good people find that the military interest and capacity is their own, and that into which necessity at the last may bring the whole party (whereof, of right, a place is to be reserved for them), and that herein they are so far from being in subjection or slavery, that in this posture they are most properly sovereign, and possess their right of natural sovereignty, they will presently see a necessity of continuing ever one with their army, raised and maintained by them for the promoting this cause against the common enemy, who in his next attempt will put for all with greater desperation and rage than ever.

Again, when once the standing army and their governors shall also find that, by setting and keeping up themselves in a divided interest from the rest of the body of honest men, they withhold from themselves those contributions in all voluntary and cheerful assistances, by the affections and prayers, by the persons and praises of the good party, to the weakening themselves thereby, as to any vigorous support from them, in the times of most imminent danger (whereof the late king had an experience, that will not suddenly be out of memory, when he undertook the war, in the beginning of these troubles, against the Scots, and was, in a manner, therein deserted by all the good party in England), they will then find (if they stay not till it be too late) that, by espousing the interest of the people, in submitting themselves with their fellow-adherents to the cause, under the rule and authority of their own supreme judicature, they lose not their power or sovereignty, but, becoming one civil or politic incorporation with the whole party of honest men, they do therein keep the sovereignty, as originally seated in themselves, and part with it only but as by donation and representation of themselves, when it is brought into an orderly way of exercise, by being put into the hands of persons chosen and intrusted by themselves to that purpose.

By this mutual and happy transaction, which may be made between the party of honest men in the three nations virtu-

ally in arms, and those actually so now in power at the head of the army, how suddenly would the union of the whole body be consolidated, and made so firm as it will not need to fear all the designs and attempts of the common enemy, especially if herein they unite themselves in the first place to the Lord, as willing to follow his providence, and observe his will in the way and manner of bringing this to pass! in which case we shall not need to fear what all the gates of hell are able to do in opposition therunto.

It is not, then, the standing and being of the present army and military forces in the three nations that is liable to exception of offence from any dissenting judgments at this time among the honest, well-affected party. In and with them, under God, stand the welfare and outward safety of the whole body; and so to enemies to them, or wish them hurt, were to do it to themselves; and, by trying such conclusions, to play the game of the common enemy, to the utter ruin and destruction, not only of the true freedom aimed at and contended for in the late wars, but of the very persons themselves that have been in any sort active or eminent promoters thereof.

The army, considered as it is in the hands of an honest and wise general, and sober, faithful officers, imbolded with the rest of the party of honest men, and espousing still the same cause, and acting in their primitive simplicity, humility, and trust, in reference to the welfare and safety of the whole body, is the only justifiable and most advantageous posture and capacity that the good party at present can find themselves in, in order to the obtaining that true freedom they have fought for, and possessing of it in the establishment thereof upon the true basis and foundation, as hath been showed, of right government.

That wherein the offence lies, and which causes such great thoughts of heart among the honest party (if it may be freely expressed, as sure it may, when the magistrate himself professes he doth but desire and wait for conviction therein), is, in short, this:

That when the right and privilege is returned, nay, is secured by conquest unto the whole body (that forfeited not their interest therein), of freely disposing themselves in such a constitution of righteous government as may best answer the ends held forth in this cause; that, nevertheless, either through delay they should be withheld as they are, or through design they should come at last to be utterly denied the exercise of this their right, upon pretence that they are not in capacity as yet to use it, which, indeed, hath some truth in it, if those that are now in power, and have the command of the arms, do not prepare all things requisite therunto, as they may, and, like faithful guardians to the Commonwealth, admitted to be in its manage, they ought.

But if the bringing of true freedom into exercise among men, yea, so refined a party of men, be impossible, why hath this been concealed all this while? and why was it not thought on before so much blood was spilt, and treasure spent? Surely such a thing as this was judged real and practicable, not imaginary and notional.

Besides, why may it not suffice to have been thus long delayed and withheld from the whole body, at least as to its being brought by them into exercise now at last? Surely the longer it is withheld, the stronger jealousies do increase, that it is intended to be assumed and engrossed by a party only, to the leaving the rest of the body (who, in all reason and justice, ought to be equally participants with the other in the right and benefit of the conquest, for as much as the war was managed at the expense and for the safety of the whole) in a condition almost as much exposed, and subject to be imposed upon, as if they had been enemies and conquered, not in any sense conquerors.

If ever such an unrighteous, unkind, and deceitful dealing with brethren should happen, although it might continue above the reach of question from human judicature, yet can we think it possible it should escape and go unpunished by the immediate hand of the righteous Judge of the whole world, when he ariseth out of his place to do right to the oppressed?

Nay, if, instead of favouring and promoting the people's common good and welfare, self-interest and private gain should evidently appear to be the things we have aimed at all along; if those very tyrannical principles and anti-Christian relics, which God by us hath punished in our predecessors, should again revive, spring up afresh, and show themselves lodged also and retained in our bosoms, rendering us of the number of those that have forgot they were saved from their old sins, and declaring us to be such as, by those great advantages of serving the Lord's will and design in procuring and advancing his people's true welfare and outward safety, which (as the fruit of his blessing upon our crimes) have so miraculously fallen into our hands, shall at last be wrested and misimproved to the enriching and pampering of ourselves—if these things should ever be found among us (which the Lord in mercy forbid!), shall we need to look any farther for the accursed thing? will not our con-

sciences show us, from the light of the Word and Spirit of God, how near a conformity these actions would hold therewith? which sin (Josh., vii.) became a curse to the camp, and withheld the Lord from being any more among them, or going out with their forces. And did the action of Achan import any more than these two things: First, he saved and kept from destruction the goodly Babylonish garment, which was devoted by God thereunto; secondly, he brought not in the fruit and gain of the conquest into the Lord's treasury, but covetously went about to convert it to his own proper use? To do this is to take of the accursed thing, which (Josh., vii.) all Israel was said to do in the sin of Achan, and to have stolen and dissembled likewise, and put it among their own stuff. This caused the anger of the Lord to kindle against Israel, and made them unable to stand before their enemies, but their hearts melted as water. And thus far the Lord is concerned, if such an evil as this shall be hid in the midst of us. But to return to what we were upon before.

The matter which is in question among the dissenting parts of the whole body of honest men is not so trivial and of such small consequence as some would make it. 'Tis, in effect, the main and whole of the cause; without which all the freedom which the people have or can have is in comparison but shadow and in name only, and therefore can never give that peace and satisfaction to the body which is requisite unto a durable and solid settlement. This is that which makes all sound and safe at the root, and gives the right balance necessary to be held up between sovereignty and subjection in the exercise of all righteous government; applying the use of the sword to the promoting and upholding the public safety and welfare of the whole body, in preference, and, if need be, in opposition unto any of the parts; while yet, by its equal and impartial administration in reference unto each, it doth withal maintain the whole body in a most delightful harmony, welfare, and correspondence. The sword never can, nor is it to be expected ever will do this, while the sovereignty is admitted and placed anywhere else than in the whole body of the people that have adhered to the cause, and by them be derived unto their successive representatives, as the most equal and impartial judicature for the effecting hereof.

Where there is, then, a righteous and good constitution of government, there is, first, an orderly union of many understandings together, as the public and common supreme judicature or visible sovereignty, set in a way of free and orderly exercise, for the directing and applying the use of the ruling power or the sword, to promote the interest and common welfare of the whole, without any disturbance or annoyance from within or from without; and then, secondly, there is a like union and readiness of will in all the individuals, in their private capacities, to execute and obey (by all the power requisite, and that they are able to put forth) those sovereign laws and orders issued out by their own deputies and trustees.

A supreme judicature, thus made the representative of the whole, is that which, we say, will most naturally care, and most equally provide for the common good and safety. Though by this it is not denied but that the supreme power, when by free consent 'tis placed in a single person or in some few persons, may be capable also to administer righteous government; at least, the body that gives this liberty, when they need not, are to thank themselves if it prove otherwise. But when this free and natural access unto government is interrupted and declined, so as a liberty is taken by any particular member, or number of them, that are to be reputed but a part in comparison of the whole, to assume and engross the office of sovereign rule and power, and to impose themselves as the competent public judge of the safety and good of the whole, without their free and due consent, and to lay claim unto this, as those that find themselves possessed of the sword (and that so advantageously as it cannot be recovered again out of their hands without more apparent danger and damage to the whole body than such attempts are worth), this is that anarchy that is the first rise and step to tyranny, and lays grounds of manifest confusion and disorder, exposing the ruling power to the next hand that on the next opportunity can lay hold on the sword; and so, by a kind of necessity, introduces the highest imposition and bondage upon the whole body, in compelling all the parts, though never so much against the true public interest, to serve and obey, as their sovereign rule and supreme authority, the arbitrary will and judgment of those that bring themselves into rule by the power of the sword, in the right only of a part that sets up itself in preference before, or at least in competition with, the welfare of the whole.

And if this, which is so essential to the wellbeing and right constitution of government, were once obtained, the disputes about the form would not prove so difficult, nor find such opposition, as to keeping the bone of contention and disunion, with much danger to the whole; for if, as the foundation of all, the sovereignty be acknowledged to reside originally in the whole body of adherents to this cause (whose natural and inherent right therunto is of a far ancients

date than what is obtained by success of their arms, and so cannot be abrogated even by conquest itself, if that were the case), and then if, in consequence hereof, a supreme judicature be set up and orderly constituted, as naturally arising and resulting from the free choice and consent of the whole body taken out from among themselves, as flesh of their flesh and bone of their bone, of the same public spirit and nature with themselves, and the main be by this means secured, what could be propounded afterward as to the form of administration that would much stick?

Would a standing council of state, settled for life, in reference to the safety of the Commonwealth, and for the maintaining intercourse and commerce with foreign states, under the inspection and oversight of the supreme judicature, but of the same fundamental constitution with themselves—would this be disliked? admitting their orders were binding, in the intervals of supreme national assemblies, so far only as consonant to the settled laws of the Commonwealth, the vacancy of any of which, by death or otherwise, might be supplied by the vote of the major part of themselves: nay, would there be any just exception to be taken if (besides both these) it should be agreed (as another part of the fundamental constitution of the government) to place that branch of sovereignty which chiefly respects the execution of laws in a distinct office from that of the legislative power (and yet subordinate to them and to the laws), capable to be intrusted into the hands of one single person, if need require, or in a greater number, as the legislative power should think fit; and, for the greater strength and honour unto this office, that the execution of all laws and orders (that are binding) may go forth in his or their name, and all disobedience thereunto, or contempt thereof, be taken as done to the people's sovereignty, whereof he or they bear the image or representation, subordinate to the legislative power, and at their will to be kept up and continued in the hands of a single person or more, as the experience of the future good or evil of it shall require?

Would such an office as this, thus stated, carry in it any inconsistency with a free state? Nay, if it be well considered, would it not rather be found of excellent use to the wellbeing of magistracy, founded upon this righteous bottom, that such a lieutenant of the people's sovereignty in these three nations may always reside in some one or more person, in whose administration that which is reward and punishment may shine forth?

And if now it shall be objected that (notwithstanding all these cautions), should once this sovereignty be acknowledged to be in the diffused body of the people (though the adherents to this cause, not only as their natural, but as their acquired right by conquest), they would suddenly put the use and exercise of the legislative power into such hands as would, through their ill qualifiedness to the work, spoil all by mal-administration thereof, and hereby lose the cause instead of upholding and maintaining it,

The answer unto this is, first, that God, by his providence, hath eased our minds much in this solicitude by the course he hath already taken to fit and prepare a choice and selected number of the people unto this work, that are tried and refined by their inward and outward experiences in this great quarrel, and the many changes they have passed through: in respect whereof well qualified persons are to be found, if due care be but taken in the choice of them. And if herein this people of the Lord shall be waiting upon him for his guidance and presence with them, we may have grounds and hope that God (whose name hath all along been called upon in the maintaining of this cause) will pour out so abundantly of his spirit upon his people attending on him in righteous ways, and will also so move their hearts to choose persons bearing his image into the magistracy, that a more glorious product may spring up out of this than at first we can expect, to the setting up of the Lord himself as chief judge and lawgiver among us. And unto this the wisdom and honesty of the persons now in power may have an opportunity eminently to come into discovery; for in this case, and upon the grounds already laid, the very persons now in power are they unto whose lot it would fall to set about this preparatory work, and by their orders and directions to dispose the whole body, and bring them into the meekest capacity to effect the same, the most natural way for which would seem to be by a general council, or convention of faithful, honest, and discerning men, chosen for that purpose by the free consent of the whole body of adherents to this cause in the several parts of the nations, and observing the time and place of meeting appointed to them (with other circumstances concerning their election) by order from the present ruling power, but considered as general of the army:

Which convention is not properly to exercise the legislative power, but only to debate freely, and agree upon the particulars that by way of fundamental constitutions shall be laid and inviolably observed as the conditions upon which the whole body so represented doth consent to cast itself into a civil and politic incorporation, and under the visible form and administration of government therein declared, and

to be by each individual member of the body subscribed in testimony of his or their particular consent given therunto: which conditions so agreed (and among them an Act of Oblivion for one) will be without danger of being broken or departed from, considering of what it is they are the conditions, and the nature of the convention wherein they are made, which is of the people represented in their highest state of sovereignty, as they have the sword in their hands unsubjected unto the rules of civil government, but what themselves orderly assembled for that purpose do think fit to make. And the sword, upon these conditions, subjecting itself to the supreme judicature thus to be set up, how suddenly might harmony, righteousness, love, peace, and safety unto the whole body follow hereupon, as the happy fruit of such a settlement, if the Lord have any delight to be among us!

And this once put in a way, and declared for by the general and army (as that which they are clearly convinced, in the sight of God, in their duty to bring about, and which they engage accordingly to see done) how firmly and freely would this oblige the hearts and persons, the counsels and purses, the affections and prayers, with all that is in the power of this whole party to do, in way of assistance and strengthening the hands of those now in power, whatever straits and difficulties they may meet with in the maintenance of the public safety and peace!

This, then, being the state of our present affairs and differences, let it be acknowledged on all hands, and let all be convinced that are concerned, that there is not only a possibility, but a probability, yea, a compelling necessity, of a firm union in this great body, the setting of which in joint and tune again, by a spirit of meekness and fear of the Lord, is the work of the present day, and will prove the only remedy under God to uphold and carry on this blessed cause and work of the Lord in the three nations, that is already come thus far onward in its progress to its desired and expected end of bringing in Christ, the desire of all nations, as the chief Ruler among us.

Now unto this reuniting work let there be a readiness in all the dissenting parts from the highest to the lowest, by cheerfully coming forth to one another in a spirit of self-denial and love instead of war and wrath, and to cast down themselves before the Lord, who is the father of all their spirits, in self-abasement and humiliation, for the mutual offence they have been in, for some time past, one unto another, and great provocation unto God, and reproach unto his most glorious name, who expected to have been served by them with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a consuming fire.

And, as an inducement unto this, let us assure ourselves the means of effecting it will not prove so difficult as other things that have been brought about in the late war, if the minds and spirits of all concerned were once well and duly prepared hereunto by a kindly work of self-denial and self-abasement, set home by the spirit of the Lord upon their consciences, which, if he please, he may do we know not how soon: nay, we shall behold with a discerning eye the inside of that work which God hath been doing among us the three years last past: it would seem chiefly to have been his aim to bring his people into such a frame as this; for in this tract of time there hath been (as we may say) a great silence in heaven, as if God were pleased to stand still and be as a looker on, to see what his people would be in their latter end, and what work they would make of it, if left to their own wisdom and politic contrivances. And as God hath had the silent part, so men, and that good men too, have had the active and busy part, and have, like themselves, made a great sound and noise, like the shout of a king in a mighty host; which, while it hath been a sound only and no more, hath not done much hurt as yet; but the fear and jealousy thereby caused hath put the whole body out of frame, and made them apt to fall into great confusions and disorder.

And if there be thus arisen a general dissent and disagreement of parts (which is not, nor ought to be, accounted the less considerable because it lies hid and kept in under a patient silence), why should there not be as general a confession and acknowledgment of what each may find themselves overtaken in, and cannot but judge themselves faulty for! this kind of vent being much better than to have it break out in flames of a forward and untimely wrathful spirit, which never works the righteousness of God, especially since what hath been done among us may probably have been more the effect of temptation than the product of any malicious design; and this sort of temptation is very common and incident to men in power (how good never they may be) to be overtaken in, and thereupon do sudden unadvised actions, which the Lord pardons and overrules for the best, evidently making appear that it is the work of the weak and fleshly part, which his own people carry about with them too much unsubdued; and therefore the Lord thinks fit, by this means, to show them the need of being beholden to their spiritual part to restore them again, and bring them into their right temper and healthful constitution.

And thus, while each dissenting part is aggravating upon it self-faultiness and blame, and none excusing, but all confessing they deserve, in one sort or other, reproof, if not before men, yet in God's sight, who knows how soon it may please God to come into this broken, contrite, and self-demying frame of spirit in the good people within the three nations, and own them, thus truly humbled and abased, for his temple and the place of his habitation and rest, wherein he shall abide forever! of whom it may be said, God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved; God shall help her, and that right early, or with his morning appearance; at which time he will sit silent no longer, but Heaven will speak again, and become active and powerful in the spirits and hearts of honest men, and in the works of his providences, when either they go out to fight by sea or by land, or remain in council and debates at home for the public weal, and again hear the prayers of his people, and visibly own them as a flock of holy men, as Jerusalem in her solemn feasts: "I will yet for this be inquired of by the house of Israel, saith the Lord, to do it for them; and then they shall know that I the Lord their God am with them, and that they are my people, and that ye my flock, the flock of my pasture, are men that have showed yourselves weak, sinful men, and I am your God, that have declared myself an all-wise and powerful God, saith the Lord God."

#### POSTSCRIPT.

READER.—Upon the perusal of this discourse, thou wilt quickly perceive that these two things are principally aimed at in it by the author: First, to answer in some measure that which is called for by those in power, when they publicly profess they desire nothing more than conviction, and to find out the hidden provocations which either have or yet may bring forth the Lord against these nations, in the way which at present they are in.

Secondly, to remove out of the minds and spirits of the honest party, that still agree in the reason and justice of the good old cause, all things of a private nature and selfish concern (the tendency whereof serves but to foment and strengthen wrath and divisions among them), and in place thereof to set before them that common and public interest, which, if with sincerity embraced, may be the means of not only procuring a firm union among them, but also of conserving them herein.

In order to this, the author hath not been willing so much to declare his own opinion, or deliver any positive conclusions, as to discuss the business by way of question and answer, and thereby make as near a conjecture as he can of that wherein the several dissenting parts may with better satisfaction meet together, and agree upon a safe and righteous bottom, than to remain at the distance they do, to the apparent advantage of the common enemy, the approaching ruin of themselves, and needless hazard, if not loss, of the cause they have been so deeply engaged in; especially considering that, when once they shall be found beginning to come forth to one another in such a condescending, self-demying spirit, cleansed from the stain of hypocrisy and deceit, they may be well assured that light will spring up among them more and more unto a perfect day; and then those things which at present we have next in view, will prove as shadows ready to flee away before the morning brightness of Christ's heavenly appearance and second coming, through which they will be heightened and improved to their full maturity, to the bringing in that kingdom of his that shall never be moved.

And because an essay hath been already made in a private way to obtain the first thing, that is to say, conviction, which chiefly is in the hand of the Lord to give, the same obligation lies upon the author, with respect to the second, for the exposing of it as now it is unto public view, and therein leaving it also with the Lord for his blessing thereunto.

#### B.

##### *The People's Case stated.*

He in whom is the right of sovereign, and to give law, is either so of himself, or in the right of another, that may derive the same unto him; which shows that there are two sorts of sovereigns.

A sovereign in the first sense none is nor can be but God, who is of himself most absolute; and he that is first of all others in the second sense is the man Christ Jesus, to whom the power of sovereign, in the right of the Father, is committed, over all the works of God's hands. Christ exercised the same in the capacity of David's root from before the beginning of the world. He owns himself thus to be, long before he became David's seed; this, his being in spirit, or hidden being, even as a creature, the first of all creatures in personal union with the Word, David saw and acknowledged, *Psalm ex., l.* Thus Christ may be called God's lieutenant sovereign, or general vicegerent of his supremacy over all in heaven and in earth. He therefore is the true universal king and root of all sovereign and just governing power, whether in heaven or on earth.

His sovereignty is unquestionable and unaccountable, because of the perfection of his person, carrying in it an aptitude and sufficiency to govern, without possibility of error or defect of any kind. Sovereign and governing power doth necessarily relate to subjects that are to be ruled, and subjects capable of such government; therefore, when God himself purposes within himself to be supreme legislator and governor, he doth withal purpose the being and creation of both worlds, as the subject matter of his kingdom. He propounds to govern his subjects by and with their own consent and good liking; or without and against it, in the way of his revenging justice; governing by laws, clearly stating and ascertaining the duty or the offence, as also the rewards and penalties.

Herein just government consists, or the justice of government; for he that rules over others must be just, and, indeed, should be seen to be so in all his commands; so seen, as to render the consciences of the ruled, and those whose duty it is to obey, inexcusable before God and before men if they dissent or resist.

Inexcusable they are before God, because the matter commanded is the matter of God's law, and therefore just to be obeyed. They are also inexcusable before men, that which is required of them being generally acknowledged and affirmed (by those in whom the common consent of the subjects is intrusted to that end) to be just and reasonable, and therefore to be obeyed; for the end of all government, being for the good and welfare, and not for the destruction of the ruled, God, who is the institutor of government, as he is pleased to ordain the office of governors, intrusting them with power to command the just and reasonable things which his own law commands, that carry their own evidence to common reason and sense, at least, that do not evidently contradict it, so he grants a liberty to the subjects, or those that by him are put under the rule, to refuse all such commands as are contrary to his law, or to the judgment of common reason and sense, whose trial he allows, by way of assent or dissent, before the commands of the ruler shall be binding or put in execution; and this in a co-ordinacy of power with just government, and as the due balance thereof. The original impressions of just laws are in man's nature and very constitution of being. Man hath the law in his mind (or the superior and intellectual part of him), convincing and bringing that into obedience and subjection to the law of God, in Christ himself. He hath also that which is a law in his members that are on the earth (or his earthly and sensual part), whose power is co-ordinate with the other, but such, that if it be not gained into a harmony and conjunction with its head, the spirit or mind of man, hath ability to let and hinder his mind or ruling part from performing and putting in execution that which is good, just, fit, and to be acknowledged as the righteous dictates of the mind, which ought to be the ruling power, or law to the man; so, in the outward government over man, the secondary or co-ordinate power, concurring with that which is the chief ruling power, is essential to just government, and is acknowledged to be so by the fundamental constitution of the government of England, as well as in the legal being and constitution of Parliaments, whether that which hath been usual and ordinary, according to the common law, or that which of late hath been extraordinary, by express statute, for the continuance of the Parliament (17 Car.), until dissolved by act of Parliament.

For, together with the legal being which is given to regal power and the prerogative of the crown, there is the legal power and being reserved also unto that body, which is the people's or kingdom's representative, who are the hands wherein that which is called power politic is seated, and are intrusted with giving or withholding the common consent of the whole nation, according to the best of their understandings, in all matters coming before them, and are to keep this liberty inviolate and entire, against all invasions or encroachments upon it whatsoever.

This second power, in the very writ of summons for calling a Parliament, is declared to be of that nature, that what the first doth without obtaining the consent and approbation of the second, in Parliament, is not binding, but ineffectual, and when the representative body of the kingdom (in and with whom this power is intrusted, as the due and legal balance and boundary to the regal power, set and fixed by the fundamental constitution) is made a standing court, and of that continuance as not to be dissolvable but by its own consent; during such its continuance, it hath right to preserve itself from all violent and undue dissolution, and to maintain and defend its own just privileges, a chief of which is to bind or loose the people, in all matters good or hurtful to them, according to their best judgment and discretion.

In the exercise of this their trust, they are indemnified by law, and no hurt ought to come unto them; that governing power, which is originally in God, and flows at first from him, as the sole and proper fountain thereof, is brought into exercise among men, upon a differing and distinct account.

First, As it is a trust and right derived conditionally from God to his officers and ministers (which therefore may be

lost), who, being called by him, and in the course of his providence, to the exercise of it, are to hold it of him the universal King, and to own themselves, in the exercise thereof, as his vicegerents, to cut off by the sword of justice evil-doers, and to be a protection and encouragement to them that do well. But, because it is part of God's call of any person to this high trust to bring him into the possession and free exercise thereof by the common consent of the body of the people, where such sovereign power is set up, unless they have forfeited this liberty; therefore,

*Secondly*, God doth allow and confer, by the very law of nature, upon the community or body of the people that are related to and concerned in the right of government placed over them, the liberty, by their common vote or suffrage duly given, to be assenters or dissenters thereunto, and to affirm and make stable, or disallow and render ineffectual, what shall apparently be found by them to be for the good or hurt of that society, whose welfare, next under the justice of God's commands and his glory, is the supreme law and very end of all subordinate governing power.

Sovereign power, then, comes from God as its proper root, but the restraint or enlargement of it, in its execution over such or such a body, is founded in the common consent of that body.

The office of chief ruler, or head over any state, commonwealth, or kingdom, hath the right of due obedience from the people inseparably annexed to it. It is an office, not only of divine institution, but for the safety and protection of the whole body or community, and therefore justly and necessarily draws to it, and engages their subjection.

This office of the sovereign, according to the laws and fundamental constitution of the government of England, is ministered by the king in a twofold capacity—as his will and personal command is in conjunction and agreement with his people in Parliament during the session thereof, or as it is in conjunction and agreement with the law, the Parliament not sitting. But his will and personal command single, in disjunction and disagreement from the Parliament or the laws, hath not the force of a law, saith Fortescue, and gives the reason of it, because this is a limited monarchy, where the king's power (as to the exercise of it) is only a power politic.

The obedience, then, which from the subject is due to the king, and which they are sworn to perform by the oath of allegiance, is to him, in the ministry of the royal office, according to the reason and intent of the fundamental compact and Constitution, and according to his own oath, which is to govern by law; that is, to exercise his rule or royal commanding power in conjunction and agreement with the Parliament when sitting, and in conjunction and agreement with the laws of the land, they not sitting. To exercise his power otherwise is and hath been always judged a grievance to the people, and a going against that which is the original right and just liberty of the community, who are not to be bound to such personal commands at will and pleasure, nor compelled to yield obedience thereunto.

The contrary hereunto was the principle at bottom of the king's cause, which he endeavoured to uphold and maintain, in order to decline and lay aside the legal restraints as aforesaid, which the government of England, by the fundamental constitution, is subjected unto, as to the exercise and ministry of the royal office.

From the observation and experience which the people of England had, and made many years together, by their representatives in Parliament, of a desire in the king to shake off these legal restraints in the exercise of the regal power, and on their having tried the best ways and means that occurred to their understandings to prevent the same, and to secure to themselves the enjoyment of their just rights and liberty, they at last pitched upon the desiring from the king the continuance of the sitting of the Parliament called November 3d, 1640, in such sort as is expressed in that act. 17 Car., wherein it is provided that it shall not be discontinued or dissolved but by act of Parliament.

This was judged by them the greatest security imaginable for keeping the ministry of the royal office within its due bounds, and for quieting the people in the enjoyment of their rights; but experience hath showed that this yet could not be done without a war, the worst and last of remedies. For although their continuance as the representative body of the kingdom, with the right to exercise the power and privileges inherent in and inseparable from that supreme court and chief senate (whereof the king is head, both making but one person or politic body in law), yet they themselves, as well as the king, were bound by the fundamental constitution or compact upon which the government was at first built, containing the condition upon which the king accepted of the royal office, and on which the people granted to him the tribute of their obedience and due allegiance. This condition (as the laws and experience declare) is, that the king shall exercise his office of rule over them according to the laws, as hath been showed, and as he and his people shall from time to time agree in common council in Parliament, for that end assembled. In respect hereof, the laws

so made are called the concords or agreements passed between the king and the subject, in the third part of Cook's Institutes.

These agreements, then, are the standard unto the king's rule and the people's obedience, signifying the justice of his commands and the dueeness of their allegiance.

But the case so happening that this conjunction and agreement, which ought to be found between the personal will of the king and representative will of the kingdom, failing, and these two wills declaring themselves in contrariety and opposition, both of them becoming standing powers, co-ordinate and distinct parts of the supremacy, as the two channels wherein the supremacy is placed and appointed to run, as to its exercise by the fundamental constitution, hence sprang the war, each asserting and endeavouring to defend and maintain their own part and right, which ought not to be kept up in disjunction and contrariety, but in unity and agreement each with other. These two parties, with their adherents, in this case, may be, according to the law, contrariety one towards another, as the law affords an example in the preamble of Cook's fourth part of his Institutes (not properly traitors), being co-ordinate powers, parts of the supremacy, that are the heads to each party, and, by consequence, have a right of making a war, as their last appeal, if they cannot otherwise agree.

Being once entered thus into a state of war and actual enmity, they do, as it were, become two nations, and cease to be under the obligations they were in before; for during this state of war and enmity, the standing laws (in a sort) cease, and a new way of rule each party forms to himself and his adherents, as may best consist for each of their safeties and preservations.

Upon this disjunction of the two wills, in the harmony and agreement whereof the supremacy is placed, these following queries do naturally arise:

*First*, To which or whether of these by law is the allegiance required as due—is it to be yielded to the personal will of the king single, in disjunction from the will of the representative body of the kingdom, or to the will of the people, in disjunction from the will of the king? Or is it to the personal will of the king, in conjunction with the laws, though in opposition and contrariety to the will of the kingdom's representative in Parliament assembled? Or is it to the will of the kingdom's representative, in conjunction with the laws, though in opposition to the personal will of the king?

*The Second Query is*, In whose judgment in this case are the people by law to acquiesce as to the declaring with whom the laws are—whether the personal judgment of the king single, or the vote of the senate, that is, the kingdom's representative body?

*The Third Query is*, With whom will the laws be found to go in this case, so rare, unusual, and never happening before; and who is the proper and competent judge? Also, whether the laws be not perfectly silent, as never supposing such a case possible to happen, by reason that the power used by the one for dissolving the other never before suffered the opposition to rise so high?

*The Fourth Query is*, Whether he, in this case, that keeps his station and place of trust, wherein God and the law did set him, with care to demean himself according to the best of his understanding, agreeably to the law and customs of Parliament, and pursuant to their votes and directions (so long as they sit and affirm themselves to be a Parliament), and uses his best endeavours in the exercise of that public trust, that no detriment in the general comes unto the Commonwealth by the failure of justice, and the necessary protection due from government, without any designing or intending the subversion of the Constitution, but only the securing more fully the people's liberties and just rights from all future invasions and oppressions, be not so far from deserving to be judged criminal in respect of any law of God or man, that he ought rather to be affirmed one that hath done his duty, even the next best that was left to him, or possible for him to do in such a dark, stormy season, and such difficult circumstances?

As to the right of the cause itself, it ariseth out of the matter of fact that hath happened, and, by the just and wise providence of God, hath been suffered to state itself, in the context between the personal will and declared pleasure of the king on the one hand, and the public will or vote of the people in Parliament on the other, declaring itself either in orders or ordinances of both Houses, or in the single act of the House of Commons asserting itself a Parliament, upon the grounds of the act 17 Car., providing against its dissolution.

This will appear with the more evidence and certainty by considering wherein either part had a wrong cause, or did or might do that which was not their duty; taking the measure of their duty from what as well the king as the people's representative are obliged unto, by the fundamental constitution of the government, which binds them in each of their capacities and distinct exercises of their trust

to intend and pursue the true good and welfare of the whole body or community as their end. This, in effect, is to detain the people in obedience and subjection to the law of God, and to guide them in the ways of righteousness unto God's well-pleasing, and to avoid falling out or disagreeing about the way or means leading to that end.

Hence that party which in his or their actions was at the greatest distance from, or opposition unto, this end, and willfully and unnecessarily disagreed and divided from the other in the ways and means that were most likely to attain this end, they were assuredly in the fault, and had a wrong cause to manage, under whatever name or face of authority it was headed and upheld. And such a wrong cause was capable of being espoused and managed under the face of authority, as might be pretended unto by either part: for as the king, insisting upon his prerogative, and the binding force which his personal will and pleasure ought to have, though in distinction from and opposition to his Parliament, might depart from the end of government, answerable to his trust, and yet urge his right to be obeyed, so the public will of the people, exercised in and by the vote of their representative in Parliament, asserting itself to be of a binding force also, and to have the place of a law, though in distinction from the king and laws also (as saith the king), whatever otherwise by them is pretended, might also depart from the true end of government answerable to their trust, and yet insist upon their right to be obeyed and submitted unto, and, having power in their hands, might unduly go about also to compel obedience. It is not lawful either for king or Parliament to urge authority and compel obedience as of right in any such cases, where, according to the law of nature, the people are at liberty, and ought to have a freedom from yielding obedience, as they are and ought to have whenever any would compel them to disobey God, or to do things that evidently in the eye of reason and common sense are to their hurt and destruction. Such things nature forbids the doing of, having for that very purpose armed man with the defensive weapon of refusing to consent and obey, as that privilege whereby man is distinguished from a beast; which when he is deprived of he is made a beast, and brought into a state of perfect servitude and bondage.

Such a state of servitude and bondage may by God's just judgment be inflicted upon man for sin and the abuse of his liberty, when by God restored. The liberty which man was at first created in is that privilege and right which is allowed to him by the law of nature, of not being compelled under any pretence whatsoever to sin against God, or to go against the true good and welfare of his own being—that is to say, of his inward or outward man—but in both these cases to have and to use his just liberty to dissent and refuse to obey.

For this every man hath that in himself which by God is made a proper and competent judge; for as to all sin against God and the righteousness of his law, the light of conscience, that is to say, the work of the law, in and upon the mind or inward sense, and in conjunction with it, doth lighten every one that cometh into the world, accusing or excusing, if it be not heartened unto and kept awake. And for all such actions as tend to the ruin and destruction of man in his outward and bodily concerns, and as he is the object of magisterial power and jurisdiction, every man hath a judgment of common sense, or a way of discerning and being sensible thereof, common to brute beasts, that take in their knowledge by the dour of their senses, but is much heightened and enabled in man by the personal union it is taken into with his intellectual part and intuitive way of discerning things, through the inward reflections of the mind, compared with the law of God. This inferior judgment in man, when it is engaged with and confirmed by the judgment of his superior part, is that which we call rational, or the dictates of right reason, that man hath a natural right to adhere unto, as the ordinary certain rule which is given him by God to walk by, and against which he ought not to be compelled, or be forced to depart from it by the mere will and power of another, without better evidence; that is, a higher, a greater, or more certain way of discerning. This, therefore, in Scripture, is called *man's judgment* or *man's day*, in distinction from the *Lord's judgment* and the *Lord's day*; and this is that in every individual man, which in the collective body of the people, and meeting of head and members in Parliament, is called the supreme authority, and is the public reason and will of the whole kingdom, the going against which is, in nature as well as by the law of nations, an offence of the highest rank among men; for it must be presumed that there is more of the wisdom and will of God in that public suffrage of the whole nation, than of any private person or lesser collective body whatsoever, not better qualified and principled; for man is made in God's image, or in likeness, in judgment and will, unto God himself, according to the measure that in his nature he is proportioned and made capable to be the receiver and bearer thereof. Therefore it is that the resisting and opposing either of that judgment or will which is in itself supreme, and the law to all others (or which bears so much proportion and likeness to the supreme will as is possible for a society and community

of men agreeing together for that end to contrive and set up for an administration thereof unto them), is against the duty of any member of that society, as well as it is against the duty of the body of the whole society to oppose its judgment and will to that of the supreme Lawgiver, their highest Sovereign, God himself.

The highest judgment and will set up by God for angels and men, in their particular beings, to hold proportion with and bear conformity unto (in the capacity of ruled in relation to their chief ruler), shines forth in the person of Christ, the ingrafted Word; and when, by the agreement or common consent of a nation or state, there is such a constitution and form of administration pitched upon as, in a standing and ordinary way, may derive and convey the nearest and greatest likeness in human laws, or acts of such a constitution, unto the judgment and will of the supreme Legislator, as the rule and declared duty for every one in that society to observe, it is thereby that government or supreme power comes to receive being in a nation or state, and is brought into exercise according to God's ordinance and divine institution. So, then, it is not so much the form of the administration as the thing administered wherein the good or evil of government doth consist; that is to say, a greater likeness or unlikeness unto judgment and will of the highest Being in all the acts or laws flowing from the fundamental constitution of the government.

Hence it is that common consent, lawfully and rightfully given by the body of a nation, and intrusted with delegates of their own free choice, to be exercised by them as their representatives (as well for the welfare and good of the body that trusts them, as to the honour and well-pleasing of God, the supreme Legislator), is the principle and means, warranted by the law of nature and nations, to give constitution and admission to the exercise of government and supreme authority over them and among them: agreeable hereunto, we are to suppose that our ancestors in this kingdom did proceed, when they constituted the government thereof, in that form of administration which hath been derived to us in the course and channel of our customs and laws; among which, the law and customs in and of the Parliaments are to be accounted as chief. For,

Herby, *First*, The directive or legislative power (having the right to state and give the rule for the governor's duty and the subject's obedience) is continued in our laws, which as well the king as people are under the observation of; witness the coronation oath, and the oath of allegiance.

*Secondly*, The coercive or executive power is placed in one person, under the name and style of a king, to be put forth, not by his own single personal command, but by the signification of his will and pleasure, as the will of the whole state, in and by his courts of justice, and stated public counsels and judicatures, agreed on for that purpose between him and his people in their Parliamentary assemblies.

The will of the whole state, thus signified, the law itself prefers before the personal will of the king, in distinction from the law, and makes the one binding, the other not; so that the public will of the state, signified and declared by the public suffrage and vote of the people or kingdom in Parliament assembled, is a legal and warrantable ground for the subject's obedience in the things commanded by it, for the good and welfare of the whole body, according to the best understanding of such their representative body, by it put forth during the time of its sitting.

The body with whom the delegated vote and public suffrage of the whole nation is intrusted being once assembled, with power not to be dissolved but by their own consent, in that capacity the highest vote and trust that can be exercised, and this, by authority of Parliament, unto *ex officio*, or by way of office, are the keepers of the liberties of England, or of the people, by the said authority, for which they are accountable if they do not faithfully discharge that their duty. This office of keeping the liberty, which by the law of God and nature is due to the community or whole body of the people, is, by way of trust, committed by themselves to their own delegates, and in effect amounts unto this:

1. That they may of right keep out and refuse any to exercise rule and command over them except God himself, who is the supreme and universal king and governor, or such as shall agree in their actions to bear his image, which is to be just, and show, for the warrant of their exercise of sovereignty, both a likeness in judgment and will unto Him who is wisdom and righteousness itself; and the approbation and common consent of the whole body, rationally reposing that trust in them, from what is with visible and apparent characters manifest to them, of an aptness and sufficiency in them to give forth such public acts of government that may bear the stamp of God's impression upon them in the judgments they do and execute, especially being therein helped with a national council of the people's own choosing from time to time.

2. They may of right keep, hold, and restrain him or them with whom the coercive or executive power is intrusted, unto a punctual performance of duty, according to the fundamental constitution, the oath of the ruler, and the laws

of the land; and if they shall refuse to be so held and restrained by the humble desires, advice, and common consent in Parliament, and the people's delegates be invaded and attempted upon by force to deter them from the faithful discharge of this their duty, they may, in asserting their right, and in a way of their own just defence, raise armies, put the issue upon battle, and appeal unto God.

3. Such appeal answered, and the issue decided by battle, the people's delegates still sitting, and keeping together in their collective body, may of right, and according to reason, refuse the readmission or new admission of the exercise of the former rulers, or any new rulers again over the whole body, till there be received satisfaction for the former wrongs done, the expense and hazard of the war, and security for the time to come, that the like be not committed again. Until this be obtained, they are bound in duty, in such manner as they judge most fit, to provide for the present government of the whole body, that the commonwealth receive no detriment.

4. In this, which is the proper office of the people's delegates, and concerns the keeping and defending the liberty and right of the whole people and nation, they may and ought, during their sitting, to exercise their own proper power and authority, the exigencies of the kingdom requiring it, although the other two estates, jointly instructed with them in the exercise of the legislative authority, should desert their station, or otherwise fail in the execution of their trusts; yea, or though many or most of their own members, so long as a lawful quorum remains, shall either voluntarily withdraw from them, or for just cause become excluded. In this discharge of their trust for the common welfare and safety of the whole, their actings, though extraordinary and contrariant to the right of the other two, cannot be treasonable or criminal, though they may be tortuous and erroneous, seeing they are equals and co-ordinate in the exercise of the legislative power, and have the right of their own proper trust and office to discharge and defend, though their fellow-trustees should fail in theirs; nor can nor ought the people, as adherents to their own delegates and representatives, to be reputed criminal or blameworthy by the law.

In the exercise of one and the same legislative power, according to the fundamental constitution of the government of England, there are three distinct public votes allowed for assent or dissent in all matters coming before them, the agreement of which is essential and necessary to the passing of a law: the personal vote of the king; the personal votes of the Lords in a house or distinct body; and the delegated vote and suffrage of the whole people in their representative body, or the House of Commons. Unto each of these appertains a distinct office and privilege proper to them.

1. The regal office, and the prerogative thereof, to the king.

2. The judicial office, to the Lords, as the highest judicature and court of justice under the king, for the exercising coercive power and punishing of malefactors.

3. The office of the keepers of the liberties and rights of the people, as they are the whole nation incorporated under one head, by their own free and common consent.

The regal office is the fountain of all coercive and executive power, pursuant to the rule set to the same by law, or the agreement of the three estates in Parliament.

The rule which is set is that of immutable just and right, according to which penalties are applicable and become due, and is first stated and ascertained in the declared law of God, which is the signification or making known by some sign the will of the supreme Legislator, proceeding from a perfect judgment and understanding, that is without all error or defect.

The will that flows from such a judgment is in its nature legislative and binding, and of right to be obeyed for its own sake, and the perfection it carries in it and with it in all its actings. This will is declared by word or works, or both. By word we are to understand either the immediate breath and spirit of God's mouth or mind, or the inspiration of the Almighty, ministered by the Holy Ghost, in and by some creature as his vessel and instrument, through which the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were composed. By works that declare God's will, we are to understand the whole book of the creature, but more eminently and especially the particular beings and natures of angels and men, who bear the name and likeness of God in and upon their judgments and their wills; their directing power, and their executive power of mind, which are essential to their being, life, and motion.

When these direct and execute, in conjunction and harmony with God's judgment and will, made known in his law, they do that which is right; and by adhering and conforming themselves unto this their certain and unerring guide, do become guides and rulers unto others, and are the objects of right choice, where rulers are wanting in church or state.

The rule, then, to all action of angels or men, is that of moral or immutable just and right, which is stated and declared in the will and law of God. The first and highest

imitation of this rule is the creature-being in the person of Christ. The next is the bride, the Lamb's wife. The next is the innumerable society of the holy angels. The next is the company of just men, fixed in their natural obedience and duty through faith, manifesting itself, not only in their spirits, but in their outward man, redeemed, even in this world, from the body of corruption, as far as is here attainable. The power which is directive, and states and ascertains the morality of the rule for obedience, is in the law of God; but the original, whence all just executive power arises, which is magisterial and coercive, is from the will or free gift of the people, who may either keep the power in themselves, or give up their subjection into the hands and will of another as their leader and guide, if they shall judge that thereby they shall better answer the end of government, to wit, the welfare and safety of the whole, than if they will keep the power in themselves; and when they part with it, they may do it conditionally or absolutely; and while they keep it, they are bound to the right use of it. In this liberty every man is created, and it is the privilege and just right which is granted unto man by the supreme Lawgiver, even by the law of nature under which man was made.

God himself leaves man to the free exercise of this his liberty when he tenders to him his safety and immutability, upon the well or ill use of this his liberty, allowing him the choice either to be his own guide and self-ruler in the ability communicated to him to know and execute God's will, and so to keep the liberty he is possessed of in giving away his subjection or not, or else upon God's call and promise to give up himself in way of subjection to God as his guide and ruler, either absolutely or conditionally. To himself he expects absolute subjection; to all subordinate rulers, conditional.

While man's subjection is his own, and in his own keeping, unbested and ungiven out of himself, he is not, nor cannot be, accountable by way of crime or offence against his ruler and sovereign, but may do with his own what he please, but still at his peril if he use not this his liberty as he should, to the end for which it is given him, which is by voluntary and entire resignation to become an obedient subject unto Him who is the supreme Lawgiver and rightful King, without possibility of change or defection.

Unto this right, and the lawful exercise and possession of it, this nation did arrive by the good providence and gift of God, in calling and assembling the Parliament, November 3d, 1640, and then continuing their session by an express act (17 Car.), with power not to be dissolved but by their own consent; which was not so much the introducing of a new law, as declaratory of what was law before, according to man's natural right, in which he was created, and of which he was possessed by God, the sovereign Giver of all things.

But the passing that said act of Parliament alone was not that which restored the nation to their original right and just natural liberty, but only put them in the capacity and possibility of it. That which was wanted to make out to the nation a clearness in having and obtaining this their right, was the obligation they had put upon themselves and their posterities to their present sovereign and his authority, which in justice and by the oaths of allegiance they were solemnly bound to, in the sight of God as well as of man; and therefore, unless by the abuse of that office of trust (to that degree as on his part to break the fundamental compact and constitution of government), they could not be set free nor restored to their original right and first liberty, especially if, together with such breach of trust, both parties appeal to God, and put it upon the issue of battle, and God give the decision; and in consequence thereof, that original right be asserted, and possession thereof had and held for some years, and then not rightfully lost, but treacherously betrayed and given up by those in whom no power was rightfully placed to give up the subjection of the nation again unto any whatsoever.

Unto which is to be added, that how and when the dissolution of the said Parliament, according to law, hath been made, is yet unascertained, and not particularly declared; by reason whereof, and by what hath been before showed, the state of the case on the subject's part is much altered as to the matter of right, and the usurpation is now on the other hand, there being, as is well known, two sorts of usurpers: either such as have no right of consent at all unto the rule they exercise over the subject, or such who, under pretence of a right and title, do claim, not by consent, but by conquest and power, or else hold themselves not obliged to the fundamental compact and constitution of government, but gain unduly from the subject, by advantages taken through deceit and violence, that which is not their own by law.

For a rational man to give up his reason and will unto the judgment and will of another, without which no outward coercive power can be, whose judgment and will is not perfectly and unchangeably good and right, is unwise and unsafe, and by the law of nature forbidden; and therefore all such gift, made by rational men, must be conditional, either

supplied or explicit, to be followers of their rulers, so far as they are followers of that good and right which is contained in the law of the supreme Lawgiver, and no farther; reserving to themselves, in case of such defection and declining of the ruler's actions from the rule, their primitive and original freedom to resort unto, that so they may, in such case, be as they were before they gave away their subjection unto the will of another; and reserving also the power to have this judged by a meet and competent judge, which is the reman of the king and kingdom, declared by their representatives in Parliament; that is to say, the delegates of the people in the House of Commons assembled, and the commissioners on the king's behalf, by his own letters patent in the House of Peers; which two concurring, do very far bind the king, if not wholly.

And when these cannot agree, but break one from another, the Commons in Parliament assembled are *ex officio* the keepers of the liberties of the nation, and righteous possessors and defenders of it against all usurpers and usurpations whatsoever, by the laws of England.

## C.

*Vanity of Vanities, or Sir Henry Vane's Picture.  
(To the Tune of the Jews' Chorus.)*

Have you not seen a Bartholomew baby,  
A pageant of policy as fine as may be,  
That's gone to be shown at the manor of Rahy,  
Which nobody can deny?

There was never such a prostitute sight,  
That ere profaned this purer light,  
A house pious juggling knight,  
Which nobody can deny.

He was taken for a Delphic Tripus,  
Quite another doubt-solving Odipus,  
But the Parliament made him a very quibus,  
Which nobody can deny.

His cunning state tricks and oracles,  
His lying wonders and miracles,  
Are turned at last into Parliament shackles,  
Which nobody can deny.

He sat late in the House so discontent,  
With his arms folded and his brows bent,  
Like Achitophel to the Parliament,  
Which nobody can deny.

When first the English war began,  
His father was a court trespas,  
And rose to be a Parliament man,  
Which nobody can deny.

The devil ne'er see such two Sir Harrys;  
Such a post-lent pair nor near nor far is,  
No, not at the Jesuits' Sorbon of Paris,  
Which nobody can deny.

His dainty project of a select senate,  
Is damned for a blasphemous tenet;  
Twas found in the budget ('tis said) of monk Bennet,  
Which nobody can deny.

Of this state and kingdoms he is the bane,  
He shall have the reward of Judas and Cain,  
And 'twas he that overthrew Charles his wain,  
Which nobody can deny.

Should he sit where he did with his mischievous brain,  
Or if any his counsels behind do remain,  
The House may be called the labour in Vain,  
Which nobody can deny.

## D.

*Sir Henry Vane's Speech at a Committee for the Bill against  
Episcopal Government, June 11, 1641.*

Mr. Hyde sitting in the chair.

NATHAN HYDE.—The debate we are now upon is, whether the government by archbishops, bishops, chancellors, &c., should be taken away out of the Church and kingdom of England; for the right stating whereof, we must remember the vote which passed yesterday, not only by this committee, but the House, which was to this effect: That this government hath been found, by long experience, to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the civil state.

Is that, then, the question will be thus before us: Whether a government, which long experience hath set so ill a character upon, importing danger, not only to our religion, but the civil state, should be any longer continued among us, or be utterly abolished?

For my own part, I am of the opinion of those who conceive that the strength of reason already set down in the preamble to this bill by yesterday's vote is a necessary decision of this question; for one of the main ends for which church government is set up is to advance and further the perfect reformation and growth of religion, which we have already voted this government doth contradict; so that it is destructive to the very end for which it should be, and is most necessary and desirable; in which respect, certainly, we have cause enough to lay it aside, not only as useless, in that it attains not its end, but as dangerous, in that it destroys and contradicts it.

In the second place, we have voted it prejudicial to the civil state, as having so powerful and ill an influence upon our laws, the prerogative of the king, and liberties of the subject, that it is like a spreading leprosy, which leaves nothing untainted and uninfected which it comes near.

May we not, therefore, well say of this government, as our Saviour, in the fifth of Matthew, speaks of salt (give me leave upon this occasion to make use of Scripture, as well as others have done in this debate), where it is said that salt is good: "But if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith will you season it? It is thenceforth good for nothing but to be cast out, and trodden under foot of men." So church government, in the general, is good, and that which is necessary, and which we all desire; but when any particular form of it hath once lost its savour, by being destructive to its own ends, for which it is set up (as by our vote already passed we say this hath), then surely, sir, we have no more to do but to cast it out, and endeavour, the best we can, to provide ourselves a better.

But to this it hath been said that the government now in question may be so amended and reformed, that it needs not be pulled quite down or abolished, because it is conceived it hath no original sin or evil in it; or if it have, it is said, regeneration will take that away.

Unto which I answer, I do consent that we should do with this government as we are done by in regeneration, in which all old things are to pass away, and all things are to become new; and this we must do if we desire a perfect reformation and growth of our religion, or good to our civil state. For the whole fabric of this building is so rotten and corrupt, from the very foundation of it to the top, that if we pull it not down now, it will fall about the ears of all those that endeavour it within a very few years.

The universal rottenness or corruption of this government will most evidently appear by a disquisition into these ensuing particulars.

First, let us consider in what soil this root grows: Is it not in the pope's paradise? do not one and the same principles and grounds maintain the papacy, or universal bishop, as do our diocesan or metropolitan bishops? All those authorities which have been brought us out of the fathers and antiquity, will they not as well, if not better, support the popedom as the order of our bishops? So, likewise, all these arguments for its agreeableness to monarchy and cure of schism, do they not much more strongly hold for the acknowledgment of the pope than for our bishops? And yet have monarchies been ever a whit the more absolute for the pope's universal monarchy, or their kingdoms less subject to schisms and seditions? Whatsoever other kingdoms have been, I am sure our histories can tell us this kingdom hath not; and therefore we have cast him off long since, as he is foreign, though we have not cast him out without one in our own bowels. For the difference between a metropolitan, or diocesan, or universal bishop, is not of kinds, but of degrees; and a metropolitan or diocesan bishop is as ill able to perform the duty of a pastor to his diocese or province, as the universal bishop is able to do to the whole world; for the one cannot do but by deputies, and no more can the other; and therefore, since we all confess the grounds upon which the papacy stands are rotten, how can we deny but these that maintain our bishops are so too, since they are one and the same?

In the second place, let us consider by what hand this root of episcopacy was planted, and how it came into the Church.

It is no difficult matter to find this out; for is not the very spirit of this order a spirit of pride, exalting itself in the temple of God over all that is called God? First, exalting itself above its fellow-presbyters, under the form of a bishop; then over its fellow-bishops, under the title of archbishops; and so still mounting over those of its own profession, till it come to be pope; and then it sticks not to tread upon the necks of princes, kings, and emperors, and trample them under its feet. Also thus you may trace it from its first rise, and discern by what spirit this order came into the Church, and by what door, even by the back door of pride and ambition, not by Christ Jesus. It is not a plant which God's right hand hath planted, but is full of rottenness and corruption; that mystery of iniquity which hath wrought thus long, and so fit to be plucked up, and removed out of the way.

Thirdly, let us consider the very nature and quality of



this tree or root in itself, whether it be good or corrupt in its own nature: we all know where it is said, "A good tree cannot bring forth corrupt fruit, nor a corrupt tree good fruit. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" By its fruit, therefore, we shall be sure to know it; and according as the fruits of the government have been among us, either in Church or Commonwealth, so let it stand or fall with us.

And of government in the Church: First, as itself came in by the back door into the Church, and was brought in by the spirit of anti-Christ, so itself hath been the back door and inlet of all superstition and corruption into the worship and doctrine of this Church, and the means of hastening us back again to Rome. For proof of this, I appeal to all our knowledge in late years past, the memory whereof is so fresh, I need enter into no particulars.

A second fruit of this government in the Church hath been the displacing of the most godly and conscientious ministers; the vexing, punishing, and banishing out of the kingdom the most religious of all sorts and conditions, that would not comply with their superstitious inventions and ceremonies; in one word, the turning the edge and power of their government against the very life and power of godliness, and the favour and protection of it unto all profane, scandalous, and superstitious persons that would uphold their party: thousands of examples might be given of this, if it were not most notorious.

A third fruit hath been schisms and fractions within ourselves, and alienation from all the Reformed Churches abroad.

And, lastly, the prodigious monster of the late canons, whereby they had designed the whole nation to a perpetual slavery and bondage to themselves and their superstitious inventions.

These are the fruits of the government in the Church. Now let us consider these in the civil state; as,

1. The countenancing all illegal projects and proceedings, by teaching in their pulpits the lawfulness of an arbitrary power.

2. The overthrowing all process at common law that respected never so little upon their courts.

3. The kindling a war between these two nations, and blowing up the flame, as much as in them lay, by their counsels, canons, and subsidies they granted to that end.

4. The plots, practices, and combinations during this Parliament, in all which they seem to have been interested more or less.

Thus have they not contented themselves with encroachments upon our spiritual privileges, but have envied us our civil freedom, desiring to make us grind in their mill, as the Philistines did Samson, and to put out both our eyes: O let us be avenged of these Philistines for our two eyes!

If, then, the tree be to be known by its fruits, I hope you see by this time plainly the nature and quality of this tree.

In the last place, give me leave, for a close of all, to present to your consideration the mischiefs which the continuance of this government doth threaten us with, if by the wisdom of this committee they be not prevented.

First, the danger our religion must ever be in, so long as it is in the hands of such governors as can stand firmly in nothing more than its ruin, and whose affinity with the pope's hierarchy makes them more confident of the papists, than the professors of the Reformed religion for their safety and subsistence.

Secondly, the unhappy condition our civil state is in, while the bishops have vote in the Lords' House, being there as so many obstructions in our body politic to all good and wholesome laws tending to salvation.

Thirdly, the improbability of settling any firm or durable peace so long as the cause of the war yet continues, and the bellows that blow up this flame.

Lastly, and that which I will assure you goes nearest to my heart, is the check which we seem to give to Divine Providence if we do not at this time pull down this government.

For hath not this Parliament been called, continued, preserved, and secured by the immediate finger of God, as it were, for this work? Had we not else been swallowed up in many inevitable dangers by the practices and designs of these men and their party? Hath not God left them to themselves, as well in these things as in the evil administration of their government, that he might lay them open unto us, and lead us, as it were, by the hand, from the finding them to be the causes of our evil, to discern that their rooting up must be our only cure? Let us not, then, halt any longer between two opinions, but with one heart and resolution give glory to God in complying with his providence, and with the good safety and peace of this church and state, which is by passing this bill we are now upon.

#### E.

*A Letter from a Person of Quality to a Relation of Sir Henry Vane, about a Week after the Execution.*

MADAM,—If I do later than others give you an account of the share I have in the loss of your generous kinsman, it is because I would not rudely disturb the motions of so just a sorrow; but I hope that you are assured I have so real a concern in all that relates to you, that it was not necessary, by an early haste, to send you an information of it. I have, madam, while I own a love to my country, a deep interest in the public loss, which so many worthy persons lament. The world is robbed of an unparalleled example of virtue and piety. His great abilities made his enemies persuade themselves that all the revolutions in the last age were wrought by his influence, as if the world were only moved by his engine. In him they lodged all the dying hopes of his party. There was no opportunity that he did not improve for the advantage of his country. And when he was in his last and much-deplored scene, he strove to make the people at large with that freedom they had so lavishly and foolishly thrown away.

He was great in all his actions, but to me he seemed greatest in his sufferings, when his enemies seem to fear that he alone should be able to acquaint them with a change of fortune. In his lowest condition, you have seen him the terror of a great prince, strengthened by many potent confederates and armies; you have seen him live in high estimation and honour, and certainly he died with it. Men arrive at honours by several ways. The martyrs, though they wanted the glittering crowns the princes of those ages dispensed, have rich ones in every just man's esteem. Virtue, though unfortunate, shines in spite of all its enemies; not is it in any power to deface those lasting monuments your friend hath raised of his, in every heart that either knew him, or held any intelligence with fame. But, madam, I trespass too long upon your patience. This is a subject I am apt to dwell on, because I can never say enough of it. I shall now only desire you to make use of that fortitude and virtue that raised your friend above the malice and power of his enemies; and do not, by an immoderate sorrow, destroy that which was so dear to him—yourself, but live the lively representation of his virtues, the exercises of which that made you always the admiration of

Your humble servant, &c.

The 22d June, 1662.

## HENRY MARTEN.—1602–1680.

HENRY MARTEN, or, as he was more generally called, Harry Marten, was born in Oxford ("particularly, as I conceive," says Anthony à Wood, "in the parish of St. John Baptist, in a house opposite to Merton College Church, then lately built by Harry Sherburne, gentleman, and possessed at the time of Harry's birth by Sir Henry his father") in the year 1602. His father, Sir Henry Marten, LL.D., was the most eminent civilian of his time. Educated also at Oxford, he had carried off all the honours of the University, and, after leaving it, became successively judge of the admiralty, and twice dean of the arches, received knighthood, and in 1624 the appointment of judge of the prerogative. In the Parliament of 1628 he represented the University of Oxford, and in the Long Parliament sat for the borough of St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire. He acted generally with the liberal party, but his temper was moderate, and he strove to conciliate to the last.

Shortly after the birth of Harry Marten, we find Sir Henry in London. "When a lad," said one of the libellers of the famous Republican in after years, "you lived in Aldersgate-street, under the tuition of the then called 'blue-nosed Romanist' your father, who was the best civilian of our horizon, and a 'six-swingler,' as they termed him; he had but £40 *per annum* of his own."\* Whatever his condition was then, it is quite certain that, some short time before his death, which took place in 1641, he had purchased "a fair estate, mostly lying in Berks," which Anthony à Wood adds, "his ungodly son Harry squandered away."†

Young Harry Marten was sent while yet in his boyhood to a grammar-school in Oxford, and afterward, in his fifteenth year, became a gentleman commoner of University College;‡ "where," says the author of the *Athenæ*, "and in public, giving a manifestation of his pregnant parts," he had the degree of bachelor of arts conferred upon him in the latter end of 1619. He then travelled for some time in France, and at his return was prevailed on by his father to consent to one of those marriages of convenience which carry in their train all kinds of misery and social wrong. "His father found out a rich wife for him," says Aubrey, "whom he married something unwillingly." After the birth of a daughter they rarely met again; but it is a touching circumstance to record, that in the last lonely years of his wretched imprisonment, this wife and daughter were the only persons in the world that seemed to recollect his existence, or that, to his own mind, gave him still some interest in life.

He offered himself for Parliament on the

\* A letter prefixed to a libellous publication (by a reckless and notorious libertine named Gayton) called "Colonel Harry Marten's Familiar Letters to his Lady of Delight." (There is also a small quarto with the date of 1685, entitled "the Familiar Epistles of Col. Henry Marten, found in his Mistress's Cabinet," second edition. It is impossible that so much nonsense was ever penned by the colonel.—C.) † *Ath. Ox.*, iii., 17.

‡ He was matriculated, according to the Oxford records, on the 31st of October, 1617: "*Henricus Marten, Oxoniensis militis filius, annos natus 15.*"

great election in April, 1640, to the electors for the county of Berkshire. His name had already become known as that of a man of eloquence and wit, and as the adviser of some of the most eminent public men of the time. He had contracted friendships with Hyde (Lord Clarendon), with Nathaniel Fiennes, with Hampden, and with Pym. He had also, in 1639, spiritedly refused to contribute a single sixpence towards the maintenance of a war against his fellow-countrymen in Scotland. These were his claims, and an immense majority of the Berkshire electors at once cheerfully acknowledged them.

Marten's life, up to this time, had been one of extreme gayety. "He was a great lover of pretty girls," says Aubrey, "to whom he was so liberal, that he spent the greatest part of his estate." Men wondered at first, therefore, in those times of solemnity and precision, when they saw a man so free in living, and so liberal in speech, admitted to the intimacy of the gravest and most religious men of the age. They had yet to learn, what to the penetrating glance of the leaders of this Parliament had been already revealed, that under the condemned habits of recklessness and dissipation lurked in this case one of the most active and useful dispositions, one of the most frank, liberal, and benevolent spirits—in a word, one of the best and most serviceable politicians that the country had produced.

Nor were they long in learning this. Marten at once took an active part in the proceedings of Parliament, and everybody saw that if he was the wittiest and most pleasant, he was also one of the most ardent and uncompromising of the opponents of Charles. "He was a great and faithful lover of his country," says Aubrey: "his speeches were not long, but wondrous poignant, pertinent, and witty. He was of an incomparable wit for repartees; not at all covetous; humble, not at all arrogant, as most of them were; a great observer of justice, and did always, in the House, take the part of the oppressed."\* The shafts he shot at Charles struck deeper for the very reason that, in other circumstances, might have turned them aside comparatively harmless; and the name of Harry Marten, once a signal for laughter only, became a terror in Whitehall.

In the short interval between the Parliaments of April and November, Charles, ever childishly forward in showing his resentments, found an opportunity to insult this new and formidable assailant. Marten happened to be walking in Hyde Park one day as his majesty's carriage passed, when the king himself, speaking very loud, and in the hearing of many people, applied a gross expression to him. "Harry went away patiently," says Aubrey, who relates the anecdote, "*sed manebat alta mente repōstūm*. That sarcasm raised the whole county of Berks against him." In other words, Marten was returned to the House of Commons by the electors of that county, on the summoning of the

\* *Letters and Lives*, ii., 425, 436.

famous Parliament of 1640, with greater enthusiasm than before.

The rise of the Republican party in the House of Commons has been described in the life of Vane, and Marten's statesmanship has received occasional illustration there. It was natural that, in entering on a decisive course in the House of Commons, he should choose his part with the Independents, then laying with so much energy and resolution the secret and solid foundations of their power. He had most need, his enemies said (and his friends need not deny the imputation), of the divine principle of toleration which distinguished that great party. "Henry Marten," says Bishop Burnet, "was all his life a most violent enemy to monarchy, but all that he moved for was upon Roman and Greek principles. He never entered into matters of religion." The charge the bishop would imply in this passage is not a serious one. Vane and Cromwell, penetrated with all the fervours of a most earnest religious zeal, could see no purer end of government than the laughing Harry Marten proposed—that of elevating in the social scale every individual man in England, until the time might come when no Englishman should have a master, and in every corner of the island should be realized that lofty and soaring spirit which made Rome, so long as Rome remained uncorrupted and unpoisoned, a mark for the admiration of all succeeding ages. "Some persons," Hume observes, in his character of this Parliament of 1640, "partial to the leaders who now defended public liberty, have ventured to put them in the balance with the most illustrious characters of antiquity, and mention the names of Pym, Hampden, Vane, as a just parallel to those of Cato, Brutus, Cassius. Profound capacity, indeed, undaunted courage, extensive enterprise—in these particulars, perhaps, the Roman do not much surpass the English patriots; but what a difference when the discourse, conduct, conversation, and private as well as public behaviour of both are inspected! Compare only one circumstance, and consider its consequences. The leisure of those noble ancients was totally employed in the study of Grecian eloquence and philosophy, in the cultivation of polite letters and civilized society; the whole discourse and language of the moderns were polluted with mysterious jargon, and full of the lowest and most vulgar hypocrisy."\* The falsehood of the pretence on which this charge was raised in the case of Pym and Vane has been shown in the course of these biographies; but as against Marten, no such pretence could even be attempted by his worst opponents. Every one admitted him to be a man of real wit, and of the most mirthful and jovial propensities—"as far from a Puritan (to use Aubrey's expression) as light from darkness." Nor was his great learning ever questioned; for it was a perpetual theme of wonder with people that he had found time for so many and such various accomplishments, living the life he had led.

Holding Republican opinions, it is the distinction of Harry Marten to have been the first who is reported to have avowed them. This is not said in praise of his wisdom, which on

that point was perhaps questionable, but merely as a statement of a fact. The anecdote is told in a very interesting way in a passage of Clarendon's own life.

Hyde, Pym, Hampden, Marten, and Nathaniel Fiennes had been dining together one day, during the progress of the Episcopacy Bill, at Pym's lodgings in Westminster, when, after dinner, "Nathaniel Fiennes asked Mr. Hyde whether he would ride into the fields and take a little air, it being a fine evening; which the other consenting to, they sent for their horses, and riding together in the fields between Westminster and Chelsea, Mr. Fiennes asked him 'what it was that inclined him to adhere so passionately to the Church, which could not possibly be supported.' He answered, that 'he could have no other obligation than that of his own conscience and his reason, that could move with him, for he had no relation, or dependence upon any churchman that could dispose him to it; that he could not conceive how religion could be preserved without bishops, nor how the government of the state could well subsist if the government of the Church were altered;' and asked him what government they meant to introduce in its place. To which he (Fiennes) answered that 'there would be time enough to think of that; but assured him, and wished him to remember what he said, that if the king resolved to defend the bishops, it would cost the kingdom much blood, and would be the occasion of as sharp a war as had ever been in England; for that there was a great number of good men who resolved to lose their lives before they would ever submit to that government,' which," continues Hyde, "was the first positive declaration he had ever heard from any particular man of that party." This is a good introduction to the anecdote of Marten, which follows immediately after.

"Within two days after this discourse from Mr. Fiennes," pursues Clarendon, "Mr. Hyde, walking between the Parliament House and Westminster, in the churchyard met with Harry Marten, *with whom he lived very familiarly*, and speaking together about the proceedings of the Houses, Marten told him that 'he (Hyde) would undo himself by his adhering to the court;' to which he (Hyde) replied, that 'he had no relation to the court, and was only concerned to maintain the government and preserve the law;' and then told him 'he could not conceive what he (Marten) proposed to himself, for he did not think him to be of the opinion or nature with those men who governed the House;' and asked him 'what he thought of such and such men;' and he (Marten) very frankly answered that 'he thought them knaves; and that when they had done as much as they intended to do, they should be used as they had used others.' The other pressed him then to say what he desired, to which, after a little pause, he (Marten) very roundly answered, 'I DO NOT THINK ONE MAN WISE ENOUGH TO GOVERN US ALL,' which was the first word he (Hyde) had ever heard any man speak to that purpose; and would, without doubt, if it had been then communicated or attempted, been the most abhorred by the whole nation of any design that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even so early entered into the hearts of some desperate persons, *that*

\* Hume's History, v., 360, 4to.

*gentleman being at that time possessed of a very great fortune, and having great credit in his country."*<sup>a</sup>

Taking all this with the proper allowances, it would seem perfectly clear that Marten was now and then too free of speech, nor sufficiently accommodated his opinions to times and places. Whatever the secret conclusions might be to which Vane, and Ludlow, and Cromwell had already in their own minds arrived, it was surely most unwise to hazard any public disclosure of them before the general intellect and moral feeling had become sufficiently ripe for the attempt, or before the perfidy and bad faith of Charles had received its utmost extent of illustration among the great body of the people.

Clarendon's imputations on Marten's good faith respecting his great political associates have no warrant or authority. He was in all things sincere—to a fault, it might be added, were it right to associate such a reproach with any order of sincerity. In all the consultations of the liberal leaders, and in all their most memorable actions during 1640 and 1641, he took a most prominent part; and though the prudence of his conduct and counsel was sometimes brought in question, he never lost his influence with the House, or the warmest friendship of its leaders; nor, it may be added, rarely failed to be justified by the event, in what seemed to more careful and cautious men the very height even of his imprudence. In a curious pamphlet by Dudley, third Lord North, then a member of the House of Commons, this receives incidental illustration in a passage which, though not correct as a statement of facts, serves to show the feeling of the House. "Businesses," the writer observes, "were not always carried on in the House according to the mind and intended order of the leading persons; for the business of that protestation made in the year 1641 had been taken into consideration at a private meeting of the grandees, and was then concluded to be unseasonable. Yet Henry Marten, being unsatisfied with their determination, moved it the next day in Parliament, and found the House so disposed as a vote was presently passed for a protestation, which was afterward worded by a select committee, and approved of in both Houses; and to this the leaders would not oppose themselves, though they considered it improper at that time."<sup>†</sup>

On the 4th of July, 1642, when Charles had retired from London, and was on the eve of setting up his standard at Nottingham, Marten was appointed one of those fifteen eminent and trusted persons, lords and commoners, to whom Parliament deputed the powers of a "committee of safety," "to take into consideration whatever might concern the safety of the kingdom, the defence of the Parliament, the preservation of the peace of the kingdom, and the opposing any force which might be raised against the Parliament: this committee to meet when and where they pleased." Such was the simple frame of the first executive government of the Parliament; the members receiving no inauguration—no attendance given to them—not

even a stated place of meeting assigned. It is a circumstance worthy of remark, that in all the proceedings taken by the House of Commons while the question of the king's supremacy may be said to have been yet undecided, nothing was done that was not wholly indispensable; while, in the creation of any new powers or agencies of government, which the vicissitudes of public affairs might render fugitive and ephemeral, we never fail to see that their creators were most careful to give them no incidents or inducements that might unnecessarily afford the members in whom they were vested a temptation to protract their existence.

When the civil war began, and Charles issued his proclamation against the members of both Houses, Marten's name received the honour of a special exception, in common with those of Hampden and Pym, from the offer of kingly pardon. This only redoubled his exertions in the "committee of safety," and his zeal in discharging its duties involved him in many personal contentions of great warmth and passion.\*

Among the earliest commissions of colonels of horse granted by order of the Parliament, we find the name of Harry Marten. His active, light-hearted, and mercurial spirit, not content with all the labours and duties imposed on him in London, sought employment also at the scene of war. The House of Commons, as an additional proof of their confidence, bestowed upon him the military governorship of Reading. He was subsequently obliged to abandon this city at the king's approach,<sup>†</sup> but under circumstances which left no imputation on his courage. No imputations, such as too deservedly fell on the virtuous and highly-gifted, but timid Nathaniel Fiennes, for his unfortunate abandonment of Bristol, sullied the name of Marten.

Elated by his temporary successes, Charles again addressed his misguided Commons, telling them that "his quarrel was not against the Parliament, but against particular men, who first made the wounds, and would not now suffer them to be healed, but made them deeper and wider by continuing, fostering, and fomenting mistakes and jealousies betwixt body and head, his majesty and his two Houses of Parliament; which persons he would name, and was ready to prove them guilty of high treason." He then proceeded to name Pym, Hampden, Marten, and Hollis as the chief traitors, and desired that "they might be delivered into the hands of justice, to be tried by their peers, according to the known laws of the land."<sup>‡</sup>

These gallant "traitors" were not relaxing any of their exertions meanwhile, and Marten, more successful as a civilian than a soldier, was once more at Westminster, engaged in fierce contests and disputes with the House of Lords. To that House he never at any time affected any attachment; and, whenever it threatened the slightest interruption to the proceedings of the Commons, he prepared himself with somewhat ostentatious glee for an encounter with their lordships. I find upon the journals of this

\* See the case of the Earl of Northumberland, which led to abortive proceedings between the two Houses. *Parl. Hist.*, xii., 226-240; and Clarendon's *History*, iv., 17-51.

† Clarendon, iii., 318.

‡ Clarendon's *Hist. of the Reb.*, iii., 618, restored text, Appendix E.

<sup>a</sup> Clarendon's *Life*, 41, 42, folio ed., 1750.

<sup>†</sup> From a curious and interesting pamphlet, called "A Narrative of some Passages in or relating to the Long Parliament, by a Person of Honour." Horace Walpole states the author to have been Dudley, the fourth Lord North.

period a very grave complaint from the upper to the lower House, respecting some certain expressions used against the Lords in a conference by Marten, "because they were not so forward in passing ordinances for seizing the estates of delinquents" as the Commons desired them to be. The expressions were these: "I have something to deliver to your lordships in the behalf of the House of Commons. It is true, my lords, there are some privileges belonging to the House of Peers, and others to the House of Commons; and this of raising moneys you have ever solely attributed to them, since your lordships have never refused to join with them when they have brought up anything that concerns the raising of money; and therefore they expect you would not now refuse to pass this ordinance, without giving them some very good reasons for it." On turning to the Parliamentary History, we see that "the Lords debated this matter for some time, and afterward appointed a committee of ten lords to consider of a fit way how to vindicate the privilege of their House in this particular; but it is probable this matter was dropped, as the former [a previous contest with Marten of the same description], for we find nothing more of it in the journals."<sup>\*</sup>

Some few days after, however, the journals present another dispute between the same parties respecting "two young horses" which had been taken out of the king's stables by a person of the name of De Luke. "The Lords ordered the horses to be restored, and De Luke to attend them to answer it. This man produced his warrant to the messenger from Mr. Marten, and Mr. Marten himself refused to return the horses, saying, 'We have taken the king's ships and forts, and may as well take his horses, lest they might be employed against us; but, however,' he added, 'he would acquaint the House of Commons therewith the next morning, who would satisfy the Lords at a conference.' This the Lords took very ill, and at the conference they told the Commons that they had resolved to write to the lord-general to recall Mr. Marten's commission; but for himself they had done nothing, in regard he was a member of their House, adding that they did apply themselves unto the Commons in all respect and civility, and did look for reparation in this business; instead of which, the Commons, on their return to the House, voted that Mr. Marten did well in not delivering the two horses till he had made them acquainted with it; that these two horses should be kept by Mr. Marten till this House gives farther order; and that the lord-general should be desired not to do anything in the business concerning Mr. Marten till he heard farther from that House."<sup>†</sup> The dispute in this case is far from assuming a dignified shape on either side, but its result surely exhibits the great folly, considering the incapacity, of their lordships. "To so low an ebb," is the pathetic remark of the compilers of the Parliamentary History, "was the authority of the House of Peers already reduced!" They had themselves to thank for it.

An anecdote of Marten, said to belong to this period, has been told by Doctor Peter Heylin.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Parl. Hist., xii., 340.

<sup>†</sup> Ibid., xii., 351.

<sup>‡</sup> In his History of the Presbyterians, 452, ed. 1672.

I present it with more than a doubt of its authenticity, since no concurrent testimonies bear it out, and it is in its character very improbable. The Commons, according to Heylin's account, were always glad to avail themselves of Harry Marten's great fertility of resource in devising means of raising supplies during the difficulties that beset the opening of the war, and gave him almost unlimited power to this end. Secretly indulging, on one occasion, a particular malicious humour of his own, it occurred to him that there would be no farther use for the regalia, and that they might as well be sold for what they would bring; "whereupon," continues Heylin, "Marten, then member for Berks, having commanded the sub-dean of Westminster to bring him to the place where the regalia were kept, made himself master of the spoil; and having forced open a great iron chest, took out the crown, the robes, the sword, the sceptre, belonging anciently to King Edward the Confessor, and used by all our kings at their inaugurations; then, with a scorn greater than his lusts and the rest of his vices, he openly declares that there would be no farther use of these toys and trifles, and in the folly of the humour invests George Withers (an old Puritan satirist\*) in the royal habiliments, who, being thus crowned and royally arrayed (as right well became him), first marched about the room with a stately garb, and afterward, with a thousand apish and ridiculous actions, exposed these sacred ornaments to contempt and laughter." In declining to admit the truth of this story, it would be unjust to withhold from its learned and very reverend author the praise of a skilful invention and a quick perception of the ludicrous.

Marten's indulgence of his wit and humour on all possible occasions, and his well-known careless avowals of his preference for Republican government, gave currency and plausibility to such anecdotes. The latter characteristic, indulged freely almost everywhere, at last heedlessly escaped him from his place in the House of Commons. Such avowals must always wait for their proper place and season, and in this instance both were forgotten.

The incident occurred on the 16th of August, 1643. The pages which related it are torn from the journals of the House, but Whitelocke has supplied the omission in his Memorials.<sup>†</sup> It occurred in the course of a debate on what were thought the scandalous expressions of a work published by one Saltmarsh, a Puritan minister, in which he urged, among other things, that "all means should be used to keep the king and his people from a sudden union; that the war ought to be cherished under the notion of popery, as the surest means to engage the people; and that if the king would not grant their demands, then to root him out and the royal line, and to collate the crown upon somebody else." Several members having strongly condemned such advice, Marten suddenly rose, and said that "he saw no reason to condemn Mr. Saltmarsh so strongly, and that it were better one family should be destroyed than many." This called up Sir Nevil Poole, who moved that "Mr. Marten should explain what one family he meant." Marten interrupted him

<sup>\*</sup> And a very fine old poet.

<sup>†</sup> Page 68, ed. 1662.

with the remark that such a motion was needless, and boldly and bluntly answered, "The king and his children!" Upon this there was a storm in the House, and many of the members urged loudly "against the lewdness of Mr. Marten's life, and the height and danger of these words, and spoke sharply against him." Pym, then within a few short months of his death, interfered on behalf of his friend, but at the same time, on public grounds, condemned his expressions. Marten was in the end expelled the House, and committed to the Tower.\* A fortnight afterward he was "ordered to be forthwith discharged, without paying any fees for his imprisonment," but he did not, till after the lapse of a year and a half, resume his seat in the House.

Nevertheless, he continued unremittingly to labour in the cause. His father had died two years before, and left him in possession of property to the amount of £3000 a year. From the moment of his accession to it, he appears to have indulged to excess his liberal tastes and "elegant desires;" the whole county of Berkshire rang with the festivities of the Vale of the White Horse;† and his personal courtesies to all classes of men gave him unprecedented popularity there. After his expulsion from the House of Commons he continued to hold his colonel's commission, and was present in several skirmishes and engagements. He also contributed, I find, out of his own resources, upward of £3000 to the Parliamentary commissioners for the maintenance of the war.‡ During its progress, it may be added, he lost estates to much larger amounts, and at its close found himself in fortune a ruined man. That ruin was ascribed (by slanderers who could never forgive him the cheerful accomplish-

ments with which he graced a great and serious cause) to other and less worthy reasons, which these pages shall not be polluted by any farther reference to. A memoir of his life, composed as this has been with a scrupulous attention to the truth, will be in itself the best and most particular answer that can be given to all such statements.

During Marten's absence from the House, the self-denying ordinance was debated and passed. Clarendon can say, nevertheless, that Nathaniel Fiennes and Henry Marten were among those "who spoke more and warmer in favour of the self-denying ordinance than those who spoke who opposed it." Marten did not resume his place in the House of Commons till nine months after that famous measure was passed;\* and Nathaniel Fiennes was still in France during its discussion, whither he had retired in deep mortification at the affair of Bristol. The truth is, that the whole of the debate on this ordinance as reported in Clarendon's History is an absolute and unmitigated forgery, made for his own purposes by Clarendon, and adopted in philosophical indolence by Hume. How much history has been written in this way!

The resolution for Marten's reinstatement in the House was passed on the 6th of January, 1645-6, and, Whitelocke says, "gave occasion to some to believe that the House began to be more averse from the king." It was certainly a proof, among others, of the growing strength of the quiet and wise party of the Independents, and it is most gratifying to discover that it was proposed by Vane. Dudley Lord North, in the curious pamphlet already adverted to, describes it thus: "It was conceived now that Henry Marten might do good service as a member, and so his restitution was moved for; but answer was soon made that he was a person dead civilly, and could not be restored to life. Hereupon young Sir Harry Vane (one of the oracles of those times) arose and said, 'That the matter was very easy to be effected, by expunging out of the journal-book that order whereby he had been cast out; and that the House was ever understood to be inistress of her own orders.' This was found so ready a way as the matter was presently determined; and Henry Marten, having notice, came into the House again, disposed to do farther mischief." This is simply an exaggerated account of a course adopted to save Marten the necessity of a new election.

It is not difficult to imagine the welcome Harry Marten received on entering the House once more. His wit had been the ornament and relief of almost every debate; his graceful manner, and never-failing good-humour, had been perforce made acceptable to the sourest Puritan there; and by his gallant and unflinching adherence to Republican principles, by the respect his intellect and genius inspired, he had bound himself in the fastest friendship to Cromwell, to St. John, and to Vane. From the instant he resumed his seat until his old friend's traitorous usurpation on the Commonwealth, his name appears most prominently in every

\* The same occurrence is told with a difference in Lord Ker's pamphlet: "Henry Marten," says his lordship, "exalted in mind by various successes, adventured to cast himself upon a rock, and thus it was: When it had been some ways expressed in the House that the good and happiness of this nation depended upon his majesty's safety, and the continuance of the royal line, Henry Marten stood up and affirmed it to be a mistake; for (as he conceived) this nation might be very happy though the royal line were extinct. Upon those words he was presently questioned, and after some debate, voted out of the House." I may add a characteristic anecdote of Pym from the same authority. It shows that on an occasion somewhat similar to the present, his address and skill were exerted with greater success on the behalf of an injudicious friend. "The House had newly received a message from his majesty, which was so far from being satisfactory as many persons spoke against it with much vehemence, and among the rest Sir Henry Ludlow (father of the great Republican), who very resolutely used these terms: 'He who sent this message is not worthy to be King of England.' Upon saying this he was immediately interrupted, and the words that were spoke agreed upon preparatory to a charge; but before his withdrawing, in order to a censure, Sir Pym arose and said, 'That those words contained nothing of dishonour to the king,' which being found very strange, he thus cleared his meaning: 'If these words be such as a fair conclusion is naturally deducible from them, then they cannot be evil in themselves. Now that a fair conclusion naturally ariseth from them may be proved by syllogism. He who sent this message is not worthy to be King of England; but King Charles is worthy to be King of England, therefore King Charles sent not this message. Now,' saith Mr. Pym, 'I leave it to judgment whether or no this syllogism comprise anything in it worthy of censure.' This argument was so ingenious as Sir Henry Ludlow (with his ill meaning) came freely off without punishment."

† Where his principal mansion was situate. "Becket," says Aubrey, "in the parish of Shrinham, was his chief seat—in the Vale of the White Horse, now Major Wildman's—where he was very hospitable and exceeding popular."

‡ Whitelocke's Memorials, 385, ed. 1682.

\* See Whitelocke, 135 and 192. Also Journals of April 3, 1645, and January 6, 1645 (old style).

transaction of importance,\* and, above all, when mercy is to be shown, or an act of liberal and kind-hearted justice done, the name of Henry Marten, and the record of his best exertions, are sure to be found not wanting.

When John Lilburne's intemperance had delivered him over into the fangs of Prynne, Marten interfered in his behalf. When he afterward sought redress from the House of Commons, it was Marten who moved his committee and sat as its chairman. If it had been possible to have saved a man of such a temper, so grossly fond of quarrel, so self-conceited of his own honesty as to suppose he absorbed all of it himself that had been left in the world, so credulous and so suspicious, Marten would have saved him. And when it was obvious at the last that he must be left to his own wild and irreclaimable courses, it was Marten's wit which suggested that excuse for him which has passed into a familiar saying. "This very John Lilburne," says Rushworth, "after his trial, persisted in writing many books against those then in power and authority, and some particular members thereof; insomuch as it was said by Henry Marten in favour of him, 'That if there were none living but himself, John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John.'"<sup>†</sup>

Nor—as his attachment to Cromwell withheld him not from these kind-hearted efforts in behalf of one who, but for a superabundance of conceit and bile, might have been one of the staunchest friends to the great cause, as he had already proved one of its most courageous soldiers—did his friendship for Vane prevent his protesting on many occasions against the conduct of Vane's father. A good anecdote is told by Aubrey on this point. Having spoken somewhat sharply for some time against old Vane, and seeing some marks of pain and vexation on the countenance of his son, he suddenly interposed, "But for young Sir Harry Vane—" Fifty voices interrupted him, "What have you to say to young Sir Harry?" Marten quietly sat down. From all parts of the House (the members were in committee) the question again broke out, "What to young Sir Harry?" The wit rose with very great gravity, and observed, "Why, if young Sir Harry lives to be old, he will be old Sir Harry!" and so, says Aubrey, "sat down, and set the whole House a laughing, as he oftentimes did;" and the invective against old Vane was forgotten for that time, and some mortification saved to young Sir Henry.

And not alone for men belonging to his own party, and generally acting with it, were these happy resources called in aid by Harry Marten. "He did always," as Aubrey says in his character of him, "take in the House the part of the oppressed," no matter what their politics. The relation I am now about to give is taken from a curious pamphlet, republished in Lord Somers's tracts, and called, "A true and just Account of what was transacted in the Commons' House, when that House voted David Jenkins, Esq., a Welsh Judge, and Sir Francis

Butler, to be guilty of High Treason against themselves; and likewise an Account of an excellent Speech that the said Judge *intended to have spoken* at the Place of his Execution, taken from the Mouth and Notes of the said Sir Francis Butler."

This Judge Jenkins was justly famous in his day as a fervent and intrepid Royalist. The offence he was now brought before the Commons to answer, among others, was that of having, in 1642, in some Welsh counties, condemned to death persons charged with being in arms against the king. On being conducted to the bar with Butler, the latter knelt as he was instructed, but the old judge peremptorily refused to do so. In the reprimand which followed, the speaker adverted in especial to this mark of contumacy, as the greater fault in him, "seeing he pretended to be knowing in the laws of the land." The relation then proceeds: "Sir Francis said during this speech of Lenthall's, Judge Jenkins had prayed him softly not to speak much; so to let all their malice fall on him only, since he was in years, and Sir Francis but young in respect to him. And when the speaker's speech was ended, Judge Jenkins asked whether they would now give him liberty to speak. 'Yes,' answered Lenthall, 'so you be not very long.' 'No,' said the judge, 'I will not trouble either myself or you with many words. In your speech, Mr. Speaker, you said the House was offended at my behaviour, in not making any obeisance to you at my coming here, and this was the more wondered at, because I pretended to be knowing in the laws of the land. In answer to which, Mr. Speaker, I say, that I thank God I not only pretend to be, but am knowing in the laws of the land (having made it my study for these five-and-forty years); and because I am so, that was the reason of such my behaviour; for as long as you had the king's arms engraven on your mace, and acted under his authority, had I come here I would have bowed my body in obedience to his writ and authority, by which you were first called; but, Mr. Speaker, since you and this House have renounced all your duty and allegiance to your sovereign and natural liege lord the king, and are become a den of thieves, should I bow myself in this house of Rimmon, the Lord would not pardon me in this thing.'"

The amazement and confusion excited by this courageous burst broke forth on all sides. "The whole House," says the narration, "fell into such an uproar and confusion, that for half an hour they could not be reduced into any order, for sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, would be speaking together; but at length the fury abated, and the House voted they were both guilty of high treason (without any trial at all), and should suffer as in cases condemned for treason. So they called for the keeper of Newgate, to know the usual days for execution in such cases. He told them it was usually on Wednesdays or Fridays; and then was debated whether it should be done on next Wednesday or Friday. Then stood up Harry Marten (the droll of that House), who had not spoken before. He said he would not go about to meddle in their vote, but *as to the time of execution* he had something to say, especially as

\* He was a great favourite with the citizens of London, and spoke in the common hall very often. Some of these speeches, as that concerning Sir William Waller, are to be found among the pamphlets of the time, and are good specimens of close reasoning and a most happy style.

† Rushworth, ii., 468.

to Judge Jenkins. 'Mr. Speaker,' says he, 'every one must believe that this old gentleman here is fully possessed in his head—that he is *pro aris et focis mori*—that he shall die a martyr for this cause; for otherwise he never would have provoked the House by such biting expressions; whereby it is apparent that if you execute him, you do what he hopes for and desires, and whose execution might have a great influence upon the people, since not condemned by a jury: wherefore my motion is, that this House would suspend the day of execution, and in the mean time force him to live in spite of his teeth;' which motion of his put the House into a fit of good-humour, and they cried, 'Suspend the day of execution.' So they were returned back to Newgate."

Anything more exquisite than this, wiser in fact, more benevolent or humane in purpose, more happy in its turn of wit, is not even recorded among the sayings of Harry Marten. The conclusion of the incident is well worth giving, not less for its interest in itself, than as a proof and confirmation of the sound sagacity which guided Marten in his interference on this as on every similar occasion—of the wisdom which was the undercurrent of his wit.

On their return to prison, Sir Francis Butler "asked the judge whether he had not been too hardy in his expressions to the House. 'Not at all,' said he; 'for things of a rebellious nature have been so successful in this kingdom, and have gotten such a head, that they will almost allure the weak loyal man to comply therewith, if some vigorous and brave resistance is not made against them, and to their faces; and this was the cause why I said such home things to them yesterday. And although I have opposed rebels and traitors all my life hitherto, yet I persuade myself that at the time of my execution, on the day of my death, I shall be like to Samson, and destroy more Philistines than I ever did in all my life—that is, confound their rebellious assertions; and in this thought of mine I am so wrapped up, that I hope they won't totally suspend my execution.'"

His companion's wonder may be conceived by this time to have reached an intense pitch. The brave old judge soon satisfied it: "I will now," said the judge, "tell you all that I intend to do and say at that time: first, I will eat much lickerish and gingerbread, thereby to strengthen my lungs, that I may extend my voice far and near, for no doubt there will be great multitudes at the place; and then I will come with Bracton's book hung upon my left shoulder, with the statutes at large hung upon my right shoulder, and the Bible with a riband put round my neck, and hanging on my breast. Then I will tell the people that I was brought there to die for being a traitor; and in the words of a dying man, I will tell them that I wish that all the traitors in the kingdom would come to my fate. But the House of Commons, I will then tell them, never thought me a traitor, else they would have tried me for such, in a legal manner, by a jury, according to the custom of this kingdom for a thousand years. They have indeed debarred me from my birthright, a trial by my peers, that is, a jury; but they knew, and that is it, that I am not guilty according to law. But since they will have me a traitor, right or wrong, I thought

it was just to bring my counsellors with me, for they ought to be hanged as well as I, for they all along advised me in what I have done. Then shall I open Bracton to show them that the supreme power is in the king,\* the statute-book to read the oath of allegiance, and the Bible to show them their duties. All these were my civil counsellors, and they must be hanged with me! So when they shall see me die," concluded the old man, "thousands will inquire into these matters, and having found all I told them to be true, they will come to loath and detest the present tyranny."

Alas for this romantic project, not unlikely to have proved a wise one! The wit of Marten proved wiser still, and the imaginative old judge was left merely to indulge in anticipations of his day of execution, which proved as vain as they were fond.

The next service of humanity in which we find Harry Marten's wit engaged was a service to literature no less. He preserved the life of the author of Gondibert. Taking advantage of that misfortune of the poet, which the pleasant doggerel of Suckling has commemorated (no less than the questionable taste of the poet's wife, in the portrait prefixed to her edition of his works)—

"Will Davenant, ashamed of a foolish mischance  
That he had got lately, travelling into France,  
Modestly hoped the handsomeness of his muse  
Might any deformity about him excuse—

taking advantage of this, when the proposition for his death was in agitation, Marten rose, and infused mercy and good-humour into the House by observing that really Will Davenant was but a rotten and imperfect subject, and that sacrifices "by the Mosaic law" were always required to be pure and without blemish. The question was deferred, and the ultimate interposition of Milton and Whitelocke completed the act of mercy.†

Merciful and kind-hearted as Marten was, however, no one had a firmer or more immovable temper when in his own view of the public interests they seemed to demand its exercise. He was the most violent and unyielding of Republicans, the first to avow that faith, and the first to pursue unflinching, and at all hazards, the great object of its realization. After the reverses of Charles had thrown him into the power of the Parliament, Marten was the resolute opponent of all accommodation that had for its basis the restoration of a limited monarchy; and in the course of one of the debates on this subject after the battle of Naseby—when one of the members had been urging on the House the still surviving reverence of the people for their monarch, as exemplified in the account of the passage of Charles (under the conduct of the Parliamentary commissioners) from Newcastle to the palace of Holmby, where, as was alleged, multitudes had thrown

\* The ferried old gentleman still more fortified his friend and his own purpose at this point by reading at full length all the original passages from these authorities: it is not necessary to give them here.

† Aubrey's Lives, vol. ii. of Bodleian Letters, p. 308. The first half of the third book of Gondibert was written while in the prisons of the Commonwealth; and he quitted it thus imperfect, alleging, in ever-memorable and lofty words, that "even in so worthy a design he should not leave to despair, when he was interrupted by so great an experiment as dying."



themselves in his way, to show him their reverence and their pity—Marten observed that he had heard of it; that the majority of the people had been afflicted with the king's evil, and sought his majesty's touch to cure them; but he was very sure, for his own part, that a touch of the great seal of the Parliament would be found to possess precisely the same virtue, and he added his preference for that.

In the long strife which followed between the Independents and the Presbyterians, and involved the fate of Charles and of the monarchy, Marten was the most active and persevering of the opponents of the king. He held that it was impossible to treat with such perfidy, constant insincerity, and bad faith as the whole of Charles's public life had exhibited, and which was now crowned by the disclosure of the contents of the cabinet left on the field of Naseby. He urged the immediate and firm settlement of a new frame of government, without present relation to the person of the king, or to questions that would be best disposed of afterward; and when, upon the refusal given by Charles to the first propositions voted him by the influence of the Presbyterians, the commissioners deputed to treat having brought back that refusal from the captive monarch, and received the thanks of the House of Commons for the way in which they had conducted themselves, Marten startled the majority of members present by suddenly getting up and asking, "Nay, are not our thanks rather due to the king, who has rejected our offers?" He had not overrated the importance of that rejection. The day that succeeded was a day of stormy debate, and in the midst of it Marten moved,\* and Hazlerig seconded, that no more addresses should be made to the king; that his person should be demanded, and that Fairfax's army should march into the North, to enforce the application. "We know not," says Baillie, in a letter written at the moment, "we know not at what hour they will close their doors, and declare the king fallen from his throne."

The Independents and Republicans had indeed the advantage now, and through many difficulties and dangerous struggles (which they surmounted with the true genius of statesmen, by strength of character and elevation of aims) they pursued it home. The last thing that remained for them to subdue was the treachery of the Scottish people, or, rather, the treachery of the Scots commissioners, supported by the religious bigotry of the mass of the Scottish people. In the questions which this involved, Marten took part with an infinite zeal; and when the commissioners, in pursuance of their plan, claimed the right of interference and citation in the terms of peace proposed at the close of 1647 to the royal prisoner, a strain of wit and eloquence, of the happiest ridicule as of the most exquisite reasoning, was poured out against them with irresistible effect by the genius of Harry Marten. The readers will be grateful for having this masterly production laid before them, which is richly entitled to that notice it would no doubt have received from the historians, if it had happened to be made up, not of wisdom and of wit, but of dulness and falsehood.

\* See Hollis, p. 58.

He begins in a very clear, startling, and decisive tone; the force of plain expression is, indeed, strongly illustrated throughout, and heightened not a little by occasional dashes of humour.

"TO RECTIFY, NOT TO UPBRAID YOU! You have, for divers years together, been very well entreated by us of this nation, and that from a willingness we ever had, as upon all occasions, so particularly in your persons, to manifest the brotherly respect we bear towards them who sent you. Upon the same account, many former boldnesses and provocations of yours have been winked at by the Parliament, as, I am confident, your last answer would likewise be, did you not therein seem to have remained here so long as to have quite forgotten why you came.

"You may therefore please to remember that it was no part of your first business (whatever supplemental commissions may have since been procured for a farther exercise of our patience since you came among us) to settle religion, nor to make a peace in England; so as all those devout-like and amicable endeavours, for which you think to be thanked, were not only intrusions into matters unconcerning you, but so many diversions from performing, as you ought, what was properly committed to you.

"As for our religion: since the zeal of your countrymen would needs carry their care thereof so far from home, methinks their divines, now sitting with ours at Westminster, might excuse your trouble in this particular, or at least might teach you, by their practice, that your advice therein to the Parliament is to be but an advice, and that an humble one.

"As for the other particular of peace: it is true that, about three years ago, here were ambassadors from our neighbours of the Low Countries, who, having found the king almost weary of fighting, made use of their privilege, and did his errand instead of their masters'; which was with big words to beg a peace. After that, when the king's cause had nothing left to lean upon but the treachery of our false friends and servants, an ambassador from our neighbours of France did, *en passant*, make a certain overture of accord betwixt the crown and the head; but your employment here from our neighbours of Scotland had so little relation to peace, that your only work was to join counsels with a committee of ours in ordering and disposing such auxiliary forces as that kingdom should send into this for carrying on the war.

"As to the delays you charge upon the Parliament, in that they answer your papers sometimes late, and sometimes not at all, yet require peremptory and speedy resolutions from you, as if their dealings were unequal towards you: I hope you will give over making such constructions when you shall consider how much more business lies upon their hands than upon yours, and how much slower progress the same affairs must needs find in passing both Houses than if they were to be despatched only by four or five commissioners. Were not I conscious to this truth, and to the abundant civility they have always shown for you in their undelayed reading, present referring, and desire of complying with what you send them, so far as might consist with their duty to this

Commonwealth, and that they want nothing but time to say so, I should never have presumed to trust so great a cause upon the patronage of so rude a pen; neither, indeed, is it left there, *my design being to let the world imagine how strong a stream of justice runs on our side, when I dare oppose the reasons of my single bark against all the advantages of number, abilities, and countenance that you can meet me with.*"

The reader needs not be told, after what I have said in the life of Vane, that the positions taken up by the Scots commissioners, backed as they were, for the most part, by the Presbyterian party in England, rendered it necessary that this decisive tone should be adopted against them. The great party, of which Marten was so eminent a member, had, indeed, reason to hate the Presbyterians nearly as much as they hated the Royalists. What the Independents had fought for through the whole of the struggle with Charles, was liberty; not liberty in one sense only, but in a sense that should pervade all things. The seven years that had been passed in toil and battle would indeed have been passed to little purpose in their view, and all the miseries of civil war been rushed into wickedly and in vain, were it all now to end in the restoration of a perfidious king, in the persecution or extirpation of sects, and in the establishment of a form of government in the Church not less exclusive and intolerant than the old. These were the objects now plainly driven at by the Scots commissioners; and in these objects the Presbyterian party in Parliament entirely sympathized, though the character they had to lose as friends to political freedom and the earliest instigators of the war made them necessarily wary and cautious in declaring their sympathy too boldly. Marten takes advantage of the latter circumstance throughout the whole of this paper with great adroitness and skill.

The severity of the following passage is much increased and strengthened by its happy homeliness:

"For order's sake, I shall take the pains to set the body of your discourse as upright as I may (*its prolixity and perplexity considered*) upon two feet: one is, the claim you make in behalf of the kingdom of Scotland to the inspection of, and conjunction in, the matter of our laws and the conditions of our peace; the other, *mistaking the first for convinced*, is your telling us what you think fit, and what unfit, for us to establish in our Church and state, and what way you conceive most proper for obtaining of a peace betwixt the king and us, together with the proofs wherewith you seek to fortify your several opinions.

"It would give your first foot too much ground to hold dispute with you upon the second; therefore, since a man may see by your forwardness in printing and publishing both these and other your transactions with the House, that your arguments, like the king's in his messages, are not framed so much to satisfy the Parliament as to begot in the people a dissatisfaction towards the Parliament, I will, God enabling me, take a time apart to undeceive my countrymen concerning both the king and you, by laying the hook as open as the bait in all your lines; and, for the present, apply myself only to the showing you, that when you shall

have offered your counsel to the Parliament of England (as for aught I know any one man may do unto another) in matters concerning this kingdom only, though the most wholesome counsel that ever was or can be given, and the Parliament shall not approve of it, nor have so much as a conference upon it, *it is no more manners in you than it would be in the same number of Spaniards, Indians, or of the most remote region of the earth, to press it again, to insist upon it, and to proclaim your unsatisfaction in it.*"

The pretences of the Scots, and the serious invasions they implied on the newly-achieved freedom of England, are next ably exposed. The introduction of the subject of the army is aimed not less at the Parliamentary Presbyterians.

"Let us, with your favour, consider your pretences: you do not aim, as yourselves profess, at sharing in our rights, laws, nor liberties, but in other matters, viz., such as either in their own nature, or by compact, are common to both kingdoms; which I take the more notice of, because one would suppose you to be grown kinder now than you were the other day, when you went about to make us believe that nothing in our laws did properly belong to us but the form and manner of proceeding therein, the matter of them being held in common with the kingdom of Scotland; and therefore, and for their possibility of containing something prejudicial to that kingdom, to be revised by you before they receive their perfection.

"But the truth is, you are still where you were, only the people's ears are, by this time, so habituated to the doctrines you frequently sow among them—those doctrines so improved by your seminaries, who find their own interest interwoven with yours, and the Parliament seeming but a looker on—that you persuade yourselves anything will pass that you shall set your stamp on; otherwise you would certainly have been ashamed to disavow the busying yourselves with our rights, laws, and liberties, and, with the same breath, to dispute our rights, correct our laws, and infringe our liberties.

"Nay, contrary to that moderate concession of yours, you do, in this answer, intrench upon the very form and manner of our bills and propositions; and, as if the marshalling them, the putting them into rank and file, were to be by your order, you take upon you to appoint which of our desires shall have the van, and which the rear, in this expedition.

"And (which is the most pleasant part of the story, if it would take, as truly such a thing might have done, when you and we were first acquainted), though the Parliament of England, as I told you even now, would not order the motions of the Scots army that served us in our country and for our pay but by conjunction of councils with commissioners of that kingdom, yet you (as you could not forbear meddling with our army when it was in modelling) so do in this paper continue the office you put yourselves into, of disposing, disbanding, dismembering, catechizing, and reviling this army of ours, the greatest bulwark, under God, of our liberties, and which yet had proved ineffectual if your councils had been followed or your importunities regarded.

"Since, then, your way of advising us is not in a modest or submitting manner, but as if you

meant to pin your advice upon us whether we will or no, give me leave, I pray you, to examine *quâ fiduciâ*, promising you faithfully for my part that whensoever you shall bring the matters contested for within the rules of your own setting down, that is, 'either in nature or by covenant, or by treaty, to be of a mixed concernment,' I will either not deny you a 'joint interest' in them, or acknowledge myself to have no more honour nor conscience in me than he may be said to have who, being intrusted for his country, gives up their dearest rights to the next stranger that demands them without so much as arguing the point."

Great earnestness, zeal, and force are singularly united in this remarkable paper with a certain studied and cold tone of temperance, and downright homeliness of manner. The altered position of the Scots since the conclusion of the war is exquisitely illustrated in the answer to their first argument.

"Your arguments, by my computation, are five, and, if I understand them, speak thus :

"*ARG. 1.* 'The same common interest upon which Scotland was invited and engaged in the war, ought to be continued (*so I read you, and not 'improved,' that being a wild expression, and reaching neither you nor I know whither*) in making the peace.' For answer thereunto, should I admit it, the word 'invited' put you in mind that your countrymen came not to the war before they were called : keep you the same method in *accedendo ad consilium*, and we shall still be friends. But I cannot subscribe to this position, for I believe it was a duty that the people of Scotland did owe unto themselves to give us their assistance in the late war, though they had not been invited ; yet doth it not follow from thence that when the war is ended (*as you often say it is, and yet most riddingly take huge pains for peace*) they are bound to mingle with us in our councils, nor help us to settle our own kingdom, which we think ourselves able to settle well enough without them—at least without their prejudice, to whom a good peace or a bad, so as it be a peace, is the same thing : for instance, *the law of this land that gives me leave to pull down my neighbour's house when it is on fire, in order to the quenching of it for the securing of my own, will not authorize me, against his will, to set my foot within his threshold when the fire is out, even though I make it my errand to direct him in the rebuilding of his house, and pretend the teaching him so to contrive his chimneys as may, in all probability, prevent, for the future, a like loss to him, a like danger to myself.*

"*ARG. 2.* You demand the same conjunction of interests to be given you that was had of you. There I join issue with you, and profess, that if ever the Parliament of England, or any authority derived therefrom, did offer to put a finger into the proper affairs of Scotland, or into the government, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, of that kingdom, and being once required to desist, did, notwithstanding, prosecute their title of advising, *volentibus nolentibus*, I shall readily, so far as in me lies, grant you to have a hand with us in the managing of this kingdom and the government thereof."

The next extract is of great importance, as a protest on the part of a leader of the Inde-

pendents declaratory of the nature and force of the obligation of the covenant. The passage in itself is most masterly. It strengthens and establishes, it will be seen, Vane's own view of that league of which he was the author, and which, were every other record of his life destroyed, would yet permanently attest the greatness of his genius and the force of his character. With what a careless yet noble simplicity Marten describes the wise and tolerant faith of the Independents !

"*ARG. 3.* You affirm that the covenant entered into betwixt us makes you copartners with us in everything there mentioned ; by which reckoning, neither this nation nor that of Scotland hath any right, law, or liberty which either can properly and distinctly call its own, but both interests are jumbled together, and the two kingdoms are not confederate, but incorporated.

"Concerning the Covenant, therefore, *which myself, among others, considering it first as well as I could, have taken*, I shall shortly give you my sense in relation to the point before us :

"First, I do not conceive the parties to that league intended thereby to be everlastingly bound each to the other ; the grounds of striking it being merely occasional, for the joining in a war to suppress a common enemy ; accordingly, we did join ; the enemy is, if we be wise, suppressed, and the war, as you say, ended ; *what should the Covenant do, but, like an almanac of the last year, show us rather what we have already done than what we do now to do !*

"Secondly, What would it do were it renewed and made perpetual ? Thus much it saith, in my opinion, and no more : whensoever you shall be violently hindered in the exercise of that religion you had among you at the time of the engagement, and shall require our assistance, we must afford it you for the removal of that violence. In like manner, whensoever we shall be so hindered in the exercise of that religion which we, according to that Covenant, shall establish here, upon request to you made for that effect, you are tied to assist us ; and so throughout all the other clauses respectively and equally ; carrying this along with you, we are hereby obliged to the reciprocal defence of one another, according to the declaration of the party wronged in any of the particulars there compromised, without being cavilled at, or scrupled by the party invoked ; whether your religion be the same it was, or ours the same it should be ; whether the bounds of your liberties or ours be not enlarged beyond their then line ; whether your delinquents or ours be justly so or no : for the native rights of both people being the principal, if not the only thing we looked on when we swore, *we do not keep our oath in preserving those rights if we do not allow this master-right to each several people, namely, to be sole judges within themselves, what religion they will set up, what kind of laws they will have, what size, what number of magistrates they hold fit to execute those laws, and what offenders to be tried by them.* Hereupon you know we did not inquire at all how orthodox your religion was before we vowed to maintain you in it ; *that is, in the quiet professing of it, not in the theological truth of it, which last were a business for a University perhaps, not for a kingdom be-*

ing well assured it was established by them who had all the authority that is visible to choose for themselves, and could not, without apparent breach of order, and injury to fundamentals, be disturbed in the exercise of what they had so chosen.

"So far is the plain text of this Covenant from confounding interests, that it clearly settles and confirms them upon the several bases where it found them. And it would not be unworthy of you to take heed lest this Covenant, upon which you seem to set so high a rate, be not as easily violated as slandered, since the most deadly wars have been said at least to begin with misunderstandings."

The rationale of the famous eighth article of this treaty is now given, in a passage which, for closeness of reasoning, familiar wit of illustration, and a vigorous conciseness of style, is quite worthy of Swift. The general case of the Independents is here stated against all their opponents, whether of England or Scotland, with inimitable ease and clearness.

"*Ans. 4.* Your entitling yourselves to a cognizance in the conditions of our peace, and, consequently, in the matter of our laws, when they relate to an agreement, as I confess the four bills do which were sent, is grounded upon a very great mistake of the eighth article in the treaty, the words whereof are indeed very rightly recited by you, and the article itself so rational, so ordinary, so necessary, in all wars joined in by two states, that I do almost wonder as much what need there was to have inserted it, as I do how it is possible for you to mistake it. It stands briefly thus: one of you (for the purpose), and I (*pardon, if you please, the familiarity of the instance*), have solemnly engaged ourselves each to the other for our mutual aid against a third person, because we conceived him too strong for either of us single, *or because one of us doubted he might have drawn the other of us to his party if not pre-engaged against him*; but whichever of us was first in the quarrel, or whatever was the reason of the other's coming in, we are engaged; and, though there were no writings drawn betwixt us, no terms expressed, were not I the veriest skellum that ever looked man in the face if I should shake hands with the common adversary and leave you fighting! Against such a piece of baseness, supposing it be like to be in nature, this article provides, and says, that since these two kingdoms were content to join in a war, which, without God's great mercy, might have proved fatal to them both, neither of them shall be suffered to make its peace apart; so as if the Parliament of Scotland, upon consideration of reasons occurring to themselves, should offer to readmit the king into that kingdom, I say, not with honour, freedom, and safety, but in peace, the Parliament of England might step in and forbid the hanns, telling them we are not satisfied that an agreement should yet be made; similiter, if this Parliament would come to any peace with him by bills or propositions, or by what other name soever they call their plasters, you may, being so authorized in name of that kingdom, or the Parliament thereof, intervene and oppose, telling us that you, who are our fellow-surgeons more in lancing of the sore, are not satisfied in the time for healing of it up; but

for you to read a lecture to us upon our medicaments and their ingredients, to take measure of wounds, and to prefer your measure before that of our own taking, was never dreamed on by the framers of this article.

"Here it may perhaps be demanded, though not by you, whether, according to my sense of the treaty, tying up both kingdoms to a consent in the *fat*, not in the *qualis fuerit* of peace, if one should be obstinately bent to hang off, *the other be necessitated to weller everlastingly in blood for want of such a concurrence?* I answer, yes, for these reasons:

"First, *A wise man will foresee inconveniences before he makes his bargain, and an honest man will stand to his bargain, notwithstanding all inconveniences.*

"Secondly, There will be no great encouragement for any obstinacy of that kind when it shall be remembered that the party obstructing the peace must continue to join in the war, and is liable to all the consequences thereof.

"Thirdly, There is another and a more natural way to peace and to the ending of a war than by agreement, namely, by conquest. *I think he that plays out his set at tennis till he wins it makes as sure an end of it, and more fair, than he that throws up his racket when he wants but a stroke of up, having no other way to rook those of their money that bet on his side.* If I am trusted to follow a suit in law for friends concerned therein, together with myself, and daub up a rotten compromise with my adversary, my fellows not consulted, but desiring the suit should still go on, it is not fit they should be bound thereby; but if I continue to do my duty, and bring the cause to a hearing, to a verdict thereupon, and to judgment upon that, such an end of the quarrel I hope I may make without their leave, and, if the trial went with me, certainly without their offence.

"To return to the nature of confederacies. Is the war wherein we are joined an invasion from without? Any one man of either side, if he have strength enough, hath authority enough to end it by repelling the invader. Is it a rebellion from within? It were strange to think that any law or engagement should hinder a single man from ending it, if he be able, by suppressing of the rebels. *The unworthy friend in the fable, when his companion and he met a bear in the wood, might have been allowed to kill her himself, but he should not have sought his safety in a tree without taking his friend along with him.*

"One thing more I shall add to justify the reason of this eighth article, such as might, for its clearness of being implied, have excused its being listed among the rest. Never did any people that joined in arms with a neighbour nation patch up a peace apart with more dishonour to itself, than either of us should do if we could imagine ourselves to be so vile; for the common enemy in this war is not a stranger unto either kingdom, but the king of both; so as whichever of the two closeth with him by itself, before consent that there shall be at all a closure, doth not only withdraw from the other those aids it should contribute, but of a sworn brother becomes an open enemy.

"Here I must observe, that as you put an interpretation upon this article which it will

hot bear, and, from the power you have thereby of hindering us from agreeing with the king at all, would enable yourselves to pry into the particulars of our agreement, *so you do not once glance at the point which was the true, genuine scope of the article*: you do not protest against our making peace with this man, and give such reasons as Jehu did upon a less occasion: *you do not wonder what confidence we can repose in him, after all this experience of him, and before so much as a promise of any amendment from him: you do not warn us, by the example of your countrymen, what a broken reed we shall lean upon when we make a pacification with him*: you do not remember us with what horror the Assembly of your Church did look upon his misdoings, nor what sense both kingdoms had (not of a reconciliation with him, but) of even suffering him to come near the Parliament of England until satisfaction were given for the blood which he had then caused to be shed in the three kingdoms. In fine, you do not say, for you need not give us your reasons, that you will make no peace with the king, therefore we ought not; but you do as bad as say that you have made your peace already, and that not only without our consent (in despite of the article which you urge against us), but without our privacy; that you are come to a degree beyond being friends with him, to be advocates for him; not in meditating that his submission might be accepted, his crimes obliterated, and their salary remitted, but in asserting the same cause which we have been all this while confuting with our swords—the same cause which, what Englishman or Scotsman soever shall endeavour to maintain in arms, is a declared traitor to his country; and if by his tongue or pen, in that kingdom of the two where he is no native, a manifest incendiary. But there will be time enough to do your errand into Scotland after I have proved England to be a noun substantive, against which you have the shadow of one argument left still.”

The same soundness and sagacity of view, the same vigour of understanding, at once original and practical, equal force and familiarity of illustration, and alike plainness and strength of style, are observable in his treatment of the fifth and last argument of these Scots commissioners.

“*ART. 5.* The strength of your last reason is this: ‘Our Parliament hath formerly communicated unto you the matter of their propositions and of their bills in order to peace, and generally, indeed, whatever hath passed betwixt the king and us since the conjunction of the two kingdoms against him;’ thereupon you have offered us your advice concerning the particulars so communicated, and we have reconsidered them upon your advice, sometimes complying therewith, at other times making it appear to you why we could not. You say, ‘That communication of councils we would never have suffered, if we had not been bound to it, which if we ever were, we still are.’”

“Custom and constant usage, I acknowledge, doth commonly obtain the name of law; but the late practice of some four or five years hath not an aspect reverend enough to deserve the name of custom. It is as old, you will say, as a usage can be that is grounded upon a treaty

of the same age, and shall be sufficient to signify how the parties to the treaty did understand their own meaning. I should not deny this pretence of yours to be more than colourable, if you could prove that our transactions with the king were imparted to you in relation to that engagement; nay, if I could not show you upon what other ground we did, and that we could not reasonably be imagined to do it upon that.

“*First.* To prove what the Parliament had in their intentions when they advised with you, I believe you will not undertake; especially this being the first time, to my remembrance, that this point came in question betwixt us. I shall therefore endeavour to tell you, as near as I can, having been an attentive witness to most of their debates upon that subject, what it was that moved them to give your challenge so much probability of advantage as this amounts unto: you ask that now without being answered, which you were not to have without asking. You were so, and that from these two roots: one was the extraordinary care the Parliament had to omit no act, no circumstance of civility towards you, which might express or preserve the amity and correspondence betwixt them and your masters, though they were not ignorant what extreme prejudice courteous and good-natured men have often drawn upon themselves in their dealing with persons of a contrary disposition; another was, since both kingdoms have been embarked in the same cause, as men of war, and were afterward resolved to trade for peace—since the commodities of both were to be stowed in the same bottom, and bound for the same port, we thought it but an ordinary piece of friendship for us, who could make no markets when we should be arrived without your allowance, to open and let you see, before we launched, our several parcels and instructions concerning what we would export and what bring home; not that we meant to consult you what kind of merchandise you thought fittest for us to deal in (which, questionless, is better known at the Exchange than at Edinburgh), nor to follow such advice therein as you should give us without asking, any farther than we liked it (and so far the best merchant in London is content to be ruled by the swabber of his ship), but *merely to the end you might, if you pleased, from our example, and from your approbation of the wares we were resolved to deal in, furnish that kingdom whose factors you were with merchandise of the same kind*; and for evidence that the freedom we used towards you was no otherwise understood by you; *you did actually underwrite divers of our bills of lading in these syllables, ‘The like for the kingdom of Scotland.’*”

“It remains to be showed how little reason there is you should fancy to yourselves such a ground of the Parliament’s former openness to you as you strive to father upon them; for, first, if they had communicated their propositions to you, as conceiving the word agreement in the eighth article to comprehend all the preparations to, materials of, and circumstances in, an agreement, they would not have adhered, as many times they did, unto their own resolutions, notwithstanding your reiterated dissatisfaction.

"Again: If they had conceived themselves bound to any such thing by this article, would they not have thought the kingdom of Scotland as much bound for their parts? Should we not have been as diligent inspectors and castigators of your propositions as you have made yourselves of ours!

"When you shall ask me (setting the point of duty aside, and granting all that hath been done by us in this kind to have been voluntary) why we do not observe the same forwardness in communicating our matters to you, the same patience in expecting your concurrence with us, and the same easiness of admitting your harangues and disputations among us, which you have heretofore tasted at our hands, and how we are become less friendly than we were! I have this to say, *there is some alteration in the condition of affairs*: so long as we needed the assistance of your countrymen in the field, we might have occasion to give you meetings at Derby House, and now and then in the Painted Chamber, it being likely that the kingdom of Scotland might then have a fellow-feeling with us for the wholesomeness or perniciousness of your counsels; whereas now, since we are able, by God's blessing, to protect ourselves, we may surely, with his holy direction, be sufficient to teach ourselves how to go about our own business, at least without your tutoring, who have nothing in your consideration to look upon but either your particular advantage, or that of the kingdom whence you are; and as there is some alteration in affairs, so there is very much in persons, I mean in yourselves, unless, being indeed the same at first which now we find you, you only wanted an opportunity to appear; but, whether you be changed or discovered, what Englishman soever shall peruse the papers that you have shot into both Houses of Parliament, especially into the House of Commons, these last two years, but would as lief take advice from the king as from you! And if a stranger should read them, he would little suspect the writers for friends or counsellors, but for pleaders, for expostulators, for seekers of a quarrel; and that (which is the most bitter weed in the pot) in the behalf, not so much of them who did employ you, as of him against whom you were employed, and against whom, if you were Scotsmen, nature would teach you to employ yourselves.

"By this time I hope you see we have greater cause to repent that we have kept such thorns thus long in our sides, than to return with the dog to the same vomit, and with the lazy sow, scarce cleansed of her former wallowing, to bemoir ourselves again. I bestow a little the more ink upon this point, because I would prevent like claim hereafter, and leave it left to the liberty of this nation, next time they shall be invaded or oppressed, though they did once call in all their brethren of Scotland to their aid, whether they will do so any more or no."

The bitter severity, the supreme scorn of these masterly sentences, were long remembered and referred to. An entire and perfect contempt scorneth nicer phrase. The close of the paper, so remarkable in every way, illustrates with almost superior force the Republican fervour of Marten's views, the various wit of his illustrations, and the Republican plainness and strength of his style.

"Having gone through your five arguments, at the end of your dozen commandments (so I call desires that must not be slighted on pain of incurring the guilt of violating engagements, and of such dangers as may ensue thereupon), I observe one engine you use, whereon you lay more weight than upon all you say besides: it begins with a flourish of oratory, *bespeaking a fair interpretation of your meaning, though your motion be to take the right eye out of every one of our heads*; then you think to make your desires legitimate with fathering them upon a kingdom, and put us in mind how well that kingdom hath deserved to reign over this; for to the offering of desires, as desires, there needs no merit, sure; but since your opinion (that the advantages of honour lie all on that side, and that obligations of this sort have not been as reciprocal between both nations as those of leagues and treaties) will force my pen upon this subject, I shall let you know that somewhat may be said, when modesty gives leave, on this side too; and yet all the kindnesses we have received from Scotland shall, by my consent, not only be paid for, but acknowledged; and I can be content to believe that our neighbours did not know how ill we were till we were almost past cure, and therefore came slowly to us; that they did not know how well we were in a year after we had nothing for them to do, and therefore went slowly from us; only I would have it confessed that the fire we talk of was of your countrymen's kindling, began to burn at your house, to be quenched at ours, and by our hands.

"But admit this nation had been merely passive in this war, and did owe their deliverance out of the king's talons wholly to the Scots nation: if the rescuer become a ravisher, if they have protected their own prey, they have merited only from themselves, and have their reward in their own hands. *What have we gotten by the bargain? What have we saved? What have we not lost?* For if once you come to fetch away my liberty from me, I shall not ask you what other thing you will leave me; and the liberty of a people governed by laws consists in living under such laws as themselves, or those whom they depute for that purpose, shall make choice of. To give out orders is the part of a commander; to give laws, of a conqueror; although our Norman did not think fit so to exercise his right of conquest; nay, our condition would be lower and more contemptible if we should suffer you to have your will of us in this particular, than if we had let the king have his; for,

"First, *A king is but one master, and therefore likely to sit lighter upon our shoulders than a whole kingdom*; and if he should grow so heavy as cannot well be borne, he may be sooner gotten off than they. You shall see a Monsieur's horse go very proudly under a single man, but to be chargé en croupe is that which nature made a mule for, if nature made a mule at all.

"Secondly, The king never pretended to the framing and imposing of laws upon us, as you do: he would have been content with such a negative voice therein as we allow you in the making of our peace with him. Did we fight rather than afford him so much, though seemingly derived unto him from his predecessors; and shall we tamely give you more—give you

that which your ancestors never yet durst ask of ours?

"Thirdly, It had been far more tolerable for the king than for any foreign nation to have a share in the making of our laws, because he was likely to partake, and that largely, in the benefit of them, if good; in the inconveniences, if bad; which strangers are not; nay, contrarily, it is matter of envy and jealousy betwixt neighbours to see each other in a flourishing estate: so as the proper end of laws being to advance the people for whom they are made in wealth and strength to the uttermost, they are the most incompetent judges of those laws in the world whose interest it is to hinder that people from growing extremely rich or strong.

"But what hath been already said, and by a word or two of close, it will, I hope, appear, that the claim you make to the voting with us in the matter of our laws and the conditions of our peace, as a thing whereunto we should be obliged by agreement, is,

"1. Mistaken in matter of fact, there being no such engagement on either side.

"2. Unreasonable, for the considerations above mentioned, and for being destructive to the very principles of property.

"3. Unequal (notwithstanding the reciprocity), *more than Cyrus's childish judgment was, in making the little boy change coats with the great one, because his was long and the other short; for our coats are not only longer than yours, but as fit for us that do wear them as for you that would.*

"4. Unusual, there being no precedent for it that I could ever read or hear of; and yet there have been leagues betwixt states of a stricter union than this betwixt us, as offensive and defensive, ours only defensive.

"5. Unsafe, for the keeping up of hedges, boundaries, and distinctions (I mean real and jurisdictional ones, not personal and titular) is a surer way to preserve peace among neighbours than the throwing all open. And if every man be not admitted wise enough to do his own business, *whoever hath the longest sword will quickly be the wisest man, and disinherit all his neighbours for fools.*

"6. Impossible to be made good to you, if it had been agreed; for the Parliament itself, from whom you claim, hath not, in my humble opinion, authority enough to erect another authority equal to itself.

"As for your exhortations to piety and loyalty, wherewith you conclude: when you have a mind to offer sacrifice to your God and tribute to your emperor (since the one will not be mocked, and the other should not), you may do well to do it of your own; and to remember THAT THE LATE UNNATURAL WAR, WITH ALL THE CALAMITIES THAT HAVE ENSUED THEREON, TOOK ITS RISE FROM UNNATURAL ENCROACHMENTS UPON THE SEVERAL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF TWO NATIONS, RESOLVED, IT SEEMS, TO HOLD THEIR OWN WITH THE HAZARD OF A WAR, AND ALL THE CALAMITIES THAT CAN ENSUE THEREON."

The result of these exertions against the Scots by Marten and his friends was to establish the irreparable breach so long desired, and prepare the way for the last victory of the Independents. The four bills embodying the conditions of treaty were sent to the king for his

assent.\* The Scots commissioners arrived at the Isle of Wight exactly one day later than the commissioners of the Parliament, and with much formality delivered to the king a protest against the bills, but with the secret object of pressing an alliance with Charles that should put an end to the ascendancy of Cromwell, of Vane, and their bitter assailant Marten. The weak and perfidious king rejected the bills of the Parliament, and at the same instant signed a secret treaty with the Scots, by which he bound himself to renounce Episcopacy, and accept the Covenant in solemn Parliament of both kingdoms. By this act he renounced also forever the character which has so long and so idly been ascribed to him, of the Church of England's martyr. They who say he died for the Church of England cannot say also that he refused to set his hand to the surrender of it. After the treaty the Scots left the Isle of Wight to prepare for war with their brethren of England, and the Parliamentary commissioners returned to London with that news which Vane, Cromwell, Marten, and Ireton were only waiting for to induce them to begin their operations at once for changing the form of government of this country from a monarchy into a republic.

Marten drew up a resolution, which was supported with startling force by Ireton and Cromwell in a short debate recorded by Clement Walker.† The resolution declared "that they would offer no farther addresses or applications to the king; that no addresses or applications should be made by any one without leave of the two Houses; and that whoever contravened this order should be liable to the penalties of treason." After a violent speech from Sir Thomas Wroth in support of the resolution, according to Clement Walker, Ireton rose, and spoke with calm but fatal moderation. He said that "the king had denied that protection to the people which was the condition of obedience to him; that after long patience they should now at last show themselves resolute; that they should not desert the brave men who had fought for them beyond the possibility of retreat or forgiveness, and who would never forsake the Parliament unless the Parliament first forsook them." After some farther debate, Walker adds, "Cromwell brought up the rear." It was time, he said, to answer the public expectation, that they were able and resolved to govern and defend the kingdom by

\* Clarendon has altogether misrepresented the nature of these bills, and directly and unequivocally falsified the description of the last two of them.—See Godwin's *History of the Commonwealth*, ii, 474, note.

† Hist. of Independency, p. 70. Walker's account is borne out by this very striking passage of a pamphlet by May on the "Origin and Progress of the Second Civil War." It is to be found in Massey's *Select Tracts*, vol. i., 166. "On the third of January, the House of Commons debated of this denial of the king: the dispute was sharp, vehement, and high about the state and government of the Commonwealth; and many plain speeches made of the king's obstinate averseness, and the people's too long patience. It was there affirmed that the king, by his denial, had denied his protection to the people of England, for which only subjection is due from them; that, one being taken away, the other falls to the ground; that it is very unjust and absurd that the Parliament (having so often tried the king's affections) should now betray to an implacable enemy both themselves and all those friends who, in a most just cause, had valiantly adventured their lives and fortunes; that nothing was now left for them to do but to take care for the safety of themselves and their friends, and settle the Commonwealth (much otherwise it could not be) without the king."

their own power, and teach the people that they had nothing to hope from a man whose heart God hardened in obstinacy. "Do not," he concluded, "let the army think themselves betrayed to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake, from whom they should meet revenge and justice; do not drive them to despair, lest they seek safety by other means than adhering to you, who will not stick to yourselves; and (*laying his hand on his sword*) how destructive such a resolution in them would be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge." A division after this debate, involving the principle of the resolution, was carried by a majority of 141 to 92, and established beyond question the power of the Independent or (now) Republican party. The Lords, after two days' delay, concurred with the Commons, and a declaration from the Republican officers attested with opportune force the gallant devotion of the army. Charles's last reasonable chance had now disappeared forever!

In all the subsequent proceedings against him Marten acted a foremost and distinguished part. Relying on the good faith of Oliver Cromwell, at this time the most intimate of his friends, he assisted him to the utmost, in common with the other Republicans, in strengthening the civil influences and power of the army. Supposing Cromwell to have already formed to himself his secret projects of ambition, it must nevertheless be admitted that the measures in which Vane and Marten now co-operated with him were not such as seemed likely to conduce to a scheme of personal usurpation. These measures had become absolutely necessary to meet the determined and fierce hostility of two great parties, the Presbyterians and the Royalists (still strong even in their defeat, because the known prejudices and habits of a great majority of the English people in favour of a monarchical executive secretly sustained some of the weakest points of their cause); and Vane and Marten could scarcely have supposed that in promoting the organization of an armed and enthusiastic democracy with a view to surmount these potent obstacles, they were not doing everything within their then limited means to advance the cherished project of a pure republic. But this question, so far as Vane is concerned in it, has already been discussed. Marten's belief in Cromwell's sincerity lasted longer than Vane's, not less, perhaps, because of a less subtle and more relying temper, than that he was, by reason of his commission in the army, more mixed up with the absolute personal interests of that great body.

When Fairfax began his ominous advance upon London, after the famous rendezvous at Newmarket, Marten joined him in his capacity as colonel, and was understood not only to have taken an active share in the various consultations of the officers, but to have assisted Ireton in his famous papers and representations to the House of Commons, drawn up on behalf of the army. Let those who imagine such conduct to have directly favoured the subsequent establishment of military despotism first understand what these representations were. "We are not," says the preamble of one of them, "a mercenary army, hired to serve any arbi-

trary power of state, but called forth and conjured by the several declarations of Parliament to the defence of our own and the people's just rights and liberties; and so we took up arms in judgment and conscience to those ends, and are resolved—according to your first just desires and declarations, and such principles as we have received from your frequent informations and our own common sense concerning these our fundamental rights and liberties—to assert and vindicate them against all arbitrary power, violence, and oppression, and all particular interests and parties whatsoever." This consideration should, indeed, never be lost sight of in pronouncing upon the events of this memorable crisis. When these men saw that all they had fought and bled for in fields where their courage and genius for command had revived memories of the men of Cressy and of Poitiers—when they saw the dearly-won liberty at last within their grasp, endangered by the exclusive and intolerant views of the Presbyterians, they merely stepped out of the ranks wherein they had not fought for hire, but for the interests of their children and their homes, and, as citizens, threw their weight into the scale of parties, with a demand that those interests might not be sacrificed again to the predominance of bigotry or intolerance, no matter what the form they might assume.

A subsequent passage in the paper already quoted will illustrate farther the exact sympathy of Marten and the officers, up to this period and beyond it, with the views of Vane and with the purest doctrines of popular government. "And because," they said, "the present distribution of elections for Parliament members is so very unequal, and the multitude of burgesses for decayed or inconsiderable towns (whose interest in the kingdom would in many not exceed, or in others not equal, ordinary villages) doth give too much and too evident opportunity for men of power to frame parties in Parliament to serve particular interests, and thereby the common interest of the whole is not so minded, or not so equally provided for, we therefore farther desire, That some provision may be now made for such distribution of elections for future Parliaments as may stand with some rule of equality or proportion, as near as may be, to render the Parliament a more equal representative of the whole; as, for instance, that all counties, or divisions and parts of the kingdom (involving inconsiderable towns), may have a number of Parliament-men allowed to their choice proportionably to the respective rates they bear in the common charges and burdens of the kingdom, and not to have more, or some other such like rule. And thus a firm foundation being laid, in the authority and constitution of Parliaments, for the hopes at least of common and equal right and freedom to ourselves and all the freeborn people of this land, we shall, for our parts, freely and cheerfully commit our stock or share of interest in this kingdom into this common bottom of Parliaments; and though it may, for our particulars, go ill with us in one voyage, yet we shall thus hope, if right be with us, to fare better in another." Two centuries were allowed to pass, and a new settlement of the Constitution and the crown was suffered to be



made, before the simple, wise, and manly claims of these Republican officers, headed by the mild and modest Fairfax, the resolute Cromwell, the pure and lofty-minded Ireton, the witty, light-hearted, and so-called mercurial Harry Marten, were conceded to the English people!

Some months after the date of this representation from the army, when the Presbyterians, assisted by some disturbances among the people, and certain desperate intrigues on the part of the king and the Cavaliers, had rallied once again and held momentary sway in the capital, another and a final body of "proposals" was issued from the council of officers. It had been prepared by Ireton and Marten. Its sincerity has been doubted by shrewd and well-judging writers, on the ground that these men were too stanch Republicans to entertain seriously any project that should have for its basis the restoration of the king. This reason, however, is scarcely admissible. Undoubtedly Ireton and Marten were stanchest Republicans; Republicans in theory no less than practically convinced Republicans; Republicans because they held, with the better spirits of Greece and Rome, that man in civil subjection to his fellow-man is incapable of being all that man in the abstract is qualified to be; and Republicans also, because of their practical experience of the utter insincerity, falsehood, and perfidy of the present monarch; but yet, admitting all this, it should not have withheld them from negotiating, under the present distracted circumstances of the kingdom, a certain and immediate purchase of liberty and good government, on behalf and for the advantage of the great mass of their fellow-citizens, even at the sacrifice of the form and the name they loved. And this was what they did in drawing up these memorable proposals. They embodied under them the immortal design of what has been called in modern days, "a monarchy surrounded with Republican institutions," or what Montesquieu would have better called "a republic in disguise."

Had Charles accepted these proposals, and with sincerity redeemed them, his throne and his life would have been saved. He rejected them with infatuated scorn,\* and both were lost. He placed secret reliance still upon the divisions in the city and the Parliament, and, clinging to his detested fondness for intrigue, abandoned himself to the worst fate that awaited him.

Some extracts from these proposals will startle the reader. They present a system of civil and religious reform so entire and perfect, and condense, in a series of compact proposals,

\* See Memoirs of Sir John Berkeley in Masere's Select Tracts, i., p. 366-369. Mr. Hallam most justly remarks of the general character of the proposal, that "the terms were surely as good as Charles had any reason to hope. The severities against his party were mitigated. The grafted obstacles to all accommodation, the Covenant and Presbyterian establishment, were at once removed; or, if some difficulty might occur as to the latter, in consequence of the actual possession of benefices by the Presbyterian clergy, it seemed not absolutely insuperable; for the changes projected in the constitution of Parliament, they were not necessarily injurious to the monarchy. That Parliament shall not be dissolved until it had sat a certain time, was no salutary provision that the triennial act was hardly complete without it. It is, however, probable, from the king's extreme tenaciousness of his prerogative, that those were the conditions that he found most difficult to endure."—*Const. Hist.* i. 286

such a mass of philosophical legislation, as, after a two centuries' march of intellect over the English nation, her liberal ministers and representatives are still only struggling to attain to. In the very Parliament which now sits at Westminster, the same propositions are actually under discussion which formed the major part of these proposals from the council of officers drawn up by Ireton and Marten, and laid upon the table of the House of Commons at the close of 1649 by the younger Vane!\*

The paper opens with a stipulation that the "things hereafter proposed," having been provided for by the Long Parliament, that famous assembly should be dissolved "within a year at most." A plan for reform in the representation is then propounded thus:

1. "That Parliaments may biennially be called, and meet at a certain day, with such provisions for the certainty thereof as in the late act was made for triennial Parliaments, and what farther or other provision shall be found needful by the Parliament to reduce it to more certainty; and upon the passing of this, the said act for triennial Parliaments to be repealed.

2. "Each biennial Parliament to sit one hundred and twenty days certain, unless adjourned or dissolved sooner by their own consent; afterward to be adjournable or dissolvable by the king; and no Parliament to sit past two hundred and forty days from their first meeting, or some other limited number of days now to be agreed on; upon the expiration whereof, each Parliament to dissolve of course, if not otherwise dissolved sooner.

3. "The king, upon advice of the council of state, in the intervals betwixt biennial Parliaments, to call a Parliament extraordinary, provided it meet above seventy days before the next biennial day, and be dissolved at least sixty days before the same, so as the course of biennial elections may never be interrupted.

4. "That this Parliament and each succeeding biennial Parliament, at or before adjournment or dissolution thereof, may appoint committees to continue during the interval, for such purposes as are, in any of these proposals, referred to such committees.

5. "That the elections of the Commons for succeeding Parliaments may be distributed to all counties, or other parts or divisions of the kingdom, according to some rule of equality or proportion, so as all counties may have a number of Parliament members allowed to their choice proportionable to the respective rates they bear in the common charges and burdens of the kingdom, or, according to some other rule of equality or proportion, to render the House of Commons, as near as may be, an equal representative of the whole; and in order thereunto, that a present consideration be had to take off the elections for burghesses for poor, decayed, or inconsiderable towns, and to give some present addition to the number of Parliament members for great counties that have now less than their due proportion, to bring all, at present as near as may be, to such a rule of proportion as aforesaid.

6. "That effectual provision be made for future freedom of elections and certainty of due returns.

7. "That the House of Commons alone have

\* *Parl. Hist.*, xvi., §10.

the power, from time to time, to set down farther orders and rules for the ends expressed in the two last preceding articles, so as to reduce the election of members of that House to more and more perfection of equality in the distribution, freedom in the election, order in the proceeding thereto, and certainty in the returns; which orders and rules, in that case, to be as laws.

8. "That there be a liberty for entertaining dissents in the House of Commons, with a provision that no member be censurable for aught said or voted in the House, farther than to exclusion from that trust, and that only by the judgment of the House itself."

In the succeeding passages it is proposed that the judicial power of both Houses should be strictly limited and defined, and that the formation and attributes of grand juries, the magistracy, and the sheriffs should be better and more justly regulated. How little modern reformers have discovered! how much less they have achieved!

9. "That the judicial power, or power of final judgment in the Lords and Commons, and their power of exposition and application of law, without farther appeal, may be cleared; and that no officer of justice, minister of state, or other person adjudged by them, may be capable of protection or pardon from the king without their advice and consent.

10. "That the right and liberty of the Commons of England may be cleared and vindicated as to a due exemption from any judgment, trial, or other proceeding against them by the House of Peers, without the concurring judgment of the House of Commons; as also from any other judgment, sentence, or proceeding against them other than by their equals, or according to the law of the land.

11. "The same act to provide that grand-jurymen may be chosen by and for several parts or divisions of each county respectively, in some equal way, and not remain, as now, at the discretion of an under-sheriff, to be put on or off; and that such grand-jurymen for their respective counties may, at each assize, present the names of persons to be made justices of peace, from time to time, as the country hath need for any to be added to the commission; and at the summer assize to present the names of three persons, out of whom the king may prick one to be sheriff for the next year."

This most masterly evidence of statesman-like genius stipulates next, that the king's power over the militia be subject to the advice of Parliament, and a council for ten years; that the disqualifications for civil privilege, and compositions for estates incurred by delinquents (adherents to the royal standard), should be settled by a mitigated scale of remarkable moderation and magnanimity; and that for the liberty, security, happiness, and peace of the kingdom, there should be passed acts respectively of confirmation, indemnity, and oblivion. Then came the following noble conditions:

"An act to be passed to take away all coercive power, authority, and jurisdiction of bishops, and all other ecclesiastical officers whatsoever, extending to any civil penalties upon any; and to repeal all laws whereby the civil magistracy hath been or is bound, upon any ecclesiastical censure, to proceed, *ex officio*, unto

any civil penalties against any persons so censured.

"That there be a repeal of all acts or clauses in any act enjoining the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and imposing any penalties for neglect thereof; as also of all acts, or clauses in any act, imposing any penalty for not coming to church, or for meetings elsewhere for prayer or other religious duties, exercises, or ordinances; and some other provision to be made for discovering of Papists and Popish recusants, and for disabling of them, and of all Jesuits or priests, from disturbing the state."

In other words, that tests, and penalties, and obligations of force upon the conscience were not the means. It is a pity that this valuable discovery in morals and in legislation is so grievously wanting of universal application, even now! The next propositions are these:

"That the taking of the Covenant be not enforced upon any, nor any penalties imposed upon the refusers, whereby men might be constrained to take it against their judgments or consciences; but all orders or ordinances tending to that purpose to be repealed.

"That (the things here before proposed being provided for settling and securing the rights, liberties, peace, and safety of the kingdom) his majesty's person, his queen, and royal issue, may be restored to a condition of safety, honour, and freedom in this nation, without diminution to their personal rights, or farther limitation to the exercise of the legal power than according to the particulars aforegoing."

A supplement of residuary matters followed, which it was desired no time should be lost by the Parliament in despatch of, since they would tend, "in a special manner, to the welfare, ease, and just satisfaction of the kingdom." Some of these are striking to the last degree in their application to the present day, to its wants and claims. They begin by demanding "that the just and necessary liberty of the people to represent their grievances and desires by way of petition may be cleared and vindicated," and that, "in pursuance of the same, the common grievances of the people may be speedily considered of and effectually redressed." Several are thus particularized, and the majority of them still wait redress! They ask, for instance, that "the excise may be taken off from such commodities whereon the poor people of the land do ordinarily live, and a certain time to be limited for taking off the whole." They demand that "the oppressions and encroachments of forest laws may be prevented for the future," and that "all monopolies, old or new, and restraints to the freedom of trade, be taken off." They stipulate next that "a course may be taken, and commissioners appointed, to remedy and rectify the inequality of rates, being upon several counties, and several parts of each county, in respect of others, and to settle the proportions for land-rates to more equality throughout the kingdom; in order to which, we shall offer some farther particulars, which we hope may be useful." And they require, in words of sad and significant import at this time, that "the present unequal, troublesome, and contentious way of ministers' maintenance by tithes be considered of, and some remedy applied." They proceed to claim, afterward, that simple reform of the law

in ordinary processes, which is wanted still, in asking that "the rules and course of law, and the officers of it, may be so reduced and reformed, as that all suits and questions of right may be more clear and certain in the issues, and not so tedious nor chargeable in the proceedings as now; in order to which, we shall offer some farther particulars hereafter."

I transcribe the demand which follows with a mingled feeling of astonishment, of regret, and shame. What miseries—miseries more frightful, because hidden from the universal gaze, and borne in secrecy and silence—have since flowed from the injustice for which this demand suggested a simple and effectual remedy—that very remedy which is at this moment, with a melancholy and almost hopeless earnestness, prayed for by the thousands of heart-broken men who are the last victims to that accursed principle of the infamy of poverty which is here condemned by the statesmen of the seventeenth century, and which, with the passage of two hundred years, has not yet ceased its disgrace and reproach to the English character and name. They require "that prisoners for debt, or other debtors, who have estates to discharge them, may not, by embracing imprisonment or any other ways, have advantage to defraud their creditors, but that the estates of all men may be some way made liable to their debts (as well as tradesmen are by commissions of bankrupt), whether they be imprisoned for it or not; and that such prisoners for debt, who have not wherewith to pay, or at least do yield up what they have to their creditors, may be freed from imprisonment, or some way provided for, so as neither they nor their families may perish by their imprisonments." The stipulations which succeed are dictated by the same noble spirit of justice and humanity. "Some provisions to be made that none may be compelled, by penalties or otherwise, to answer unto questions tending to the accusing of themselves or their nearest relations in criminal causes, and no man's life to be taken away under two witnesses. That consideration may be had of all statutes, and the laws and customs of corporations, imposing any oaths, either to repeal, or else to qualify and provide against the same, so far as they may extend or be construed to the molestation or ensnaring of religious and peaceable people merely for nonconformity in religion."

Such were the views and sentiments, and such the genius for government, of the men who now (to resume the narrative), upon another temporary ascendancy of the Presbyterians after the vote of non-addresses—upon seeing the former solemn resolution of the House mocked by the commencement of another personal treaty with the king—upon a melancholy conviction of the absolute insincerity and inveterate perfidy of Charles's friends, prepared themselves for the last decisive steps that should overthrow the English monarchy. Fairfax and his officers, in a body, presented a remonstrance to the House, calling for the immediate breaking up of the treaty, and for justice on the king as the "capital source of all grievances."\* At about the same instant they seized once more the person of the king, and "Colonel Harry Marten," Rushworth tells us,†

"went hence to Lieutenant-general Cromwell." He left London suddenly and joined that leader, still engaged against the Scots. His purpose, no doubt, was to consult with him respecting the menacing attitude taken by the Presbyterians. After some days' absence, he returned to London as suddenly as he had quitted it.

The Presbyterians had been warding off the army remonstrance by successive adjournments. The remonstrance was now followed up by the more startling announcement of the resolve of the army "to purge the House," since by that means only they could stop the treaty. The Presbyterians, plucking up an unwonted courage on the eve of their last defeat, at once determined, by a division of 133 to 102, to go into discussion of the treaty. In this discussion Vane was defeated on his famous motion for a return to the vote of non-addresses, after a speech in which he stated the question openly as between a monarchy and a republic, by a division of 140 to 104. There had been, according to Prynne, upward of 340 members present during this discussion; but many, from age and infirmity, had been unequal to the fatigue of sitting through the whole day and night till nine next morning, the period of the duration of the adjourned debate.

Next morning (the army having advanced meanwhile from Windsor upon London) the city guard was withdrawn from Westminster by its commander Skippon, and the posts were occupied by three regiments under the command of Sir Hardress Waller, Colonel Hewson, and Colonel Pride. The latter officer, with a list in his hand, took his station at the door of the House of Commons, and as the members entered and were identified by the doorkeeper and Lord Grey of Groby, who stood near Pride for the purpose, arrested in succession, and during a period of three days, the Presbyterian majority, in all upward of a hundred and fifty members, several of whom were afterward unconditionally restored. The little that need be urged respecting this measure has been glanced at in the Life of Vane. That great statesman at once withdrew from a scene in which such an outrage on the foundation of all that had been done for the past seven years of war, and of all that he yet hoped to do for the people—a popular and representative body—had become fatally necessary in the views of those with whom he had heretofore acted. It is probable he at once saw the mischievous purposes such a precedent might suggest in the breast of Cromwell—a thought which does not seem to have yet occurred to any of the other trusted leaders of the Independents. Marten's faith in Cromwell was certainly still undisturbed.

Cromwell arrived in London the second day after the purge; and it was Henry Marten, who, having entered the House of Commons with him that day, "arm in arm," afterward rose from his place and moved that the speaker should return him thanks for his great and eminent services performed in the course of the campaign.\* This was done with acclamation; and the day after, the two Houses adjourned to the 12th of the then month, December, 1648-9.

\* Rush., vii., 1331. Parl. Hist., xvi. † Vol. vii., 1365.

\* Wood's Ath. Ox., iii., 1220. Journals. Clement Walker, 94.

Several meetings of the council of the army took place in the interval of this adjournment, at which the treatment of the king was of course warmly debated. "At this consultation of the first commanders in the army," says a Royalist writer, "Marten, as a colonel, attended, and he cut the matter short by telling them 'they should serve his majesty as the English did his Scotch grandmother—cut off his head.' This horrid advice was adopted, and he was the first to dispose of everything for the completion of the villany." This must be taken with allowance; but it may be admitted that he was the first to utter openly, at this great crisis, as he had done on occasions less important, the thoughts that lay lurking in the breasts of the majority of his associates.

The first step against the life of the king attempted in the House of Commons was taken on the 23d of December, when, in the discussion of one of the proposals of the army that "justice should be done upon delinquents," Charles the First was mentioned by name as the capital delinquent, and a committee of thirty-eight appointed to prepare charges against him. The most prominent members of this committee were Henry Marten and Thomas Scot, the latter a man of genius and courage, variously accomplished, a masterly orator, and an ardent Republican. Widdington and Whitelocke, the keepers of the seal, were also on the committee, but on being sent for on the second or third day of its deliberations, they "went out of town together, that they might have no concern in the business."\*

Another anecdote of Marten's share in these deliberations rests also on Royalist authority. A witness (Sir Purbeck Temple) swore against him on his trial that he overheard from a place of concealment one of the consultations previous to the king's trial, at which Cromwell and Marten, and many others, were present, in the course of which much doubt and anxiety were expressed; and he overheard Cromwell ask the others, "'I desire you to let us resolve here what answer we shall give the king when he comes before us; for the first question that he will ask us will be, By what authority and commission do we try him?' to which none answered presently; then, after a little space, Henry Marten, the prisoner at the bar, rose up and said, 'In the name of the Commons and Parliament assembled, and all the good people of England,' which none contradicted."

Charles had meanwhile arrived at Windsor, and on the 28th received an ominous order from the council of war that he should no longer be served by cupbearer or carver on bended knee, and that the other ceremonials of regal state had been ordered to be discontinued. The end was now in view, and Charles prepared to meet it with becoming firmness. The last scene of all, once bounded with hopelessness, is no longer a difficult scene to act; and from this instant, in the heroic sufferings of the man, we are only too much inclined to forget the part he had played as king. "Is there anything more contemptible," he asked of his faithful Herbert, "than a despised prince?" But over that character he threw a

pathetic lustre, which we seek for in vain throughout his high and palmy days.

On the same ominous 28th of December, an ordinance for the king's trial was carried into the House of Commons. Some days before, Marten, Ireton, and Ludlow had been added to the committee of executive government at Derby House, and measures were now in progress there for the alteration of all the insignia of government into symbols of a republic.

On the 1st of January, the committee of thirty-eight, having sat and examined witnesses, reported to the House of Commons a charge against the king, beginning with the terrible words, "That the said Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and therein trusted with a limited power to govern by and according to the laws of the land, and not otherwise; and, by his trust, oath, and office, being obliged to use the power committed to him for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preservation of their rights and liberties; yet, nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and tyrannical power, to rule according to his will, and to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people; yea, to take away and make void the foundations thereof, and of all redress and remedy of misgovernment, which, by the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom, were reserved, on the people's behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive Parliaments, or national meetings in council: he, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishing of such his designs, and for the protecting of himself and his adherents in his and their wicked practices to the same ends, hath traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament and the people therein represented." In support of this, various overt acts are recited, including the battles of Edge Hill, Newbury, and Naseby.

The ordinance and the charge were sent up to the Lords on the 2d of January (with a resolution from the Commons that it is treason for the king to levy war against the Parliament and kingdom), and at once unanimously rejected. It is curious, however, that their lordships at the same time "adjourned for a week," which, in the circumstances of the country, was tantamount to a declaration that they would take no farther part in the conduct of its affairs. In the light of an abdication the Commons certainly seem to have considered it; for on the 3d of January Marten went up to "examine the journal-book of the House of Peers, to see how the business stood as to the resolution and ordinance." On his return, the ordinance was at once directed to be brought in anew; six lords and three judges before named were ordered to be omitted, and an addition made of two sergeants, Bradshaw and Nicholas. The ordinance, with these alterations, was immediately read a first and second time, and the resolution revoked of treason against the king in the name of the Commons only, it having before been voted with a blank for the Lords. On the day following this, they passed, with closed doors, these three momentous resolutions: "That the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, do declare, That the people are, under God, the original

\* Whitelocke, Journal of 26th of December.

of all just power; and do also declare, That the Commons of England, in Parliament assembled, being chosen by representing the people, have the supreme power in this nation; and do also declare, That whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by the Commons in Parliament assembled, hath the force of a law; and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent and concurrence of king or House of Peers be not had thereunto."

On the 6th, the ordinance was read a third time and passed. The number of commissioners named in it was 135.\* Of these there were Viscount Lisle, son to the Earl of Leicester; Lord Grey of Groby, son to the Earl of Stamford; Lord Monson, of the kingdom of Ireland; General Lord-viscount Fairfax; Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Major-general Skippon, Commissary-general Ireton, Colonel Marten, and all the colonels of the army; with three sergeants-at-law, John Bradshaw, Robert Nicholas, and Francis Thorpe; the speaker of the House of Commons and five barristers, Alexander Rigby, Roger Hill, Miles Corbet, John Lisle, and William Say; five aldermen of London, one knight of the Bath, eleven baronets, and ten knights. Of these commissioners, eighty-two were members of the House of Commons.† The only great name of the time absent from the list was the name of Sir Henry Vane the younger.‡

On the 8th of January, the commissioners sat for the first time in the Painted Chamber in Westminster Hall. Fifty-three were present, including Fairfax, who never appeared again. Counsel and the officers of the court were nominated at this sitting; due proclamation was made in Westminster Hall by the sergeant-at-arms of the coming trial; and a similar proclamation was demanded of the House

of Commons to be made at the old Exchange and in Cheapside, which was made accordingly.

On the 9th of January, the report of the committee for the construction of a new great seal was carried into the House of Commons by Henry Marten.\* It recommended that on the one side there should be engraved the map of England and Ireland, with the inscription, "the Great Seal of England," and on the other, a representation of the House of Commons, with the inscription, "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing RESTORED." The instructions of the committee were at once adopted, and the new seal ordered to be prepared with all convenient despatch.†

Marten used on another and more memorable occasion this word of remarkable import, RESTORED. Mr. D'Israeli has related the anecdote in his ingenious memorials of Charles the First,‡ and I subjoin it in his words: "In drawing up the remonstrances of the army, which changed the monarchy into a commonwealth, this Sheridan of his day had said, 'RESTORED to its ancient government of Commonwealth.' A member rose to reprimand, and to wonder at the impudence of Harry Marten, asserting the antiquity of Commonwealth, of which he had never before heard. The wit rejoined by a whimsical illustration of the propriety of the term, and the peculiar condition of the man who had now heard it for the first time. 'There was,' said Harry, 'a text which had often troubled his spirit concerning the man who was blind from his mother's womb, but at length whose sight was restored to the sight which he should have had.' The witticism was keen, though almost as abstruse as the antiquity of an English commonwealth." This illustration was keen indeed, and by no means so abstruse as Mr. D'Israeli supposes.

On the 10th the commissioners again met, and chose the president of their court in the person of John Bradshaw, sergeant-at-law and chief justice of Chester. To preside on so ex-

\* In the original ordinance the names are said to have been 150. If from this number we take away nine, and then add two, the result ought to be 143. There were, therefore, other omissions and variations.

† Of these 135, seventy-one was the largest number ever present at the trial. Sixty-seven were present on the day when sentence was pronounced. Forty-three only appeared the next day, when the execution was ordered. Fifty-nine signed the death-warrant. Some few of the commissioners attended the preliminary meetings in the Painted Chamber, but never sat as judges. From forty to fifty of the commissioners appear never to have taken any part in the proceedings, notwithstanding the summonses ordered by the court, and the exertions of the sergeant-at-arms.

‡ The name of Algernon Sidney appears in it, but he only attended the preliminary meetings in the Painted Chamber, and never attended the court after the trial commenced. His own allusion to the trial remains, and he is too distinguished a person to have his opinion omitted on an occasion so memorable. He says, "I was at Penshurst when the act for the king's trial passed, and, coming up to town, I heard that my name was put in. I presently went to the Painted Chamber, where those who were nominated for judges were assembled. A debate was raised, and I positively opposed the proceeding. Cromwell using these formal words, 'I tell you, we will cut off his head with the crown on it,' I replied, 'You may take your own course, I cannot stop you; but I will keep myself clear from having any hand in this business;' and saying thus, I immediately left them, and never returned. This is all that passed publicly. I had indeed an intention, which is not very fit for a letter."

—Blencowe, p. 257. It is not, perhaps, difficult to fix what this intention was. Clarendon says that, among the more violent party against the king, there were three opinions: one was for deposing him, another for secret assassination, and a third for bringing him to public trial as a malefactor. It was the last of these opinions that Sidney states himself to have opposed. The mode of secret assassination we well know to have been most alien to his nature. There cannot be a question but that, with Vane, he would have preferred the deposition of Charles.

\* "To Mr. H. Marten," says one of the Royalist writers, "was referred all the alterations in the public arms, in the great seal, and the legends upon the money. It was singular that the cross made a part of the first. Upon the money was a shield, bearing the cross of St. George, encircled with a palm and olive-branch, inscribed, 'The Commonwealth of England;' and on the reverse, 'God with us, 1648,' which gave occasion to some to remark that God and the Commonwealth were not on the same side."

† In Whitelocke's Memorials the vote is thus recorded: "Votes that the present great seal shall be broken, and a new one forthwith made; and, in the mean time, all proceedings under the present great seal to be good till the new one be confirmed. That the arms of England and of Ireland shall be engraven on one side of the new great seal, with this inscription, 'the Great Seal of England.' That on the other side of the seal shall be the sculpture, or map of the House of Commons sitting, with these words engraven on that side: 'In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648.' This was, for the most part," adds Whitelocke, "the fancy of Mr. Henry Marten, a noted member of the House of Commons, more particularly the inscription." It is, perhaps, worth adding, that on the very day of these votes, Whitelocke and Widdrington, by mutual agreement, made their appearance in the House, that they might not, by inference, be included among the members who refused all concern with the present government. Whitelocke, in a very curious, and certainly ingenious passage of his memorials, remarks: "January 13, we heard demurrers, forenoon and afternoon, in the queen's court: the counsel were more peremptory and unsatisfied than ordinary, and used to like declining officers." The next day he says, "Some told us, for news, that new commissioners of the great seal were to be appointed, Sergeants Bradshaw, Thorpe, and Nicholas. This was supposed to be discourse only, as some would have it."

‡ Vol. v., 438.

traordinary an occasion, it is most justly observed,\* demanded from the man who was appointed to the office great courage, great presence of mind, sound judgment, a composed and impressive carriage, and a character unstained with reproach or the imputation of any vice. And such a man was Bradshaw. "Being of a distinguished family," says Milton, in his *Defensio secunda pro populo Anglicano*,† "he devoted the early part of his life to the study of the laws of his country. Thence he became an able and an eloquent pleader, and subsequently discharged all the duties of an uncorrupt judge. In temper neither gloomy nor severe, but gentle and placid, he exercised in his own house the rites of hospitality in an exemplary manner, and proved himself on all occasions a faithful and unfailing friend. Ever eager to acknowledge merit, he assisted the deserving to the utmost of his power. Forward at all times to publish the talents and worth of others, he was always silent respecting his own. No one more ready to forgive, he was yet impressive and terrible when it fell to his lot to pour shame on the enemies of his country. If the cause of the oppressed was to be defended, if the favour or the violence of the great was to be withstood, it was impossible, in that case, to find an advocate more intrepid or more eloquent, whom no threats, no terrors, and no rewards could seduce from the plain path of rectitude."

The counsel for the prosecution were next fixed upon, and the choice fell on Steele, Coke, Dr. Dorislaus, and Aske. Steele was named

\* Godwin, Hist. of Com.

† Milton was Bradshaw's kinsman by the mother's side. The whole of the original passage in which Bradshaw is delineated is too noble and too appropriate for omission here. "Est Joannes Bradshawus (quod nomen libertas ipsa, quousque gentium colitur, memoris sempiternæ celebrandum commendavit), nobili familia, ut satis notum est, ortus; unde patriis legibus addiscendis, primam omnem statem studio impendit; dein consiliis causarum ac disertissimum patrum, libertatis et populi vindicæ acerrimus, et magnis reipublice negotiis est adhibitus, et incorrupti iudicis munere aliquoties perfunctus. Tandem uti regis iudicio præsidere vellet, a senatu rogatus, provinciam sane periculatissimam non recusavit. Attulerat enim ad legum scientiam ingenium liberale, animam exceleam, mores integros ac nemini obnoxios; unde illud munus cuius prope exemplo cupis ac formidabilis, tot scicorum pugionibus ac minis peritus, ita constanter, ita graviter, tanta animi cum præsentia ac dignitate gravit atque implevit, ut ad hoc ipsum apud, quod jam olim Deus edendum in hoc populo mirabili providentia decreverat, ab ipso numine designatus atque factus videretur, et tyrannicidarum omnium gloriam tantum superaverit, quanto est humanius, quanto justius, ac majestatis plenius, tyrannum judicare, quam injudicatum occidere. Aliquis nec tristis, nec severus, sed comis ac placidus, personam tamen quam suscepit tantam, æqualis ubique sibi, ac voluti consil non unius anni, pari gravitate sustinet: ut non de tribunali tantum, sed per omnem vitam judicare regem diceret. In consiliis ac laboribus publicis maxime omnium indefessus, multique par unus; domi, si quis alius, pro suis facultatibus hospitalis ac splendidus, amicus longe sollicitissimus, atque in omni fortuna certissimus, bene merentis quousque nemo citius aut libentius agnoscit, neque majore benevolentia prosequitur; nunc pius, nunc doctus, nunc quavis ingenii laude cognitus, nunc militares etiam et fortis vires ad inopiam redactus suis opibus sublevar; si non indignus, colit tamen libens atque amplectitur; alienas laudes perpetuo predicare, suas tacere, solitus; hostium quoque civilium, si quis ad sanitatem rediit, quod experti sunt plerumque, nemo ignoscentior. Quid si causa oppressi oppugnatione defendenda palam, si gratia aut vis potentiorum oppugnatione, si in quemquam bene meritum, ingratitude publicè obrepanda sit, tum quidem in illo viro, vel facundiam vel constantiam nemo desideret. non patrum, non amicorum, vel adeoque magis ac intrepidam, vel disertiorum alium quousque sibi aptos; habet, quem non minus dimovere recto, nec metus aut memora proposito bono atque officio, vultusque ac mentis firmissimo statu deponere valeant."

attorney to the court, and Coke solicitor. Steele being prevented from attending the court by real or pretended sickness, the task principally fell upon Coke. It is somewhat singular, as Mr. Godwin remarks, that this person, in his travels in early life, trod almost exactly upon the steps of Milton. At Rome he spoke so openly against the corruptions of the Catholic Church, that it was not judged safe for him to continue any longer in that place; and at Geneva he resided some months in the house of Diodati, the professor of theology, with whom Milton also formed an intimate friendship. His skill as a lawyer was acknowledged by his enemies; and, indeed, it is impossible to read the speech he drew up for the trial without admiring its strength and acuteness.

These awful preliminaries having been completed with that solemn publicity which befitted such an occasion, the king was brought privately from Windsor to St. James's, and on the following morning, the 30th of January, 1649, conducted by Colonel Harrison from St. James's to Westminster. A scene awaited him there, which called, and not in vain, for an exercise of dignity and firmness unsurpassed in the history of kings.

Westminster Hall, fitted up as a "high court of justice," received him. In the centre of the court, on a crimson velvet chair, sat Bradshaw, dressed in a scarlet robe, and covered by his famous "broad-brimmed hat,"\* with a desk and velvet cushion before him, Say and Lisle on each side of him, and the two clerks of the court sitting below him at a table, covered with a rich Turkey carpet, on which were laid the sword of state and a mace. The rest of the court, with their hats on, and, according to Rushworth, "in their best habits," took their seats on side benches hung with scarlet. A numerous guard of gentlemen carrying partisans divided themselves on each side. Such was the simple appearance in itself of this memorable court. When its members had all taken their seats, the great gates of the Hall were thrown open, and the vast area below was at once filled with crowds of the English people, eager to witness the astonishing spectacle of a monarch brought to account for crimes committed in the period of his delegated authority. This presence of the people was the grandest feature of the scene. Surrounding galleries were also filled with spectators.

Charles entered, and advanced up the side of the Hall next the Thames, from the house of Sir Robert Cotton. He was attended by Colonels Tomlinson and Hacker, by thirty two officers holding partisans, and by his own servants. The sergeant-at-arms, with his mace, received him and conducted him to the bar, where a crimson velvet chair was placed for him, facing the court. After a stern and steadfast gaze on the court, and on the people in the galleries on each side of him, Charles placed himself in the chair, and the moment after, as if recollecting something, rose up and turned about, looking down the vast hall, first on the guards which were ranged on its left or western side, and then on the eager waving multitude of the people which filled the space

\* This was a thick, high-crowned beaver, lined with steel. It is to this day preserved at Oxford.

the right. No visible emotion escaped him; but as he turned again, his eye fell upon the escutcheon which bore the newly-designed arms of the Commonwealth, on each side of which sat Oliver Cromwell and Henry Marten,\* and he sank into his seat. The guard attending him divided on each side of the court, and the servants who followed him to the bar stood on the left of their master.

Bradshaw now addressed the king, and told him that the Commons of England, assembled in Parliament, being deeply sensible of the evils and calamities which had been brought on the nation, and the innocent blood that had been spilled, and having fixed on him as the principal author, had resolved to make inquisition for this blood, and to bring him to trial and judgment; and had therefore constituted this court, before which he was brought to hear his charge, after which the court would proceed according to justice. Coke, the solicitor, then delivered in, in writing, the charge, which the clerk read. The king endeavoured to interrupt the reading, but the president commanded the clerk to go on, and told Charles that if he had anything to say after, the court would hear him. The charge stated that he, the king, had been intrusted with a limited power to govern according to law, being obliged to use that power for the benefit of the people, and the preservation of their rights and liberties; but that he had designed to erect in himself an unlimited power, and to take away the remedy of misgovernment, reserved in the fundamental Constitution, in the right and power of frequent and successive Parliaments. It then proceeded to enumerate the principal occasions on which, in execution of his purpose of levying war on the present Parliament, he had caused the blood of many thousands of the free people of this nation to be shed; and it affirmed all these purposes and this war to have been carried on for the upholding a personal interest of will and power, and a pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the public interest, and common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation. The charge being read, the president demanded Charles's answer.

During the reading Charles is said to have smiled at the words "tyrant" and "traitor" which occurred in the course of it; but, two or three minutes after, a trivial incident changed the current of his thoughts, and gave him a more awful sense of the situation in which he stood. "In touching Coke gently on the shoulder with his cane, and bidding him 'Hold!' its gold head dropped off, and he who was accustomed to be served with eager anticipation and slavish genuflection, was left to take it up himself. This omen is said to have waked his superstition. It was no less calculated to affect him through his reason."†

He had rallied, however, before the demand of Bradshaw for his answer, and replied to it with great ability, and in a very grave and collected manner. He observed that, not long before, in the Isle of Wight, he had been en-

gaged in a treaty with both Houses of Parliament, and that the treaty had been very near a conclusion. He knew not, therefore, by what authority he had been brought there, other than the authority of thieves and robbers. He saw no House of Lords in that court, and he affirmed that a king also was necessary to constitute a Parliament. He said that he had a trust committed to him by God, and derived to him by old and lawful descent, and that he would not betray it by answering to a new and unlawful authority. He concluded that, when he was satisfied of the authority by which he was brought there to answer, he would proceed farther. Bradshaw at once, and in a speech of much subtlety, overruled the objection to the competency of the court, and ordered the counsel to proceed.

The second and third days of the trial were consumed in similar discourses. The court would not allow the authority by which they sat there to be disputed, and the king desired that he might give his reasons. This produced interruption and altercation. The president informed him that the court was satisfied of the authority by which they sat there, and that they overruled his demurrer. They then caused the king's contumacy to be recorded, by which he refused to plead before them.\*

The fourth and fifth days of the trial were employed in hearing witnesses, the court having determined that, though the king refused to plead, they would proceed to this examination *ex abundanti* only, for the farther satisfaction of themselves. The court sat during these days in the Painted Chamber. On the sixth day the commissioners were engaged in determining and voting the sentence with which the trial was to be completed.

The duty of "preparing the draught of a final sentence, with a blank for the manner of death," was now intrusted to Henry Marten (who had attended every day of the trial), to Thomas Scot, to Henry Ireton, to Harrison, Say, Lisle, and Love. The next day (the 26th of January) this sentence was engrossed at a private meeting, and the 27th appointed for the last sitting of the court.

On that memorable and most melancholy day, the king was brought for the last time to Westminster Hall. As he proceeded along the passages to the court, some of the soldiers and of the rabble set up a cry of "Justice!" "Justice, and execution!" This, Mr. Godwin justly remarks, exactly corresponds with the spirit of the mutiny which took place in the army in November, 1647. These men distrusted the good faith of their leaders; and, seeing that six days had now passed without any conclusion, suspected, as the manner of rude and ignorant men is, that there was some foul play and treachery. One of the soldiers upon guard said, "God bless you, sir." The king thanked him; but his officer struck him with his cane. "The punishment," said Charles, "methinks, exceeds the offence." The king, when he had retired, asked Herbert, who attended him, whether he had heard the cry for justice, who answered he did, and wondered at it. "So did not I," said Charles: "the cry was no doubt

\* D'Israeli, v., 429.

† History from Mackintosh, vi., 119; in which volume, I may add, the principal incidents of the Commonwealth are most ably, and in a philosophic spirit and temper, related by the historian.

\* Godwin, ii., 673.

given by their officers, for whom the soldiers would do the like, were there occasion."\*

Placed for the last time at the bar, Charles, without waiting for the address of Bradshaw, whose appearance betokened judgment, desired of the court that, before an "ugly sentence" was pronounced upon him, he might be heard before the two Houses of Parliament, he having something to suggest which nearly concerned the peace and liberty of the kingdom. The court would at once have rejected this proposal (which was, in effect, tantamount to a demand for the reversal of all that had been done, and a revocation of the vote that had been passed, declaring the people, under God, the original of all just power, and that the Commons' House in Parliament, as representing the people, were the supreme power) but for the expressed dissatisfaction of Commissioner Downes, a timid and insincere man, in consequence of which the sitting was broken up, and the court retired to deliberate in private. They returned in half an hour with a unanimous refusal of the request.

It is supposed by many writers that Charles purposed, in case they had assented, to resign the crown in favour of his son; but if so, it has been fairly asked,\* Why did he not make the offer known in some other way? It would have produced its effect as certainly if promulgated in any other mode, and would, at all events, have bequeathed to posterity the full knowledge "to what extremity he was willing to advance for the welfare of his people, and to save his country from the stain of regicide." The supposition of that intention does scarcely, in fact, seem probable. Charles had wedded himself to his kingly office, and had now accustomed himself to look on death as the seal that should stamp their union and the fame of martyrdom indelibly and forever. His real purpose in making the request must remain a secret, equally with the well-considered motives of the commissioners in refusing it.

Bradshaw now rose to pronounce the sentence. "What sentence," he said, "the law affirms to a tyrant, traitor, and public enemy, that sentence you are now to hear read unto you, and that is the sentence of the court." The clerk then read it at large from a scroll of vellum. After reciting the appointment and purpose of the high court, the refusal of the king to acknowledge it, and the charges proved upon

\* Other and more brutal outrages, such as the soldiers pulling the smoke of their tobacco in his face, have been repeated and reiterated in print, and are yet gross fabrications.—(See Bruden, iv., 199, note.) Clarendon and Warwick say that one or more of the soldiers spit in Charles's face. But both Clarendon and Warwick were at a distance from the scene; Herbert, who was constantly near the king, says no such thing. Whitelocke also, an unexceptionable witness, is silent. In Rushworth, p. 1425, we find the words put into Charles's mouth, on the cry of the soldiers, "Poor souls! for a piece of money they would do as much for their commanders." But it is not denied that several of the latter parts of Rushworth's Collections were tampered with after his death, and before their publication. The words in question are, in fact, copied from Sanderson, p. 1132. Milton (*Defensio Secunda*) has given himself the trouble to contradict the tale, that one of the soldiers was destroyed for saying God bless you, sir. The passion of succeeding times was to run a parallel between the last days of Charles and the crucifixion of Christ. "Suffering many things like to Christ" is Sanderson's expression. [The 30th of January is still regarded as a fast-day in the English Church, and a service for morning and evening, in commemoration of KING CHARLES THE MARTYR, is to be found in the Prayer Book. It has not yet been used on this side the Atlantic.—C.]

† Godwin, Hist. of Commonwealth, ii., 677.

him, it concluded thus: "for all which treasons and crimes, this court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, shall be put to death by severing his head from his body." Then Bradshaw again rose and said, "The sentence now read and published is the act, sentence, judgment, and resolution of the whole court;" upon which, all the commissioners stood up by way of declaring their assent. The unhappy king now solicited permission to speak, but was refused. The words which passed between him and Bradshaw are worthy of record, as a most pathetic consummation of the melancholy scene. The fortitude and dignity which had sustained Charles throughout appears at last to have somewhat given way, but in its place we recognise a human suffering and agony of heart to the last degree affecting. "Will you hear me a word, sir!" he asked. "Sir," replied Bradshaw, "you are not to be heard after the sentence." "No, sir!" exclaimed the king. "No, sir, by your favour," retorted the president. "Guards, withdraw your prisoner." Charles then exclaimed, with a touching struggle of deep emotion, "I may speak after the sentence! By your favour, sir! I may speak after the sentence! Even! By your favour—" A stern monosyllable from Bradshaw interrupted him, "Hold!" and signs were given to the guards. With passionate entreaty the king again interfered. "The sentence, sir! I say, sir, I do—" Again Bradshaw said "Hold!" and the king was taken out of court as these words broke from him: "I am not suffered to speak. Expect what justice other people will have!"

In the short interval that remained to him, every consolation of spiritual advisers, or of the society of Friends, was granted by the governors of the Commonwealth. He passed the 28th of January, which was Sunday, alone with Doctor Juxon, engaged in exercises of devotion. On the Monday he received the farewell visit of his children. At this moment he might himself have said, with his old and betrayed friend Strafford, "Put not your trust in princes!" None of the princes of Europe had offered an intercession in his favour. A republic alone, that of the United Provinces, interposed with a desire that his life might be spared.\*

The warrant for his execution—the "bloody warrant," as history calls it—had meanwhile (on the 29th) been signed by the fifty-nine commissioners, who have by that act made their names memorable forever.† A scene of an

\* Journals of Lords, Jan. 29 and Feb. 2; of Commons, Jan. 29, 30.

† It was in these words: "Whereas Charles Stuart, king of England, is and standeth convicted, attainted, and condemned of high treason and other high crimes; and sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this court, to be put to death by the severing of his head from his body, of which sentence execution yet remaineth to be done. These are, therefore, to will and require you to see the said sentence executed in the open street, before Whitehall, upon the morrow, being the 30th day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning and five in the afternoon of the same day, with full effect. And for so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant. And these are to require all officers, soldiers, and others, the good people of this nation of England, to be assisting unto you in this service."

"To Col. Francis Harker, Col. Huncks, and Lieut.-col. Phray, and to every of them."

"Given under our hands and seals."

(Sealed and subscribed by)

"John Bradshaw, Thomas Grey, Oliver Cromwell, Ed-



extraordinary character between Marten and Cromwell is said to have occurred on the signing of this warrant. As Cromwell advanced to the table with the pen, he laughingly marked Marten's face with the ink, and the same practical jest was returned with interest by Marten. The anecdote rests on the authority of a detestable collection of slanders, "The Trials of the Regicides;" but I give it, because, on its being sworn to at his trial, Marten himself, without denying it, simply remarked that the circumstance did not imply malice. He had been pleading his utter want of malice against the king personally in all he did, when the crown counsel observed, "We shall prove against the prisoner at the bar (because he would wipe off malice) that he did this merrily, and was in great sport at the time of the signing the warrant for the king's execution." "That does not imply malice," remarked Marten.

An old servant of his, named Ewer, was upon this put into the witness box, and the following examination took place: "*Counsel.* Come, sir, you are here upon your oath; speak to my lords and the jury; you know the prisoner at the bar very well; you have sometimes served him: were you present in the Painted Chamber, January 29th, 1648, at the signing the warrant—the parchment—against the king?" "*Ewer.* The day I do not remember, but I was in that chamber to attend a gentleman there; I followed that gentleman (looking at Mr. Marten)—I followed that gentleman into that chamber." "*Lord-Chief-baron.* After what gentleman?" "*Ewer.* Mr. Marten. My lord, I was pressing to come near, but I was put off by an officer or soldier there; I told him I was ordered to be by that gentleman. My lord, I did see a pen in Mr. Cromwell's hand, and he marked Mr. Marten in the face with it, and Mr. Marten did the like to him; but I did not see any one set his hand, though I did see a parchment there with a great many seals to it."

If the occurrence really took place, it is yet unworthy of such a philosophical historian as Hume to quote it as an evidence of barbarous or "rustic" buffoonery.\* No doubt, if Marten and Cromwell did this, they did it as a desperate momentary relief from over-excited nerves, and because they felt more acutely than their more sober brethren all that was involved in the dark duty they were then engaged in. Such "toys of desperation" commonly bubble up from a deep-flowing stream below. Downes, a weak man, is said to have been obliged to go out into the speaker's chamber "to ease his heart with tears." Marten and Cromwell were not weak men, and it was not in tears, at such

a time as this, that they could have eased *their* hearts!

The mournful and tragic scene that was enacted on the 30th of January, 1649, in the open street fronting Whitehall,\* is familiar to every reader of history, and need not be described here. Through the whole of that scene Charles bore himself with a dignified composure, and was to the last undisturbed, self-possessed, and serene. He addressed the crowd from the scaffold, forgave all his enemies, protested that the war was not begun by him, declared that the people's right was only to have their life and goods their own, "a share in the government being nothing pertaining to them," and concluded with words which, perhaps, expressed a sincere delusion, that "he died the martyr of the people." When his head fell, severed by the executioner at one blow, "a dismal, universal groan issued from the crowd.

"He nothing common did, or mean,  
Upon that memorable scene;  
But with his keener eye  
The axe's edge did try:  
Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,  
To vindicate his helpless right:  
But bowed his comely head  
Down as upon a bed!"

So in a few years after wrote a most generous adversary, whose name is dear to every lover of literature or of liberty, Andrew Marvel, and in an ode to Oliver Cromwell himself! The lapse of two centuries has confirmed the poet's praise.

In pronouncing upon this great event as a mere act of statesmanship—an opinion called for in this memoir of one of the king's most ardent and inflexible judges—it needs no hesitation to declare it at once a most melancholy and disastrous error. The result proved that, through long years of political sufferings and distractions. But as surely as it was an error, so surely was it committed in good faith—committed as an awful act of justice, and to exhibit it to the kings of the earth, and, through them, to all succeeding generations of men, "a terrible example." It cannot be denied by any just and unbiased inquirer into history (for histories are so written that it is not sufficient to read them alone), that Charles I. had, "to a degree which can scarcely be exceeded, conspired against the liberty of his country."† It was to this he died a martyr; not to the Church or to the people, but to his intense desire for absolute power and authority. For this he laid aside, for upward of twelve years, all use of Parliaments; for this, when driven to them again, he negotiated for an army both in England and in Scotland to overawe their sittings; for this, he most daringly violated their most sacred privileges, at last commenced war against them, and for four years desolated England with the blood of her bravest children. Nor, when conquered, did he surrender the desperate hope which was still sustained for this. In every quarter he sought for the materials of a new war; and at last, after an interval of twenty months, "and from the depths of his prison," he found them. Nor should it

ward Whaley, Michael Livesey, John Okey, John Danvers, John Bourcher, Henry Ireton, Thomas Maleverer, John Blackston, John Hutchinson, William Coffe, Thomas Fride, Peter Temple, Thomas Harrison, John Huxon, Henry Smith, Ferrigine Pelham, Simon Meyn, Thomas Horton, John Jones, John More, Hardeas Waller, Gilbert Millington, George Fleetwood, John Alured, Robert Lilburn, William Say, Anthony Stapely, Richard Deane, Robert Tichburn, Humphrey Edwards, Daniel Blagrove, Owen Roe, William Purefoy, Adrian Scroope, James Temple, Augustine Garland, Edmond Ludlow, Henry Marten, Vincent Potter, William Constable, Richard Ingoldby, William Cawley, John Barstead, Isaac Ewers, John Dixwell, Valentine Walton, Gregory Norton, Thomas Chalouer, Thomas Wogan, John Ven, Gregory Clement, John Downes, Thomas Wayte, Thomas Scot, John Carew, Miles Corbet."—*Rush*, vii., 1426.

\* Hume, *Hist.*, v., 73.

\* The scaffold was erected immediately before the Banqueting House, now Whitehall Chapel, and Charles is said to have entered upon the scaffold through the centre window of the latter building.

† Godwin, *Hist. of Com.*, ii., 686.

be forgotten that all hope of compromise at last was rendered doubly vain by the most consummate insincerity on the part of Charles: "He could never be reconciled; he could never be disarmed; he could never be convinced. His was a war to the death, and therefore had the utmost aggravation that can belong to a war against the liberty of a nation."<sup>\*</sup> Such was the character and conduct of Charles I., and herein the justification of the motives of his judges. What farther is to be said on this point shall be said in this memoir by themselves. What can be better urged for those who held that a simple deposition of Charles was the wiser course, has been said in the *Life of Vane*.

A distinction, however, has been made by the historian of the Commonwealth,<sup>†</sup> which should not be omitted here. Speaking of the critical complexion of Parliamentary proceedings at the time of the king's death, he observes, "In the beginning of the year the Independents had had the superiority; but their authority, so far as depended on the number of votes, hung by a thread. How long was that state of things likely to continue! By whatever party they were displaced, they well knew that the crime of sitting in judgment on Charles, and signing the warrant for his execution, would be visited with the severest vengeance.‡ They knew that they held their lives in their hands. When they gave judgment against the king, they at the same time pronounced sentence on themselves. They could not, with any security, calculate on the impunity of eleven years and four months, which they ultimately reaped. But they had engaged in a great cause, and they would not draw back. Their cause might triumph forever; but they could not be so infatuated and so blind as not to perceive the many probabilities there were that the business would have a different issue. In that case they consented to sacrifice their lives on the altar of their country. But we must not be so unreasonable as to imagine that the judges who sat on the life of the king were all men of heroic resolution. There were certain men among them by whom the business was planned; there were others who had no part in framing the measure, but who willingly devoted themselves in the affair; but there was also a portion of the king's judges who co-operated from timidity—had no will to the business, but had not the courage to refuse those by whom they were pressed into it."

Upon the whole, the subject may be safely left with the opinion of the greatest statesman of modern times, and a high and unblemished authority on all points of constitutional doctrine. "If," observes Charles James Fox, in his "Fragment of History," "if we consider this question of example in a more extended view, and look to the general effect produced upon the minds of men, it cannot be doubted but the opportunity thus given to Charles to display his firmness and piety has created more respect for his memory than it could otherwise have obtained. It has been thought dangerous

to the morals of mankind, even in romance, to make us sympathize with characters whose general conduct is blameable; but how much greater must the effect be when, in real history, our feelings are interested in favour of a monarch with whom, to say the least, his subjects were obliged to contend in arms for their liberty! After all, however, notwithstanding what the more reasonable part of mankind may think upon this question, it is much to be doubted whether this singular proceeding has not, as much as any other circumstance, served to raise the character of the English nation in the opinion of Europe in general. The truth is, that the guilt of the action—that is to say, the taking away of the life of the king—is what most men in the place of Cromwell and his associates would have incurred; *what there is of splendour and of magnanimity in it, I mean the publicity and solemnity of the act, is what few would be capable of displaying.*"

The business of the Commonwealth was now resumed with quiet and resolved deliberation. On the Commons' journals of the day of execution there is a remarkable entry: "Ordered, That the common post be stayed until to-morrow morning, 10 o'clock;" but on the day following, ordinary matters were proceeded with; and on the 1st of February the House of Lords sent a message to the House of Commons, desiring a conference on the new settlement. The Commons allowed the messengers to wait at the door without the slightest notice of them or of their message. The patience of the messengers was exhausted, but not that of the Lords, who sent again and again, with as little success.\* At last the Commons took notice of their existence indeed!

On the 6th of February it was moved in the House of Commons "that the House of Peers in Parliament is useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished, and that an act be brought in to that purpose." Upon this Mr. D'Israeli remarks,† "Harry Marten, as reckless in his wit as in his life, with the same tolerant good-humour which he had evinced on a former occasion with Judge Jenkins, proposed an amendment in favour of the Lords, that 'they were useless, but not dangerous.' By this felicitous humour, this Commonwealth-man had often relieved the Royalists in their most critical circumstances." Mr. D'Israeli here falls into an unaccountable error. Marten's amendment was merely as to the terms of the motion, and, far from being "in favour" of the Lords, is perhaps the most exquisite sarcasm that has ever been levelled against them. His dislike of that House was always, it has been shown, most eagerly manifested, and the present opportunity was not to be resisted. Some graver members having objected, he withdrew the amendment; and, on the subsequent division of forty-four to twenty-nine, which took place on the motion for the abolition, was one of the tellers\* for the majority against the Lords. When the motion passed their lordships were sitting. It was communicated to them; they heard prayers; disposed of a rectory; ad-

\* Godwin, *Hist. of the Com.*, ii., 689. † Mr. Godwin.

‡ Nor was this the only danger. Assassination must have been present to their imaginations, as likely to have been resorted to against them. Donaluis and Rainborough were assassinated soon after.—(See Brodie, *Brit. Emp.*, iv., 264; and Godwin, *ib.*, 692.)

\* History from Mackintosh, vi., 134.

† Commentaries, v., 416.

‡ Journals. Lord Grey of Groby was the other teller, and for the minority the tellers were Colonels Puresfoy and Sydenham.

journed to the next morning as if nothing had happened, and did not sit again till the Restoration.\*

A more memorable vote was passed next day: "That kingship in this nation hath been found by experience to be unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the people, and ought therefore to be abolished." This was followed up by Marten, who proposed that the king's statues at the Old Royal Exchange and other places should be taken down, and the following inscriptions placed on the several sites: "*Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus—Anno libertatis Angliæ restituta primo—Anno Domini 1648-9, Jan. 30.*" This was agreed to, and at once done. Two acts in pursuance of the votes were passed; and the House of Commons published a declaration of its "late proceedings, and settling the government in the way of a free state," which was widely circulated in the English, Latin, French, and Dutch languages.

In all these proceedings Marten was the most prominent actor. He now introduced a bill for the sale of the royal property in lands and houses, of those trappings of royalty which are called the regalia, of the king's furniture, jewels, paintings, and other works of art.† The courts of France, Spain, the Spanish Netherlands, and Sweden, were the chief purchasers. The indifference with which they looked on while Charles was tried and executed, has been contrasted reproachfully, and not unjustly, by Royalists, with their avidity to possess his spoils.‡ And now the 9th of February was the first day of term, or sitting in the courts of law; and this circumstance rendered it necessary that certain preliminary steps should immediately be taken. In these Marten also took active part. Of the twelve judges, the two chief justices, the chief baron, with Jermyn for the King's Bench, Pheasant for the Common Pleas, and Gates for the Exchequer, signified their willingness to continue in the exercise of their offices, provided the House of Commons passed a declaration that they were resolved to maintain the fundamental laws of the nation, and passed an act for repealing the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. This was accordingly done without delay. One of the acts was introduced by Marten. An oath well and truly to serve the Parliament and people was then substituted; and, the name of King's Bench being taken away, that of Upper Bench was substituted in its place. The other six judges declined taking commissions under the Commonwealth. The great seal was at the same time brought into the House and broken in pieces; and a new seal being ready, and Widdrington declining to continue in office, it was intrusted to Whitelocke, Sergeant Richard Keble, and John Lisle. At the same time the office of commissioner was rendered more important and honourable by its being enacted that it should thenceforth be held by the tenure *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.§

The most important change remained to be made—the substitution of an executive council

of state for the committee of government at Derby House. To this end, five members of the House of Commons were appointed as a committee to select the names of forty persons fit to compose this council, whose power was to continue for one year. The five persons were John Lisle, Cornelius Holland, Luke Robinson, Thomas Scot, and Edmund Ludlow; and it has been remarked very truly that their appointment was an instance of "remarkable delicacy," since certainly none of them had yet been habitually concerned in the conduct of public affairs, though two of them, Scot and Ludlow, were known for their integrity, their great devotion to the public welfare, and the ardour of their Republican sentiments.

On the 17th of February the council of state was installed. Henry Marten took his seat in it with Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ludlow. Vane's subsequent adhesion has been described. Most truly does Mr. Godwin exclaim, "Never did any governors enter upon their functions under more formidable difficulties than the men who now undertook to steer and direct the vessel of the new Commonwealth. They were, in a certain sense, a handful of men, with the whole people of England against them.\* Their hold on the community was, by their religious sentiments (those of the Independents), by the rooted aversion of many to the late king and his family, by the sincere terror that was felt of the ascendancy either of the Episcopal or Presbyterian party, and the devout adherence of a respectable set of men to the principle of religious toleration. The character also of the leaders did wonders. Scarcely has there existed a body of more eminent statesmen than Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, Marten, and Vane." On the 10th of March, the council, which had theretofore had a different preses for each day of sitting, appointed Bradshaw their official president; and, three days later, Milton, Bradshaw's kinsman, was made secretary to the council for foreign tongues—an office held by Weckerlin under the committee of both kingdoms.

One of their first steps was to settle the religious government, which was not left to wild theories, or merely loose and voluntary arrangement. The Presbyterian form was maintained, but stripped of all coercive power and temporal pretensions—in short, restricted to conferring licenses and ordination. A provision was made out of the tithes for the Episcopalian clergy, and there was a decided relaxation even towards Catholics. During the debates on these important matters, Henry Marten signalized himself by the first expression of opinions which should be remembered to his lasting honour. He proposed the repeal of the statute of banishment against the Jews.† That community had been banished from England in the year 1290; and from that time no body of Jews, formed into a community, could be found within our dominions. Now, after the lapse of three hundred and fifty-nine years, it was Henry Marten who proposed, in a noble spirit of justice, to put an end to this proscrip-

\* History from Mackintosh, vi., 134.

† Whitelocke, p. 403.

‡ History from Mackintosh, vi., 135.

§ Journals, Feb. 8 and 9.

\* This must not be understood literally. The people had trusted them in all their struggles against the king, but for the experiment of a republic, now about to be tried, they were merely unprepared.

† Wood's Ath. Oxon., iii., 1290.

tion. He was unsuccessful, and the reform was left for Cromwell to achieve in his day of absolute power. But the eloquent praise which Mr. Godwin bestows upon Cromwell for the act should have been written of Marten. "It was an enterprise worthy of his character. His comprehensive mind enabled him to take in all its recommendations and all its advantages. The liberality of his disposition, and his avowed attachment to the cause of toleration, rendered it an adventure becoming him to achieve. As a man, he held that no human being should be proscribed among his fellow-men for the accident of his birth; as a Christian, who looked forward in the faith of prophecy for the conversion of these our elder brethren in the rejection of polytheism, he knew that kind treatment and impartial justice supplied our best instrument for subduing their prejudices; and as a statesman, he was aware how useful the Jews might be made to the nation as the medium of commerce, and to the government as the means of correspondence, the communicators of valuable information, and the divulgers of secrets with which it might be important for them to be acquainted."

It has been with some justice reproached to these great founders and fathers of the Commonwealth, that they failed at this time, with all the power in their hands, to reform the representation, the municipal institutions, and the law, according to the admirable outline given in the "Declaration of the Army" and the "Agreement of the People," and to make this the basis of the new settlement. The matter has been discussed in the Life of Vane. The only answer to the reproach is, that to have dissolved Parliament at this crisis would have been to expose the nation, very possibly, to the return of kingship, with its power and passions, and possibly with the bigot vengeance of the Presbyterians in its train. The new rulers, however, recruited the House by relaxation in favour of excluded and retired members, and by new writs to fill up vacancies.\*

The difficulties which beset the young Commonwealth in relation to the question of a dissolution of the Parliament were great indeed. In justice to the leading statesmen of the time, they should never be lost sight of. "The government of the country," Mr. Godwin truly says, "was at this time in a very artificial and unnatural condition. The existing power and organization rested in three bodies of men. The council of war, who had purged the Parliament on the 6th of December; the Parliament, or House of Commons, such as it remained after that reduction of its members; and the council of state, which had been appointed by the mutual understanding and concord of the other two. These three bodies of men were in perfect harmony: the majority of the House of Commons, since the event of the 6th of December, had espoused and approved the ideas of the council of war; and the council of state, which was, in reality, a selection of the ablest and fittest members from the other two, was employed, with assiduity, sagacity, and energy, in carrying on the executive government in a way corresponding with the designs and conceptions of their creators. The

whole of these, in their authority over the nation—and they retained for the present the acquiescence or submission of the great body of the people—hung by a single thread. The council of war and of state were arbitrary combinations of men; but the Parliament had been chosen by the people. It is true, they were reduced by the compulsory absence of many of their members, and by other circumstances, to a small number, and were styled by Lilburne, and other audacious and inconsiderate men, a mock Parliament. Still they bore the magic name, a Parliament: the laws of England, by old prescription, were accustomed to emanate from the Parliament of England. Constituted as they were, they could not be despised. The abilities of Cromwell, Ireton, and Vane, countenanced by the virtues of Fairfax, Ludlow, Bradshaw, and Scot, necessarily commanded respect. They had in their service the professional talents of Whitelocke, St. John, Rolle, and the gallant Blake. They were recommended to public favour by the wit of Marten and the literature of Milton. They included in their council the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, Denbigh, and Mulgrave, with Viscount Lisle, son of the Earl of Leicester, and brother to Algernon Sidney. Such were the present House of Commons, such the present administrative government."

The best argument used for the retention of this government undisturbed for the present, was, however, afterward used in a debate upon the subject in the House of Commons by Henry Marten himself, in a happy and apposite simile. He told the House, "that he thought they might find the best advice from the Scripture what they were to do in this particular: that when Moses was found upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's daughter, she took care that the mother might be found out, to whose care he might be committed to be nursed; which succeeded very happily." Applying this, he observed, "Their Commonwealth was yet an infant of a weak growth and a very tender constitution; and therefore his opinion was, that nobody could be so fit to nurse it as the mother who brought it forth, and that they should not think of putting it under any other hands until it had obtained more years and vigour." To which he added, "that they had another infant too under their hands, the war with Holland, which had thrived wonderfully under their conduct; but he much doubted that it would be quickly strangled if it were taken out of their care who had hitherto governed it."\*

But to describe the course of government, and Marten's share in it in farther detail, would be to retrace much of the ground already gone over in the Memoir of Vane. It will be sufficient to observe upon, and to sketch, a few of the more personal points of his conduct merely.

Soon after the installation of the council of state, the indefatigable and untameable Lilburne began his agitations once more. He promoted dissensions in the army; abused Cromwell, Fairfax, Marten, and all the leaders; reanimated the hopes of the Levellers; and, in reward for it all, was shut up once more in the Tower. This had no effect, however; for, while Cromwell's terrible campaign against the Irish re-

\* History from Mackintosh, vi., 137.

\* Clarendon, vii., 4, 5.

bellion was spreading slaughter and desolation through that unhappy country, the fearless and brawling John issued from his residence in the Tower all manner of denunciations of the Parliament and council of state, as a "company of pickpockets," "thieves," "robbers," "murderers," and "brother beasts of Nebuchadnezzar the tyrant;" challenged them to a debate by two champions on each side, and an umpire, upon the issue of which he staked his life; and declared that if his challenge were not accepted within five days, he should hold himself free "to anatomize them publicly and privately." Proceedings were again instituted against him, but after they had advanced a little, the audacity and obstinacy even of Lilburne were shaken by domestic troubles, and he longed for a short release from imprisonment. A most eminent tribute is it to the fame of a generous character, that the person at once thought of by the demagogue as likely to procure him this favour was Henry Marten. With wonderful faith in the kind and forgiving temper of a man he had always so heartily abused for having often before befriended him, Lilburne wrote a letter to Marten, stating that his son had died of the smallpox the day before, and that his wife and two other children were ill, and expressing his desire, under these circumstances, that he might be allowed a few days' liberty to visit them.\* The next day Henry Marten moved the House of Commons that he should be liberated on security, which was granted. Nor was this all; for, on finding subsequently that Lilburne's property† had been much harassed in the Star Chamber, and it had left him miserably poor, Marten exerted himself successfully to satisfy him for what was due by a grant of the dean and chapter's lands, at ten years' purchase.‡

But ever, as it has been shown, Marten was on the humane side, excepting in the one memorable instance, where a sense of duty committed violence on his kinder dispositions. A Royalist writer§ relates an occurrence of this time, on the bill having been passed in the House of Commons "to punish the crimes of incest, adultery, and fornication with death—Mr. Henry Marten would not let it be carried, without observing 'that the severity of the punishment by this act being death, would cause these sins to be more frequently committed, because people would be more cautious in committing them for fear of the punishment, and being undiscovered, would be imboldened the more in the commitment of them;' and the following year, chiefly by his procurement, it was abrogated."

The losses endured by Marten in the public service, and the absolute pecuniary assistance he had rendered to the popular cause in very critical times, which have been already referred to, were now taken into consideration by the House of Commons. Bradshaw's case was considered at the same time. The votes may be related from Mr. Godwin's history. "They resolved to settle on Bradshaw lands to the amount of two thousand pounds *per annum*. The act for that purpose was passed on the 15th of August. And further to compensate him for

the loss of a lucrative profession, it was resolved to bestow on him the office of chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. It is reasonable to infer from these measures that neither he nor any other member enjoyed any salary in the capacity of councillor of state. Bradshaw, by his office, was in some measure the first man in the nation. He was to receive foreign ambassadors, and to represent in his person, upon occasions of public solemnity, the executive government of the Commonwealth of England. Another distinguished statesman, whose case went hand in hand with that of Bradshaw, was Henry Marten. He presented a petition to the Parliament representing the arrears due to him as a colonel in the army, and the losses he had otherwise sustained in the service of the public, as well as the sums of money disbursed by him in that service. It was in consequence resolved that lands to the amount of one thousand pounds *per annum* should be settled on him, and the act to that effect was passed on the same day with the act in favour of Bradshaw. The provision not being found to reach the value proposed, a supplemental act in behalf of Marten was passed the 28th of September.\*\* Marten's regiment of horse was also established for him.

In the second year of the Commonwealth Marten had again been elected into the council of state. At the close of this year he appears to have strongly suspected Cromwell's designs. It was time, indeed, that the more sagacious Republicans should have begun to do so. The double conquests of Ireland and of Scotland had now universally established his influence over the nation, and placed temptations within his reach almost irresistible. Marten was the first to throw out open hints of the possible consequence. He used some memorable words in the House of Commons, to the effect that "if they were to be governed by a single person, their last king would have been as proper a gentleman for it as any in England, for he found no fault with his person, but his office only."† On another occasion he vented the same ominous allusion in a sally of humour. Cromwell, in the heat of some debate in the House of Commons, called his old friend "Sir Harry Marten;" when, says Aubrey, with infinite gravity, "Mr. Henry Marten rises and bows: 'I thank your majesty! I always thought, when you were king, that I should be knighted.'"<‡

At about the date, too, of these disputes, we find them alluded to in this outrageous way by a Royalist newspaper: "Division in the army grows great; superiority is the thing looked upon, and Cromwell thinks he deserves it best, which Henry Marten is impatient to suffer; and Pryde, stepping between them, makes great words to fly; insomuch that Ruby Nose (Cromwell) drew his dagger in the House on Saturday, and clapping it on the seat by him, expressed great anger against Harry and his levelling crew."§ This, of course, is a preposterous exaggeration, but it illustrates the fact of the difference.

It was soon illustrated, however, much more decidedly. In electing the council of state for

\* *Preparative to Rise and Cry*, 30.

† *Journals*.

‡ *Just Report*, 8. *Journals of the Commons*.

§ *Mr. Noble*.

• *Hist. of Com.*, iii., 185, 186.

† *Wood's Ath. Ox.*, iii., 1940. *Clement Walker, Hist. of Indep.*

‡ *Bodleian Letters*.

§ *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, March, 1650, 1651.

the third year a new mode of proceeding was adopted. In the re-election of February, 1650, the names of the preceding council were regularly called over and put to the vote; and, in consequence, one having died in the interval, thirty-seven were rechosen, and three only rejected. It had been felt, and by Marten among others, that this was giving to the executive government too much the air of a standing council. The Parliament had been, of necessity, and was likely to continue for some time to come, a fixed and unvaried body. For this there were potent reasons, as it has already been shown; but there could be no such reason for making the council of state permanent. It had been decided in the beginning that this member of the government should be a body holding its office for twelve months only. "One of the most essential features of a free state," as Mr. Godwin justly remarks in relating these circumstances, "is rotation, and that those men who are intrusted for the public good with high and comprehensive powers should be subjected to the purification of new and frequently-repeated elections. All offices in such a state should, as far as is practicable, be thrown open to all. No man should be allowed to consider the powers he holds in trust for the nation a sinecure and an inheritance. It is good that men qualified for office should feel that at certain stated intervals they are not unlikely to be invited to accept it. It is good that a certain portion of fresh and unworn understanding and enterprise, not trained in the shackles of an unvaried routine, should from time to time be introduced into the national councils." In accordance, it may be fairly supposed, with some such reasoning as this, Parliament now decided that the council of state for the ensuing year should consist of forty-one persons, and that only twenty-one of those who were now of the council should be allowed to be re-elected. "The ablest and most highly-endowed of the individuals," observes Mr. Godwin, "who were excluded by the operation of this rule on the present occasion, was Henry Marten." Mr. Godwin has omitted to state, however, by whose exertions he was excluded. It was the work of Oliver Cromwell, now brooding over his projects of absolute power.\*

In the House of Commons, however, Marten still remained. The power was not yet matured for what Cromwell had in purpose there. In the House of Commons, during the period of his exclusion from the executive, Marten only laboured the more, with all his wit, his eloquence, and his humanity, in behalf of the liberties of the Commonwealth. He supported Vane in the noble projects described in the memoir of that great person, and pursued at this time with an anxiety and zeal proportionate to the chance there yet remained—by an infusion of new popular power into the House of Commons, and an establishment of new and strong institutions for freedom, on the basis of the "Army Proposals"—to save the country from the usurpation that impended.

A few instances of the humour that he nevertheless gave way to in the midst of the serious debates of this period, may be recorded here.

Having let fall some phrases in the course of one of the discussions which gave offence to a Puritan member, the latter suggested that it would be well to have a motion to expel all "profane and unsanctified persons" from the House. Upon this, Marten gravely got up and observed, "That he should take the liberty to move, before the motion alluded to, that 'all fools might be put out likewise,' and then," he added, "the House might probably be found thin enough."

Aubrey tells us that H. M. (as he usually calls Marten) "was wont to sleep much in the House," and afterward explains this by saying that it was "dog-sleep," or, in other words, a means resorted to on the occasion of any very prosy oration from an alderman or a Puritan to intimate his fatigue, and hint the propriety either of liveliness or a conclusion on the part of the speaker. On one of these occasions, when Marten seems not only to have been "sleeping," but nodding his head rather vehemently, and breaking into occasional interruptions, "Alderman Atkins made a motion that such scandalous members as slept, and minded not the business of the House, should be put out." H. M. starts up: "Mr. Speaker, a motion has been made to turn out the nodders; I desire the noddées (noddies) may also be turned out." Poor Alderman Atkins never fairly recovered this.

On a different occasion, in referring to his own case, then unsettled, and to some recent and questionable appointments, he is said to have observed, in a manner that provoked peculiar laughter, "That he had seen, at last, the Scripture fulfilled: 'Thou hast exalted the humble and meek; thou hast filled the empty with good things, and the rich hast thou sent empty away!'"

More serious matters now claim attention. In the council of state installed for the fourth year of the Commonwealth the name of Henry Marten had again appeared, but whether the opposition of Cromwell had relented or proved ineffectual, does not appear; most probably, however, the latter, since in the election for the fifth year he was again excluded, and it is said by Cromwell's means. The victory of Worcester had given the "crowning mercy" to the general; Fairfax's resignation had left him alone in power with the army; the death of Ireton had removed the last restraint which withheld his meditated assault on the liberties of his country. The memorable scene of the forcible dissolution of the Long Parliament immediately followed, and on that day, already described, Marten received the reproach of licentiousness and a dissolute life from his old friend Cromwell.

The last scene of the council of state has been described in such a strain of melancholy enthusiasm by Mr. Godwin, that the passage will be interesting here. From breaking up the Parliament Cromwell had joined the council of officers, and now, in the afternoon, attended by Lambert and Harrison, repaired to the council of state. Bradshaw was in the chair. "It required," says Mr. Godwin, "a man of his nerve, his deep sense of religion, and his immoveable spirit, to discharge the duties of that day. It must have been sufficiently

\* Wood's Ath. Oxon., iii., 1940.

known what was about to happen; and since the fate of the Commonwealth could not be averted, all that remained was that it should so die as was most worthy of the days it had lived. Cromwell was to be met and confronted by a man who in his person should represent the freedom and the majesty of the Republic, which had now entered far into its fifth year; and amid all the heroes of that hour in England, it is not too much to say that there was no other person from whose lips the accidents of a dying state, not unmeet to be numbered with ancient Athens or Rome, could so worthily have been pronounced. Perhaps no man was ever placed in so illustrious a situation as that which Bradshaw occupied at this moment. He was to face one, in that age, so far as related to an ascendancy over the minds of his fellow-creatures either in war or in peace, the foremost man in the world. By an extraordinary coincidence, the same individual who had presided at the trial of a legitimate king, and who had pronounced sentence of death upon him for his multiplied delinquencies against his people, was now called upon from another chair to address a usurper in the most critical moment of his career, and to set before him, in firm and impressive terms, the deed he had perpetrated and was now perpetrating. Cromwell was backed by all his guards, and by an army of the highest discipline, and the most undaunted and prosperous character. Bradshaw appeared before him in the simple robe of integrity. The lord-general was the most resolute of men, and who could least endure an idle show of opposition. The parade of contradiction and the pomp of declamation would have been useless. A few words (a brief and concentrated remonstrance) were enough. They were uttered, and Cromwell ventured on no reply. Abashed the traitor stood. Cromwell, having entered the council-chamber, thus addressed the members who were present: "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and, since you cannot but know what was done in the morning, so take notice that the Parliament is dissolved." To this Bradshaw answered, "Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it; but, sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that." With this protest the council rose and withdrew.

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject of Cromwell's usurpation on the Commonwealth; sufficient has been said in the *Life of Vane*. Marten invariably refused to acknowledge his authority, and was excluded from all the Parliaments that met under the Protectorate. We find him at last in prison, and learn that he was thrown there by the power of Cromwell; but for what reason, save on the general ground of his great talents and still fearless Republicanism, does not distinctly appear. It is stated, indeed,\* that he had sometimes attended the meetings of the discontented Republican officers, who joined with Wildman, Overton, and

others in their conspiracy against Cromwell; but no satisfactory proof of this is offered.

Yet, though Marten was kept from his place by the strong arm of tyranny, there were not wanting men, even in those Parliaments, to declare his sentiments and vindicate the old cause. At the very moment the usurper's power seemed greatest, and he was on the eve of clutching the object of all his hopes and ambitious toils, these men dashed it from him. In none of his Parliaments—not even in that composed of his own nominees—could he command a majority; the sentiment of liberty was still too strong for him; and thousands were found resolute enough to echo the remarkable words of a speaker in the Parliament of 1654, that, "having cut down tyranny in one person, they would not see the nation enslaved by another, whose right could be measured only by the length of his sword." The leaders of these men were Bradshaw and Scot, and most ably did they represent the opinions and the hopes of Marten and of Vane. Their speeches, Ludlow says, in the Parliament of 1654, "were very instrumental in opening the eyes of many young members, who had never before heard the public interest so clearly stated and asserted; so that the Commonwealth party increased every day, and that of the sword lost ground proportionally." Never did a splendid foreign administration so effectually conceal the innate rottenness of the entire domestic scheme and policy as in the case of the government of Cromwell.

It is much to be lamented that the speeches referred to by Ludlow have perished; but history has lately received a rich accession, which in some sort compensates\* the loss, from the publication of Burton's admirable diary, by a writer who is worthy in all respects to have been associated with such a work, by his great talents, his masterly research, his unaffected simplicity and sincerity, and the disinterested zeal which has distinguished a long life devoted to the popular cause. We find in this diary Scot's speeches in Oliver Cromwell's last Parliament, and it is to these (unused hitherto in the histories), and to the speeches of the same staunch Republican in the Parliament that followed, that the case of such a statesman as Marten, in the judgment and trial of Charles I., must be referred, for the satisfaction of those who desire, after a lapse of two centuries, to sit in judgment on the motives that prompted that great event. Some extracts from these most striking assertions of Republican statesmanship are therefore necessary here.

That Parliament met, pursuant to adjournment, on the 28th of January, 1657-1658. Two changes had been made in the interim, in accordance with the famous "Petition and Advice" of the officers, namely, the readmission of the greater portion of the excluded members, and the creation of a miserable "House of Lords." After three days' preliminary sitting, a message "from the Lords" desired the concurrence of the Commons in an address to the Protector for a fast. The Commons pro-

\* "Diary of Thomas Burton, Esq., member in the Parliaments of Oliver and Richard Cromwell, from 1656 to 1660. Edited and illustrated with notes historical and biographical, by JOHN TOWILL KURTZ."

\* By Mr. Godwin, *Hist. of Com.*, iv.

tested against the title—would admit no other than that of “the other House.” It was even maintained that the new House was not a co-ordinate legislative assembly, but invested only with certain functions of judicature.\* To this all Scot’s arguments tended, and he resolutely refused, on any other terms, to recognise Cromwell’s House of Lords. In vain they urged the “Petition and Advice” against him. His great speech on the occasion was a most masterly effort, and, in a subtle vindication of the Republican party, included a terrible assault on the despotism of Cromwell.

Scot began by saying that the “ancientness” of the institution of a House of Lords had nothing now to do with the question, for that that House had “*been justly cast out by their being clogs upon passing of many good laws.*” He proceeded to state: “The Scots, when the king was at Carisbrooke Castle, invaded England, not as brethren, but to impose a king upon you. The Lords were then desired that they would declare this invasion of the Scots enmity, and as enemies to the nation, which, for affection to the king, they would not do. You know afterward what happened. By the virtue of two or three hundred thousand pounds the Scots were persuaded to give over, and leave their king at Carisbrooke Castle. After the House of Commons had declared all this of non-addresses and the like, yet the Lords voted addresses notwithstanding. The major part of this House voted the like. *The army foresaw that their liberties were likely to be betrayed.* I am for trusting the people with their liberties as soon as any; but when they come to irregularities, and the major part grow corrupt, they must be regulated by miracle, or otherwise perish. The soldiers see their cause betrayed; the city and apprentices all discontented; and if the army had not then appeared, where had then our cause been?”

“The Lords would not join in the trial of the king. *We must lay things bare and naked. We were either to lay all that blood of ten years’ war upon ourselves, or upon some other object.* We called the King of England to our bar, and arraigned him. He was, for his obstinacy and guilt, condemned and executed; and so let all the enemies of God perish! The House of Commons had a good conscience in it. Upon this the Lords’ House adjourned and never again met, and hereby came a farewell of all those peers, and it was hoped the people of England should never again have a negative upon them.”

This is surely interesting. The orator next proceeded, after some allusions to the arguments of members of the House, to insinuate bitter sarcasms against Cromwell: “I shall now say,” he exclaimed, “why they are not, why they ought not to be, a House of Lords. You have not called them so. In all your Petition and Advice you have not said a word of it. Oh, but you intended it, said he. *It appears to me you never intended it, because you never said it; and it is reason enough for me to say it.* Once this House said king, and yet you never said lords; and if ever you had said it, it would have been then. *He (Cromwell) refused it upon a pious account, and I hope he will still do so.*”

“*Shall I, that sat in a Parliament that brought a king to the bar and to the block, not speak my mind freely here?*”

“Those that now sit in that House that would be lords, did they, or not, advise you to make them lords? Let me argue in a dilemma. Did they think to be lords? Then it was their modesty. Did they not think to be lords? Then they voted like Englishmen; just, entire, like choosing the Roman general. I think you have not yet meant to put a negative upon the people of England. I suppose you would not call them lords for tenderness of the consciences of the people of England. They are under an engagement, and I hope you will be as tender as you were to the point of a king; and you will not come under the crime of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, which caused Israel to sin.

“I come to show why you now should not make a House; I should say, a House of Lords. I cry you mercy! If there be a House of Lords, it is more reason to call the old peerage; and there is not one of them there, as I am informed. But you cannot call them for impossibility. You have not a quorum, not half a quorum, of persons qualified. Those that be, fail in the very *formalis causa*, estates and interest. Anciently the bishops, abbots, and lords, their tenants, and relations, could engage half England. *The providence of God has so ordered it that England is turned a commonwealth, and do what you can, you cannot make it otherwise; and if you join any with them in the Legislature, it will not do your work.*

“The administrations of God’s dealings are against you. Is not God staining the glory and pride of the world? Is there anything but a commonwealth that flourishes? *Venice against the pride of the Ottoman family!* All their mountains are pulled down. God governs the world as he governs his Church, by plain things and low things. It was this that led your Long Parliament—the providence of God, that virtue and honesty should govern the world—not that I am for a Fifth Monarchy.”

In subsequent very striking passages, Scot undertakes to show, not only that they should not be considered a House of Lords, but that they could not be so considered. “Why not, then?” he asks. “Why? because they are but commoners, and were yesterday here. It is not agreeable to the qualification of commoners. For aught that appears to you, they sit as a part of the Commons in another place. They have not the reason of the quality of lords. They have not interest—not the forty thousandth part of England. Have they an interest? Why, had they such an interest, why not sit here? The interest follows the persons. As they have none by sitting there, they lose interest by it. The old nobility will not, do not sit there. They lose that interest. *You lose the people of England by it.* They were, by the providence of God, set free from any negative. Will they thank you if you bring such a negative upon them? *The people that have bled for you! that have not gained by you, but you by them! What was fought for but to arrive at that capacity to make their own laws?*”

“The unhandsome posture you bring yourselves into by it! To stand here to that House, not like a Parliament of England! Consider

\* History from Mackintosh, vi., 327.



the consequences, that you charge not all the blood upon the great Parliament. The blood that shut out a negative stands at your door. I have heard of some motion for a day of humiliation for this blood. *Why, you should put on the king's head again, which was surely taken without his consent, and without the Lords' too!* Let not the people of England petition to have fetters upon them. Let it be your patience, and not your desires. It is not noble for the people of England to seek this."

That expression, "let it be your patience, and not your desires," is of significant import. Scot's conclusion was worthy of the whole speech. He took the possible answers to his objections in succession; among them, the assertion that "they had been made" lords—that they who had made them "another House," made them lords. "I will not say," remarked Scot on this, "but his highness has power of honour, but not to set up courts. *I would as soon be knighted under his sword in the camp, as under any man that ever gave honour.* The argument is sophistry: you made them another House; his highness made them lords; therefore they are a House of Lords. You have settled them only as a high court of justice; but if you make them a co-ordinate power with you, you give them the power of your purses, of peace and war, of making laws, and magistrates to execute them.

"The people of Israel were governed by themselves—by the people. The people met, saith the text, and went to Hebron. The people have power of all these things. God submits all his administrations to the people, with reverence may I say it. God left to Adam to name all creatures: God did not say this is a lion, this is a bear; but Adam gave names to every creature. So he did to the woman, because a rib out of his side gave her a name. This House is a rib out of your side. You have given it a name. My motion is, that you would not alter it!"\*

Three days after, the same question being in discussion among the members under another form, submitted to them as to the "Commons" by the "other House," Scot took occasion to throw out a somewhat ominous hint of the present resolution of the Republicans. After impressing the necessity of returning an answer to these quasi lordlings as to "the other House," he went on to remark: "It is not enough that they christen themselves, but they christen you—that you are 'Commons.' I am not ashamed of the title, *it being the greatest honour under heaven to serve the people in the meanest capacity in this House*; all power being originally in the people. I observed this was used as an argument the other day, that you had received a message from them by that ti-

\* It is worth subjoining, from a debate in the Parliament of Richard Cromwell, Scot's deliberate opinion of Oliver's administration. He was arguing against trusting the whole power of war to Richard and his council: "I look upon his father," said Scot, "as of much more experience and counsel than himself; yet he was never so successful as when he was a servant to the Commonwealth. What a dishonourable peace he made, and what an unprofitable and dangerous war. Was not the effect of the peace with Holland, and the war with Spain, the most disadvantageous and deplorable that ever were? Therefore, if he that was a man of war and of counsel miscarried, why should I trust a single person, the most unfit to refer it to? Yet you do implicitly commit the whole charge upon his highness."

tle. *He that deceives me once, it is my fault if he deceive me twice.* Modesty (it is Tertullian) may bring a man to misery. The Greeks were destroyed, many of them, because they could not say no. They are at best but originally from you."

The result of this plain speaking was another dissolution by Cromwell. Hartlib, Milton's correspondent, describing the necessity for this step, after mentioning the danger to be apprehended from the Royalists, adds: "Besides, there was another petition set on foot in the city for a commonwealth, which would have gathered like a snowball; but by the resolute, sudden dissolving of Parliament, both these dangerous designs were mercifully prevented." Mrs. Hutchinson herself says, that such had been the influence of these sentiments of Vane, Marten, and Scot upon the minds of men at this period, that a third party was actually "ready both with arms and men, when there was opportunity, to have fallen in, with swords in their hands, for the settlement of the rights and liberties of the good people."

The resumption of power by the Republicans on the death of Oliver Cromwell has been described in the Life of Vane. It is necessary here, however, in order to place on record the only authentic vindication of the motives of the Republican leaders in their execution of Charles I. with a view to the establishment of a commonwealth, to resort once more to the speeches of Scot, Marten's intimate friend and associate in those memorable actions. Most true is what Mr. Godwin has remarked of the way in which these men have to this day been referred to by a large class of writers, as though they were raking out the records of a "Newgate Calendar." Party rage began this; indolence has suffered it to continue; and even Mr. Godwin, admirable for many of the greatest qualities of an historian, and, above all, admirable for that pursuit of truth which is his unflinching characteristic, has failed to quote these only just statements of the real matters at issue between the Royalists and the Republican regicides. In reading even the imperfect records of Scot's speeches which yet remain, we find ourselves at once emerged from the foul atmosphere of falsehood and exaggeration, as of the meaner and baser sophistries, and breathing the clear air of honest, fearless, conscientious, and determined men. Whatever may have been their errors in judgment, their actions, we must feel, belonged to the highest order of just and honourable motive. It was the cause—the good old cause—which they ventured everything to sustain.

Upon Thurloe's proposition, in Richard Cromwell's first Parliament, for "recognising" the "undoubted" right of Richard as Protector, Scot spoke with Vane for the substitution of the word "agnise" for recognise, and the total omission of the phrase "undoubted." The debate, as we have already seen in the Memoir of Vane, was taken on these points for the purpose of trying the question of a pure republic in the least offensive shape. The declared object at the same time was the rejection of the bill. Scot rose, after a speech of a very hot Presbyterian (Mr. Bulkley), in favour of Richard; and after referring to the events which

first led to the agitation of questions against monarchy in England—naming the Stewarts as “that family, that cursed family! I may call it so yet!”—he proceeded to allude to the necessities which drove them to the execution of Charles. “Had he been quiet,” he said, “after he was delivered up to us by the Scots, knowing him to be our king—” A blank in the diary occurs here, but it is not difficult to imagine what the close of the sentence would have been, when we find it followed thus: “So long as he was above ground, in view, there were daily revoltings among the army, and risings in all places; creating us all mischief, more than a thousand kings could do us good. *It was impossible to continue him alive. I wish all had heard the grounds of our resolutions in that particular.* I would have had all our consultations *in foro*, as anything else was. *It was resorted unto as the last refuge.* The representatives, in their aggregate body, have power to alter or change any government, being thus conducted by Providence. The question was, whose [*i. e.*, on whom] was that blood that was shed? It could not be ours. Was it not the king’s, by keeping delinquents from punishment, and raising armies? The vindictive justice must have his sacrifice somewhere. *The king was called to a bar below, to answer for that blood. We did not assassinate, or do it in a corner. We did it in the face of God and of all men.* If this be not a precept, the good of the whole, I know not what is—to preserve the good cause, a defence to religion and tender consciences. I will not patronise or justify all proceedings that then were.”

This is a memorable passage. It was not the language of self-vindication only, but of awful and impressive warning to all the generations of men that were to follow after the violent death of the ardent and honest speaker. How poorly it has been often imitated in modern times!

Scot now vindicated the intentions of the Long Parliament on the eve of its dissolution, and asserted the regrets which followed it, and the respect due to its memory. “The Dutch war came on. If it had pleased God and his highness to have let that little power of a Parliament sit a little longer—when Hannibal is *ad portas*, something must be done *extra leges*—we intended to have gone off with a good savour, and provided for a succession of Parliaments; but we stayed to end the Dutch war. We might have brought them to oneness with us. Their ambassadors did desire a coalition. This we might have done in four or five months. *We never bid fairer for being masters of the whole world*—not that I desire to extend our own bounds. We are well if we can preserve peace at home. If you be fain to fight Holland over again, it is vain to conceal it. That gentleman says the Parliament went out, and no complaining in the streets, nor inquiry after them. That is according to the company men keep. Men suit the letter to their lips. It is as men converse, I never met a zealous assertor of that cause, but lamented it, to see faith broken, and somewhat else. I will say no more. It was as much bewailed as the instrument of government. A petition, the day after the Parliament was dissolved, from forty of the

chief officers, the aldermen of the city of London, and many godly divines (except the rigid Presbyters, too well-wishers to Mr. Love’s treason\*), besought to have that Parliament restored; but the Protector, being resolved to carry on his work, threatened, terrified, and displaced them; and who would, for such a shattered thing, venture their all! You have had five changes. This is the fifth, and yet the people have not rest. *It may be the people may think of returning to that again, or it may be to another government.* The Romans continued consuls 100 years. There were endeavours to bring in kingship, and many lost their heads for it. Brutus’s own sons died under the axe, rather than their father would suffer kingship. Then came the decemviri, to collect the best laws in all nations, still *jussu populi*; to make peace and war; to make laws; to make magistrates; to frame twelve tables to be standing laws. I would not hazard a hair of his present highness’s head. Yet I would trust no man with more power than what is good for him and for the people. *I had rather have £100 per annum clear, than £200 accountable.* He is yet at the door. If you think of a single person, I would have him sooner than any man alive. *Make your body, and then fit your head*—if you please, one head; else we must debate all the limbs over again, either in a grand committee, or by twenty or thirty gentlemen. In the mean time, lay this bill aside.”

The question being again driven back upon the words “agnise” and “undoubted,” Scot took an opportunity to declare, with respect to the latter phrase, that force was used to pass the “Petition and Advice,” and that he could never recognise a title under it alone. He observed, in some passages of remarkable constitutional doctrine, that he might acknowledge that person as chief magistrate; but he added, “the word ‘undoubted’ is a doubt with me. The argument used against those that say fire does not burn, is, put your fingers in. Were not pikes at the door to keep us out? It was proved. I cannot admit that a free Parliament. The Petition and Advice was not pursued. If the nomination appear not to you, you cannot go upon that. *The Parliament have suffered entails upon the crown; but this has been done before the judges and council, and publicly.* This government is but *de bene esse*. The kingdom of England was not always hereditary. Of twenty-five or twenty-six kings, fifteen or sixteen of them came in by the choice of the Parliament, and not by descent; among the rest, King Stephen, Richard II., Edward I. *The Parliament has always power to make or empower the chief magistrate, and they changed the government as often as they thought it good for the people.* As to the instance, the last king, I was at his coronation. At every corner, every society was asked, Will you have this person for your king? This implies a power of the people; though he was king before, by succession. As to the oath made without doors, I find myself free here. You may remove the chief magistrate, and make whom you please so. In Henry VI. and Henry IV.’s time, the election was from the people.” After some

\* A Presbyterian minister tried and executed in 1651 for treason against the Commonwealth.

farther precedents of this sort, Scot, referring to an argument used in the debate, that the people had really acquiesced in the selection of Richard, laid down in another form Vane's principle of a convention of the people. "You say you have a people that have declared this honourable and very precious person, with the acclamations of towns and villages. *If the whole body had done this in a collective aggregate body, met in any place, you ought not to question it; but this is but from some parts, in their several scattered bodies.* I would have some persons to withdraw and word a question, though it would come better from another House than from us, that are bargainers for the people. We must consider as well what a man he may be. A young lion's teeth and claws may grow. I speak not of him, God knows! Yet we are not to trust too far. If we were assured that through his life he would not err, no man can tell who is to come after. *Can you retrench that power you are making for perpetuity?* St. Austin and Pelagius were born both in a day. The antidote and poison were both of an age. *Make the provision for the safety of the people's liberties, and your magistrate's power and prerogative, contemporary. Let them be twins. Let them justify one another.* Let not one precede the other. Whom would you have the Protector thank for his power—the people! the army! the council! Let him own you for it! *Amor et delicia populi Angliæ*—let him be so, when made your creature, not *ad extra*. It is a human institution; only own him as your authority. The Parliament will be said to be either fools or madmen, that know not what is fit for them so well as another. Why should we think ourselves more unfit to provide for ourselves, and for our own good, than any other? *If we be so, let us set up the court of wards again, not for our children, but for ourselves.* Why may not we be as well intrusted as any single person? Who better judges than the heads of the tribes! Name a committee to form a question that may take in both. You will then despatch more in an hour than you have done in all this time."

The omission of the word "undoubted" was eventually agreed to. Scot again gave battle on the question of the substitution of "agnise" for "recognise." The famous Henry Neville (the author of *Plato Redivivus*, and other works, remarkable for their soundness of doctrine and purity of style) had observed, that the word "recognise" gave away the question, or that it betokened slavery, and was answered by a remark from Mr. Goodrick, that "we were not slaves in Elizabeth's time, and it was the language then," when Scot rose. "The grounds of the word 'recognise' then," he said, "and in the times of Henry VIII. and Henry IV., were different from ours. The reason for Henry IV.'s recognition was because Richard II. was alive, and his competitor. It was in contradiction to competitors—only to distinguish persons. An act of Parliament passed to legitimate Queen Elizabeth, because it was questioned whether she were fit to reign or no. King James came from another kingdom and another family. There was no recognition to King Charles, and no need of it. He had no competitor.

and that family, but recognise I cannot. It comprehends the merits of the question. We must now speak, or ever hold our peace. It was told that the great seal was sent for two or three times, and either his highness was not so well, or—I know not what; it was sent back again. The privy council made him. I would have him to be your creature, and he will be more tender of your liberties and privileges. If I recognise, I must be satisfied how he was declared, according to the Petition and Advice. We are not ingenuously dealt withal, for this is but a wing of the debate, and the wing will be out of your reach. If this pass, you will take a little breath between that and caring for the liberties of the people; and then money must be had for this Protector. I was saying I would be a slave, *but I would not either, till I needs must.* If I could have lived safely in any other part, I would not have lived here. *I would be content it should be set upon my monument—if it were my last act, I own it—I was one of the king's judges.* I hope it shall not be said of us, as of the Romans once, *O homines, ad servitum parati!*"

It need not be repeated here, that Richard Cromwell was soon driven from the Protectorate by Vane and Scot, and their gallant associates, who, in Marten's absence from the House, so resolutely maintained the opinions they held in common. With the recall of the Long Parliament after that event, Harry Marten once more took his seat in the House of Commons. The intrigues of the traitor Monk need not be detailed here; it is sufficient to say that, before their consummation, they had been seen through by the fine sense of Marten, and ridiculed by his wit. While the protestations of devotion to a commonwealth, made by that "scoundrel of fortune," were duping Hazlerig and the less reflecting Republicans; while he "called God to witness that the asserting of a commonwealth was the only intent of his heart," and was believed, we have had occasion to notice the subtle detection of the trick by Vane, and the masterly though unsuccessful effort he made to avert its consequences. We have now to add, that Marten took occasion to say, in his place in Parliament, that, although he doubted not General Monk's real design was a commonwealth, it yet befitted the House to consider the very remarkable inaptitude of the means he was providing for that object. "Why, sir," he continued, "he is like a person sent to make a suit of clothes, who brings with him a budget

\* It was Scot's last act to own this. When some of the mean-spirited Presbyterians, who were among the last left in the reassembled Long Parliament, before its final dissolution by Monk, proposed that before they separated they should bear their witness against the horrid murder of the king, and the motion was followed by the protestation of one of the members that he had neither hand nor heart in that affair, Scot at once rose and said, "Though I know not where to hide my head at this time, yet I dare not refuse to own, that not only my hand, but my heart also, was in it." This was his last word in Parliament. Before his judges he manifested the same lofty and resolved temper, pleading nothing but his privilege of Parliament, and the unquestionable character of the great office he had borne, as deputed by the people to adjudge the king. The last words he pronounced upon the scaffold were a blessing to God "that of his free grace he had engaged him in a cause not to be repented of—I say in a cause not to be repented of." Here the sheriff interposed, and the executioner did his dreadful office. This was indeed a *cabare* which, in Vane's immortal words, "gave life in death to all the owners of it and suffers for it."

full of carpenter's tools; and being told that such things are not at all fit for the work he has been desired to do, answers, 'Oh, it matters not! I will do your work well enough, I warrant you.'\*

Upon the Restoration, the name of Henry Marten was "absolutely excepted, both as to life and property," from the act miscalled of oblivion and indemnity; but he surrendered, with Scot and others, resolved to take his trial. Trial, however, it should not be called, for all the proceedings against the regicides were made up of the bloodiest and most savage cruelty, the basest falsehoods, the most shocking perfidy. The first determination taken by the treacherous lawyers who directed the proceedings was the settlement of six notable rules, among which we find these: That the indictment should be for compassing the death of the late king, under the 25th of Edward III., and that his death should be one of the overt acts to prove the compassing; that overt acts not in the indictment might be given in evidence; that two witnesses should not be required to each particular overt act. As a farther precaution, the commission was delayed until the appointment of new sheriffs more slavishly ready than their predecessors to pack a jury. Bills were sent up and found against twenty-nine persons,† and their trials began before thirty-four commissioners,‡ on the 9th of October, 1660, at the Old Bailey.

\* Ludlow.

† Marten, Waller (Sir II.), Harrison, Carew, Cook, Peters, Scot, Clement, Scroop, Jones, Hacker, Axtel, Heveningham, Millington, Tichborn, Roe, Kilburn, Harvey, Pennington, Smith, Downs, Putter, Garland, Fleetwood, Meyn, J. Temple, P. Temple, Hewlet, and Waite.

‡ The commissioners who by these proceedings damned themselves to fame were Sir Thomas Allen, lord-mayor of London, Lord-chancellor Hyde, the Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of Albemarle (Monk), the Marquis of Ormond, the Earl of Lindsey, the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Berkshire, the Earl of Sandwich, the Lord Say and Sele, the Lord Roberts, the Lord Finch, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Frederic Cornwallis, Sir Charles Berkeley, Mr. Secretary Nicholas, Mr. Secretary Morrice, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Mr. Arthur Annesley, Sir Orlando Bridgman, lord-chief-baron, Mr. Justice Forster, Mr. Justice Mallet, Mr. Justice Hyde, Mr. Baron Atkins, Mr. Justice Twisden, Mr. Justice Tyrrel, Mr. Baron Turner, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir William Wild, recorder of London, Mr. Sergeant Brown, Mr. Sergeant Hale, and Mr. John Hesel. The prosecutors in behalf of the king were Sir Jeffery Palmer, attorney-general; Sir Heneage Finch, solicitor-general; Sir Edward Turner, attorney to the Duke of York; Sergeant Keeling, Mr. Wadham Wyndham. A great portion of these men, it has been well pointed out (*Hist. from Mackintosh*), who thus sat as judges, were as guilty of treason under the 26th Edward III. and the charge of the chief-baron, as those whom they tried. The judge declared it to be the law that "no authority, no single person or community of men, nor the people collectively or representatively, have any coercive power over the King of England," and that to imprison the king was "a horrid treason" by two statutes of Parliament. But of these commissioners, sixteen, according to Ludlow, had levied war against the king by their votes in Parliament, or by force of arms in the field, and several of them still sat in Parliament when Charles for the first time became its prisoner at Holmby. Lords Manchester and Say were excepted from a general pardon in one of the proclamations of the late king. Hollis acted the most violent part in Parliament, and in the civil war, or, as it was now called, the rebellion, with the farther disqualification for the ends of justice of bringing to the trial of Independents and Republicans the vindictive passions of a partisan and a Presbyterian. Monk, in sitting as a commissioner, but finished the part played by him in the recent transactions. The palm of transcendent infamy may be given to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who, having purchased his pardon by his perfidy, now sat as the judge of men with whom he had sat in council, for whose safety, to the touching of a hair of their head, he had bound him-

On the 10th of October, after some months of imprisonment, Marten was placed at the bar of the Old Bailey, and required to plead. "I desire," he said, "the benefit of the act of oblivion—" Here he was interrupted, and told he must plead guilty or not guilty; and that if he demanded the benefit of the act of oblivion, it was a confession of being guilty! Upon this Marten resumed earnestly, "I humbly conceive the act of indemnity—" Again he was interrupted coarsely, and told he must plead. The following is a report of what followed, in which Marten's quiet and resolute self-possession appears very striking.

"The Court. 'You must plead guilty or not guilty.' Marten. 'If I plead, I lose the benefit of that act.' Court. 'You are totally excepted out of the act.' Marten. 'If it were so I would plead. My name is not in that act.' Court. 'Henry Marten is there.' Mr. Solicitor-general. 'Surely he hath been kept a close prisoner indeed, if he hath not seen the Act of Indemnity. Show it him.' Mr. Skelton opened the act. Court. 'How is it written?' Clerk. 'It is Henry Marten.' The act being shown him, he said, 'HENRY MARTEN; my name is not so—it is Harry Marten.' Court. 'The difference of the sound is very little. You are known by that name of Marten.' Marten. 'I humbly conceive all penal statutes ought to be understood literally.' Clerk. 'Are you guilty or not guilty?' Marten. 'I am not Henry Marten.' The clerk again asked him as before, and the court said, 'Be advised; the effect of this plea will be judgment;' and the solicitor-general cited somewhat parallel to this, in a case formerly of Baxter, where the name was Bagster, with an s, and adjudged all one, being the same sound. The clerk then put the question to him again, when, instead of answering, he said, 'My lord, I desire counsel.\* There will arise matter of law as well as fact.' The court then told him, 'You are indicted for treason—for a malicious, traitorous compassing and imagining the king's death; if you have anything of justification, plead not guilty, and you shall be heard; for if it be justifiable, it is not treason. The rule is, either you must plead guilty, and so confess, or not guilty, and put yourself upon your trial; there is no medium.' Marten. 'May I give anything in evidence before a verdict?' Court. 'Yes; upon your trial you may give any evidence that the law warrants to be lawful evidence.' The clerk here again put the question of guilty or not guilty; and the court said, 'Understand one thing, because I would not have you mistaken; you cannot give in evidence the misnomer.' Marten. 'I submit, and plead not guilty.' Clerk. 'How will you be tried?' Marten. 'By God and my country.' Clerk. 'God send you a good deliverance.'"

The crown counsel then opened the case, and observed that Marten had "both signed and sealed the precept for summoning the court and the warrant for execution," and that he had sat every day, and "particularly the day of sentence." Here Marten interrupted the prosecutor, and said that he did not decline self in the penalty of "damnation body and soul," and with whom he might have been tried as an accessory.—(Vol. vi., p. 342.)

\* He had before demanded the assistance of counsel, and been refused.

a confession so as to matter of fact, provided the malice were set aside. He had, he said, with others, judged Charles I. to death, but neither "maliciously, murderously, nor traitorously." The crown counsel here laughed, and promised to prove malice very easily; and the lord-chief-baron informed the prisoner that "there is malice implied by law—malice in the act itself. That," he continued, "which you call malice—that you had no particular intention or design against the king's person, but in relation to the government—that will not be to this present business. If it should extenuate anything, that would be between God and your own soul; but as to that which is alleged in the indictment, maliciously, murderously, and traitorously, they are the consequences of law. If a man meet another in the street, and run him through, in this case the law implies malice; though but to an ordinary watchman, there is malice by the law in the fact; if there was no such expressed personal malice, yet the fact done implies malice in law." The solicitor-general now interfered, and showed the meanness of his thoughts, and his incapacity for judging the actions of great-souled men, by this piece of vulgar pleasantry: "My lord, he does think a man may sit upon the death of the king, sentence him to death, sign a warrant for his execution, *meekly, innocently, charitably, and honestly!*" Marten answered to this quietly and with dignity: "I shall not presume to compare my knowledge in the law with that of that learned gentleman; but, according to that poor understanding of the law of England that I was capable of, there is no fact that he can name that is a crime in itself, but as it is circumstantiated. Of killing a watchman, as your lordship instanced, a watchman may be killed in not doing his office, and yet no murder." The lord-chief-baron retorted: "I instanced that of a watchman, to show there may be a malice by law, though not expressed; though a man kill a watchman, intending to kill another man, in that case it is malice in law against him; so in this case, if you went to kill the king when he was not doing his office, because he was in prison, and you hindered him from it, the law implies malice in this. It is true, all actions are circumstantiated, but the killing of the king is treason of all treasons." And was reinforced by a sage remark of Mr. Justice Forster: "If a watchman be killed, it is murder; it is in contempt of magistracy—of the powers above: the law says that contempt adds to the malice." The crown counsel now stood up with a triumphant air, and told their lordships: "We shall *now* prove against the prisoner at the bar (because he would wipe off malice) that he did this very merrily, and was in great sport at the time of signing the warrant for the king's execution." "That," quietly answered Marten, "does not imply malice." Ewer's evidence was then given, as already related.\*

Sir Purbeck Temple was now called as a witness, and the counsel asked him what he knew "of that gentleman (the prisoner), in his carriage of this business." Sir Purbeck Temple gave the following evidence in answer: "My lords, I being present in town when that

horrid murder was contrived against the late king, there came some persons of honour, servants of the late king, to my father's house, Sir Edward Partridge, to engage me to join with them to attempt the king's escape. In order whereunto, they told me nothing would tend so much to his majesty's service as to endeavour to discover some parts of their counsels; for that it was resolved by Cromwell to have the king tried at the high court of justice, as they called it, the next day, and desired me (if possible) to be there to discover their counsels, whereby the king might have notice, and those that were to attempt his escape. In order whereunto, the next day, by giving money to the officer of the Painted Chamber, I got in by daylight in the lobby of the Lords' House. I espied a hole in the wall under the hangings, where I placed myself till the council came, where they were contriving the manner of trying the king when he should come before them. After the manner of praying and private consultations among themselves, when their prayer was over, there came news that the king was landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs; at which Cromwell ran to a window, and, looking on the king as he came up the garden, he returned as white as the wall. Returning to the board, he speaks to Bradshaw and Sir Henry Mildmay how they and Sir William Brereton had concluded on such a business; then turning to the board, said thus: 'My masters, he is come, he is come, and now we are doing that great work that the whole nation will be full of; therefore I desire you to let us resolve here what answer we shall give the king when he comes before us, for the first question that he will ask us will be, By what authority and commission do we try him?' To which none answered presently. Then, after a little space, Henry Marten, the prisoner at the bar, rose up and said, 'In the name of the Commons and Parliament assembled, and all the good people of England,' which none contradicted; so all rose up, and then I saw every officer that waited in the room sent out by Cromwell to call away my lord such a one (whose name I have forgot), who was in the Court of Wards chamber, that he should send away the instrument, which came not, and so they adjourned themselves to Westminster Hall, going into the Court of Wards themselves as they went thither. When they came to the court in Westminster Hall, I heard the king ask them the very same question that Cromwell had said to them."

The solicitor-general then addressed the jury, interrupting the last witness, to desire them to place the correct interpretation on what the prisoner had said about want of malice. "You see, gentlemen," he said, "the prisoner at the bar confesses his hand to the warrant for executing the king; you see, by his servant, how merry he was at the sport; you see, by this witness, how serious he was at it, and gave the foundation of that advice upon which they all proceeded; and now, gentlemen, he says he did it not traitorously. *I humbly conceive he means it was justifiable!*" To this Marten, without any emotion, observed to the chief-baron: "My lord, the commission went in the name of the Commons assembled in Parliament, and the good

\* See ante, p. 376.

people of England; and what a matter is it for one of the commissioners to say, Let it be acted by the good people of England!" To this the solicitor retorted, "You know all good people did abhor it. *I am sorry to see so little repentance.*"

Being called upon for his defence, Marten addressed the court in these words. The touching effect of their quiet earnestness is not lessened by the consideration they show to the place and position in which the speaker now stood. "My lord, I hope that which is urged by the learned counsel will not have that impression upon the court and jury that it seems to have, that I am so obstinate in a thing so apparently ill; my lord, if it were possible for that blood to be in the body again, and every drop that was shed in the late wars, I could wish it with all my heart; but, my lord, I hope it is lawful to offer in my own defence that which, when I did it, I thought I might do. My lord, there was the House of Commons, as I understood it (perhaps your lordships think it was not a House of Commons); then it was the supreme authority of England: it was so reputed both at home and abroad. My lord, I suppose he that gives obedience to the authority in being *de facto*, whether *de jure* or no—I think he is of a peaceable disposition, and far from a traitor. My lord, I think there was a statute made in Henry VII.'s time, whereby it was provided that whosoever was in arms for the king *de facto*, he should be indemnified, though that king *de facto* was not *de jure*; and if supreme officers *de facto* can justify a war (the most pernicious remedy that was ever adjudged by mankind, be the cause what it will), I presume the supreme authority of England may justify a judicature, though it be not an authority *de facto*. My lord, if it be said that it is but a third estate, and a small parcel of that—my lord, it was all that was extant. *I have heard lawyers say, that if there be commons appurtenant to a tenement, and that tenement all burned down except a small stick, the commons belong to that one small piece, as it did to the tenement when all standing.* My lord, I shall humbly offer to consideration whether the king were the king indeed—such a one whose peace, crowns, and dignities were concerned in public matters. *My lord, he was not in execution of his offices—he was a prisoner.*" Marten then made allusion to King Charles II., and said that, so long as the representative body of England "supported him, he (Marten) should pay obedience to him." "Besides, my lord," he concluded, "I do owe my life to him, if I am acquitted for this. I do confess I did adhere to the Parliament's army heartily. My life is at his mercy; now if his grace be pleased to grant it, I shall have a double obligation to him."

The solicitor-general followed in aggravation of the case. "My lord," he said, "this gentleman, the prisoner at the bar, hath entered into a discourse, that I am afraid he must have an answer in Parliament for it. He hath owned the king, but thinks his best title is the acknowledgment of the people; and he that hath that, let him be who he will, hath the best title." Marten here interrupted the solicitor with these few words: "I have one word more, my lord. I humbly desire that the jury would take notice,

that, though I am accused in the name of the king, that if I be acquitted, the king is not cast. It doth not concern the king that the prisoner be condemned; it concerns him that the prisoner be tried. It is as much to his interest, crown, and dignity, that the innocent be acquitted, as that the nocent be condemned."

The lord-chief-baron delivered his charge, in which he took occasion to observe: "Marten hath done that which looks forward more than backward; that is, to repentance of that which is past, than obedience of that which is to come. It is a trouble to repeat those things which he said himself, and truly, I hope in charity he meant better than his words were." A verdict of guilty was returned by the jury "after a little consultation."

It has been said that Henry Marten sought to save his life upon his trial by professions of repentance and contrition. The reader has the means of judging the utter falsehood of such a charge. No late-found loyalty was his. His conduct in that hour was what it had been his whole life through—easy, self-possessed, and firm. He offered no uncalled-for offence to the court, it is true, or to the powers once more in possession of the kingdom. There was about Harry Marten, in all circumstances, as there generally is with men of wit or various accomplishment, that habitual grace, that continual sense of the proprieties in manner, which nothing could interrupt, ever varying and adapting itself to all circumstances alike; but when he left the bar that day, after receiving sentence (and he left it with a step that betokened a light heart still, though a firm one), no one entertained a doubt but that the next display of his accomplishments and his courage would be made upon a scaffold.

And yet his life was spared. Some of the Royalists visited him in prison, and requested him to petition Parliament for mercy. Bishop Burnet says, upon this, that his "vices" had procured him such friends. Mr. D'Israeli says, with greater truth, that the news of his impending execution had roused the grateful mediation of the numerous friends of the opposite party to his own, whom in his own days of power "his facetious genius had so timely served."\* He acceded to their request, and sent a petition to the two Houses. In this petition he observed, with the careless wit which no misfortune could subdue, that he had surrendered himself upon the Restoration in consequence of the king's "declaration of Breda," and that, "since he had never obeyed any royal proclamation before this, he hoped that he should not be hanged for taking the king's word now."

On the discussion of the matter in the House of Commons, a Royalist writer† tells us, "the grave and sober members were generally for having him pay his forfeited life; but he had many advocates in those who had partook of the pleasures of his conviviality, both within and without the House." Notwithstanding the

\* Commentaries, vol. v., p. 418. The men of his own party, with whom he had ever contracted friendships, exhibited on all occasions a singular attachment to him; and Ludlow relates of his father, Sir Henry Ludlow, that he believed his death was chiefly occasioned by his deep grief at the expulsion of Marten from the House of Commons in 1643.

† Noble. Echard.

latter circumstance, however, the Commons took no step upon the petition. The Lords afterward took it into consideration, and summoned Marten before them. Here his conduct was still as it had ever been. Worn with imprisonment, and distracted with hopes deferred (for three months had now passed since his sentence), he confessed no fault, extenuated nothing of that for which his life was sought in penalty, but, making a half-pleasant allusion to the past, besought their lordships to give him more time to live. We find from the Lords' Journals (7th February, 1661) that "Mr. Marten being demanded what he could say for himself why the aforesaid act for his execution should not pass," he replied, that his hope was in the great mercy of their lordships, greater here than it could be in any other case, since "the honourable House of Commons, that he did so idolize, had given him up to death, and now this honourable House of Peers, *which he had so much opposed*, especially in their power of judicature, had suddenly been made the sanctuary to flee to for life." Lord Falkland and other peers spoke very warmly in his behalf, and the sentence of death was remitted. Yet the mercy, after all, was more than questionable. He was ordered to be imprisoned *for life*.

A blank, then, suddenly falls here on the gaiety, the grace, the high purposes, the wit of Harry Marten! a blank even felt by the most prejudiced advocates of the men it had been the business of his life to oppose. "Such," says one of them, "was the last sad doom of this man, whose quickness of thought, elegance of manners, vivacity, wit, and charming gayety had often fascinated, not only the convivial board, but the grave, austere, sour Republican chiefs in the House of Commons, who so often chose him their manager and director!"\*

His first prison was the Tower; he was afterward ordered to Windsor, from which Aubrey says he was removed, "because he was an eie-sore to majestie;" his final place of imprisonment was the Castle of Chepstow, in Monmouthshire. It would seem that this place was selected with some view to a former and prouder connexion with it, that might render his present humiliation deeper, for Wood tells us that at the period of his greatest influence in the country, "the Welsh counties desired Henry Marten for their commander-in-chief." In Chepstow he lingered out twenty long years of imprisonment. "For twenty years," exclaimed a great living writer, in his early days of hope and of enthusiasm, standing in the very room that had been occupied by the illustrious prisoner,

"For twenty years, secluded from mankind,  
Here MARTEN lingered. Often have these walls  
Echo'd his footsteps, as with even tread  
He paced around his prison; not to him  
Did nature's fair varieties exist!  
He never saw the sun's delightful beams,  
Save when through yon high bars it pour'd a sad

\* Even old Anthony à Wood, after exhausting every variety of abuse on Marten, is obliged to finish with the following admissions, qualified a little at the close. "He was a man of good natural parts, was a boon familiar, witty, and quick with repartees, was exceeding happy in apt instances, pertinent and very biting, so that his company being esteemed incomparable by many, would have been acceptable to the greatest persons, only he would be drunk too soon, and so put an end to all the mirth for the present."—*Ath.* vol. iii., p. 1941.

And broken splendour. Dost thou ask *his crime*?  
He had rebell'd against a king, and sat  
In judgment on him—for his ardent mind  
Shaped goodliest plans of happiness on earth,  
And peace and liberty. Wild dreams! but such  
As Plato loved; such as, with holy zeal,  
Our Milton worshipp'd. Bless'd hopes! a while  
From man withheld even to the latter days  
When Christ shall come, and all things be fulfill'd!"

And through all the early, and, indeed, solitary years of his imprisonment, those ardent hopes and goodliest plans may well be thought to have still remained, his refuge and sustinment. He had other consolations in his misery, which were named before. It brought back the long-estranged affection of earlier days—his wife's sympathy, and his daughter's affectionate zeal. His own estate confiscated by the crown, everything he could need in the narrow circuit of his prison he received out of the jointure that had been reserved to his wife on their marriage; and when, in the latter years of his imprisonment, the severities commemorated by the poet had been in some respects relaxed, the visits of his daughter relieved the loneliness and infirmity of age. His wife had died some little time before.†

One anecdote of Marten remains to be told. It is the only anecdote we have of his imprisonment, the single gleam which breaks through the now impenetrable obscurity of those melancholy years, to reveal the man; and with its aid we see the man unchanged. He is firm, frank, fearless as ever. He had been suffered, during the last few years of his life, in consideration of the harmlessness, no less than the infirmities, of his great age, to walk out of his prison occasionally, under the strict conduct of a keeper, into the neighbouring village of St. Pierre. A person of the name of Lewis lived here, and when he saw him, would ask him into his house. It grew into a habit at last; and a visit to this house, and a conversation with its owner, were the old man's last remaining comforts. Some unlucky day, however, this Lewis, who was a slavish Royalist (as people who lived in the neighbourhood of royal castles in those days generally were), happened to ask his visiter if, supposing the deed were to be done over again, he would again sign the warrant for Charles

\* This inscription for the apartment in which Marten was confined was composed by ROBERT SOUTHEY, LL.D., when he was the *Laureate* of Wat Tyler, and before he had the remotest idea of becoming the *Laureate* of *George the Fourth*! GEORGE CANNING, the literary Robespierre of his day, sharpened his axe to a razor's keenness for the execution of the distinguished victim. The inscription of Southey led Canning to compose the following unrivalled parody:

*Inscription for the door of the Cell in Newgate, where Mrs. Brownrigge, the 'Prentice-cide, was confined previous to her Execution.*

"For one long term, or e'er her trial came,  
Here Brownrigge linger'd. Often have these cells  
Echo'd her blasphemies, as with shrill voice  
She scream'd for fresh Geneva. Not to her  
Did the blithe fields of Tothill, or thy streets,  
St. Giles, its fair varieties expand,  
Till at the last, in slow-drawn cart, she went  
To execution. Dost thou ask her crime?  
She whipp'd two female 'prentices to death,  
And hid them in the coal-hole—for her mind  
Shaped strictest place of discipline. Sage schemes,  
Such as Læurgus taught, when at the shrine  
Of the Orythian goddess he bade flog  
The little Spartans; such as erst enstasied  
Our Milton when at college. For this act  
Did Brownrigge swing. Harsh laws! but time shall come  
When France shall reign, and laws be all repeal'd!"

† Aubrey, *Bodleian Letters*. *Ath. Oxon.*, vol. iii., p. 1943.

the First's execution. Marten told him "Yes;" and was never after received into the house of Mr. Lewis.\* The end, however, which he must surely now have prayed for, was rapidly approaching, and at last, in 1691, enfeebled with the weight of seventy-eight years, and the sufferings of a long imprisonment, against which his strong natural health had wonderfully borne him up, he was suddenly, while sitting at dinner, struck with apoplexy, and fell dead from his chair.

A paper containing the following verses was found in the room where he died.† They appear to have expressed the very latest of his thoughts before death, and he had formed the opening letters, it will be seen, into his own

name—an old, fantastic resource from the wearying length of lonely hours.

"Here or elsewhere (all's one to you—to me!),  
Earth, air, or water grips my ghostless dust,  
None knowing when brave fire shall set it free.  
Reader, if you an oft-tried rule will trust,  
You'll gladly do and suffer what you must!

"My life was worn with serving you and you,  
And death is my reward, and welcome too:  
Revenge destroying but itself; while I  
To birds of prey leave my old cage, and fly:  
Examples preach to th' eye—care, then, mine says,  
Not how you end, but how you spend your days."

Thus, to the very last hour, a sense of the great matters in which his early years had been engaged was present with this eminent person, and the last lesson he desired to leave to posterity was in the spirit of those ancients on whose actions he had modelled his own—that the most miserable or the most painful of deaths was nothing in the memory of a well-spent life. He had earned the glorious privilege of bequeathing such a lesson, for never was a cause more just or honourable, or in its result more fraught with blessings, felt to the present hour, than that which among the bravest of its advocates—exalting it by his generous purpose as he graced it by his wit—counts with pride the name of HENRY MARTEN.

\* I have not the original authority for this anecdote near me, but I transcribe one version of it from a French work by the accomplished M. Guizot. "Henri Marten conserva jusqu'à la fin de sa vie la même opinion sur la mort du roi. Un M. Lewis, habitant à Saint Pierre, aux environs de Chateaufort, le recevait souvent chez lui, lorsqu'il sortait avec ses gardes. Il lui demanda un jour si, dans le cas où la chose serait à recommencer, il signerait de nouveau l'ordre de l'exécution de son souverain, Marten répondit affirmativement; sur quoi M. Lewis cessa de la recevoir."—*M. Guizot's Notes to Ludlow.*

† Wood's *Ath. Oxon.*, iii., 1942. Aubrey also mentions this circumstance.



## OLIVER CROMWELL.—1599–1658.

OLIVER CROMWELL was born at Huntingdon, in the large Gothic house to which his father's brewery was attached,\* on the 25th of April, 1599.† The name he bore had not infrequently been heard of in English history, but it was destined to become immortal in his person by the deeds with which he connected it—whether for good or evil, these pages, undertaken in no spirit of unjust detraction or of blind admiration, may possibly help to determine.

Milton, in his "Defensio Secunda," thus alludes to the family of Cromwell: "Est Oliverius Cromwellus genere nobili atque illustri ortus: nomen republica olim sub regibus bene administrata clarum, religione simul orthodoxa vel restituta tum primū apud nos vel stabilita clarius."‡ The noble and illustrious race here pointed at was that of Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex; a man of humble birth,§ but who

had risen to be Henry VIII.'s prime minister and vicar-general of England, and whose sister had married into the family of Oliver's ancestors. The latter were Welsh, and bore the name of Williams,\* until Sir Richard Williams—the issue of this marriage between the sister of Essex and Mr. Morgan Williams, "of Llanishen in the county of Glamorgan"—having risen into favour and knighthood at Henry VIII.'s court by his own gallant prowess and the influence of his uncle, and having obtained, among other extensive grants of nunneries and monasteries at that time dissolved, the nunnery of Hinchinbrook and the abbey of Ramsey, in the county of Huntingdon, fixed his seat at the former place, and assumed thenceforward the name of Cromwell, in honour of the chief architect of his princely fortunes.

Thus from the chivalrous son of a Glamorganshire squire the worldly power and splendour of the family of the Cromwells took its rise, as from the farmer son of a brewer of Huntingdon it afterward dated its immortality. This Richard Cromwell was one of the few favourites and servants of Henry VIII. whom he did not send to the scaffold; and when, in the old Chronicles of Stow,† we catch the dawn

Cromwell, a blacksmith of Putney—who rose to power on the wreck of Wolsey's fortunes, and fell suddenly down by disregarding Wolsey's fate. Doubtless he was not free from error, but his memory claims a larger share of our respect than is generally due to such men.

\* The pedigree of this family, from whom Oliver Cromwell directly sprang, commences, according to the industrious and satisfactory researches of Mr. Noble, with Glothyan, lord of Powis, who, about the middle of the eleventh century, married Morveth, the daughter and heiress of Elwin ap Tydwell, lord of Carligan. William ap Yevan, the representative of the family in the fifteenth century, was first in the service of Gaspar, duke of Bedford, Henry VIII.'s uncle, and afterward in that of Henry himself. Morgan Williams, or, rather, Morgan ap Williams (he gave up the latter name in obedience to Henry VIII.'s policy of mingling together, as much as possible, the English and Welsh names and families), who married Essex's sister, was William ap Yevan's son.—[I am not quite willing to join Mr. Carlyle in his contempt for Noble, who really has deserved the gratitude of posterity for his laborious researches.—C.]

† Stow thus describes the tournament; the incident at its close is given in Fuller's Church History. Here are Stow's words: "On May-day was a great triumph of jousting at Westminster, which joust had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers that would, against the challengers of England, which were Sir John Dudley, Sir T. Seymour, Sir T. Poyning, Sir George Carew, knights; Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell, esquires: which said challengers came into the lists that day, richly apparelled, and their horses traved all in white, gentlemen riding afore them, apparelled all with velvet and white surcoat, and all their servants in white doublets, and hose cut all in the Burgonian fashion; and there came to joust against them the said day, of defendants forty-six, the Earl of Surrey being the foremost; Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, son and heir to T. Cromwell, earle of Essex, and chamberlaine of England, with other, which were all richly apparelled: and that day Sir John Dudley was overthrown in the field, by mischance of his horse, by one Andrew Brome; nevertheless, he brake divers spears valiantly after that; and after the said jousts done, the said challengers rode to Durham Place, where they kept open household, and feasted the king and queen, with their ladies, and all the court. The 2d of May, Anthony Kingston and Richard Cromwell were made knights of the same place. The 3d of May, the said challengers did tourney on horseback, with swords; there came against them twenty-nine defendants: Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey running first, which, the first

\* A friend of Cromwell's last biographer, Dr. Russell, thus describes the building and its present state: "That it was not," as stated by Mr. Noble, "out of the ruins of St. John's Hospital that Mr. Robert Cromwell's mansion was erected, is manifest from the fact that the said institution is still existing and flourishing, and from its funds is supported the grammar-school of the town in which Oliver himself was educated. As Cromwell's ancestor, Sir Richard, obtained a rich dowry of the old abbey possessions from Henry VIII., it has been supposed that the house and lands of the Augustine friars came into the family in this way. But it is stated in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* that they were granted to Thomas Anden on the suppression of the monasteries; and I ascertained, from an inspection of the ancient wills, registered in the office of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon, that the house was occupied as a brewery by a Mr. Philip Clam before it came into the possession of Robert Cromwell, the Protector's father. The latter must therefore have obtained the property by purchase; and as his fortune was but small, we find that he continued to carry on the brewery formerly established on the premises. The house was built of stone, with Gothic windows and projecting attics, and must have been one of the most considerable in the borough. It had extensive back premises, in which the brewery was carried on, and a fine garden. In the year 1810, the estate was purchased by James Rust, Esq., whose extensive improvements have entirely obliterated every trace of the Cromwell mansion. Previous to this date, the chamber in which Oliver was born, and the room under it, remained as they were at the time when that event took place; and an outbuilding, noticed by Noble, in which Cromwell was said to have held forth to the Puritans, was pointed out to strangers."—[I regard Russell's work as partaking strongly of the age of Charles II., and by no means affording just views of the Protector. No man, however, who wishes to obtain a just and comprehensive view of this greatest of England's great men, will fail to consult that admirable work just published by Carlyle, "*The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*." It unfolds the sturdy heart of Cromwell, and, though he may be denied a place in the collection of the great men whose statues are to adorn the British Parliament House, this labour of Carlyle's will disabuse the public mind, and endow him in the grateful recollections of the lovers of liberty.]

† I omit many notes which I had prepared to affix to this article, in consequence of the publication of this very satisfactory work, lately issued by Messrs. Wiley & Putnam.—C.]

† I can subjoin the entry of the parish register: "Oliverius filius Roberti Cromwell, gent., et Elizabethæ uxoris ejus, natus 25<sup>a</sup> die Aprilis, et baptizatus 29<sup>a</sup> ejusdem mensis, 1599. E registro ecclesiæ paroch. s. Johannis, infra oppidum Huntingdon."

‡ Milton's *Prose Works*, by Birch, folio edition, vol. ii., p. 344. "Oliver Cromwell was sprung from a noble and illustrious family; the name was formerly famous in the state when well governed by kings; more famous, at the same time, for orthodox religion, then either first restored or established among us."

§ The reader need not be told that this was the famous Thomas Cromwell of the Reformation—the son of Walter



John F. Smith  
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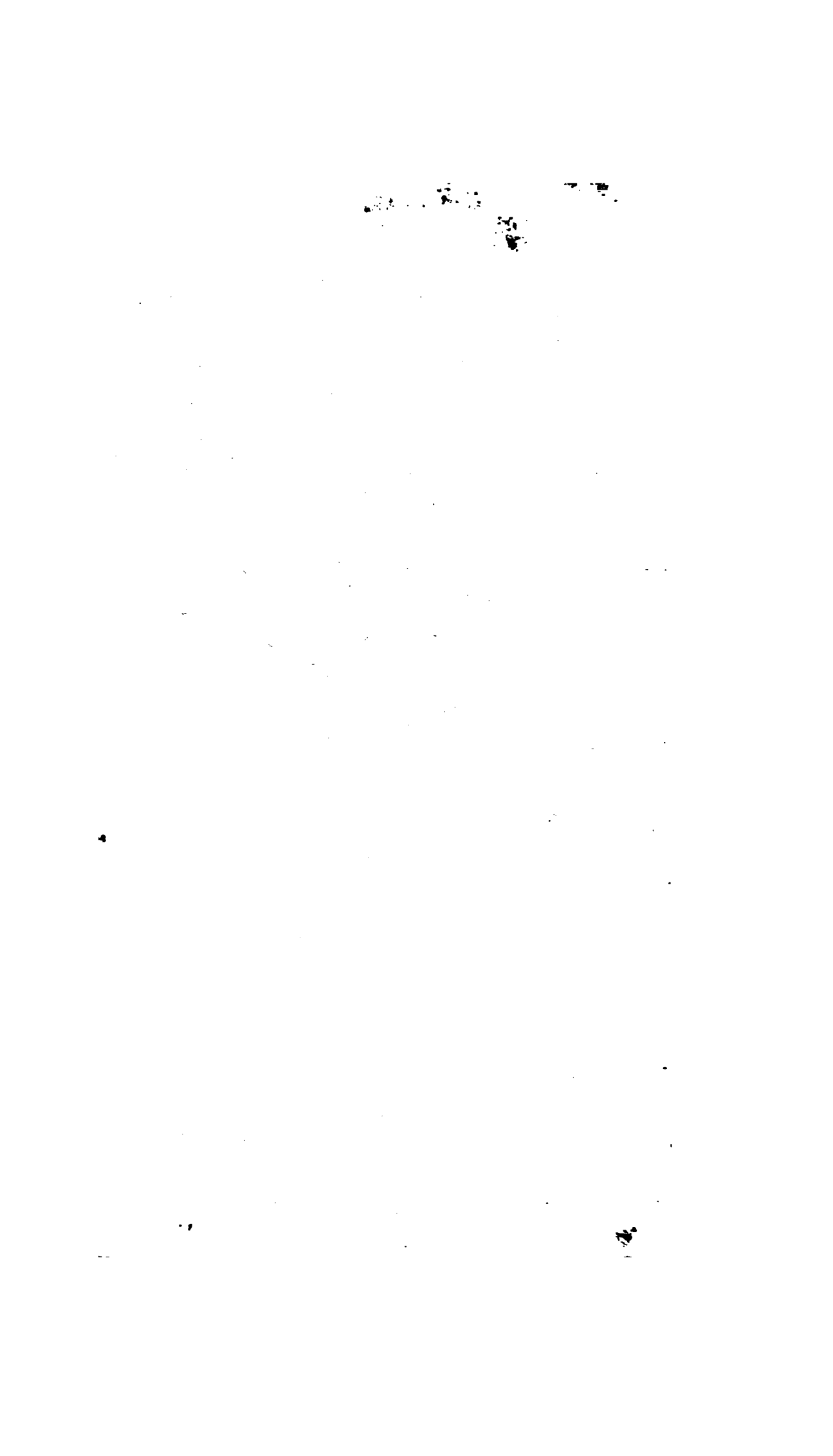
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*John Cornwell*

HARPER AND BROTHERS NEW YORK



of his loyal fortunes, it is as though it gleaned reproachfully down upon the terrible act which laid the foundation of the mightier fortunes of his great-grandson Oliver. On May-day, 1540, a brilliant tournament at Westminster opens its lists before us, in which Richard Cromwell and others had proclaimed themselves to France, Flanders, and Scotland the defenders of the honour and rights of their English king. Henry VIII. looks on, and when Sir Richard Cromwell has struck down challenger after challenger with undaunted arm, forth from his deep broad chest rolls out the royal laugh of Henry: "Formerly thou wast my Dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond." Then from the finger of majesty drops a diamond ring, which Sir Richard picks up and again presents to Henry, who laughingly places it on his finger, and bids him ever after bear such a one in the fore gamb of the demi-lion in his crest; and such a ring did Oliver Cromwell wear there\* when he left his farm at Ely to bear more formidable arms at the challenge of a king!

The sudden and violent fall of Essex had no disastrous effect on his kinsman's fortunes, which shone brightly to the last. Enriched to an almost unprecedented extent by the plunder of the religious houses, he left to his son, Henry Cromwell, the inheritance of a most noble fortune.† Nor was this Henry less for-

course, lost their gauntlets, and that day Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew M. Palmer in the field off his horse, to the great honour of the challengers. The 5th of May, the said challengers fought on foot, at the barriers, and against them came thirty defendants, which fought valiantly, but Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew that day, at the barriers, M. Guispeper in the field; and the sixth of May the said challengers brake up their household: in the which time of their house-keeping they had not only feasted the king, queen, ladies, and the whole court, as was aforesaid, but on the Tuesday in the Rogation Week they feasted all the knights and burgesses of the Common House in the Parliament; and on the morrow after, they had the mayor of London, the aldermen, and all their wives to dinner; and on the Friday they brake it up as aforesaid." Sir Richard and the five challengers had then each of them, as a reward of their valour, 100 marks annually, with a house to live in, to them and to their heirs forever, granted out of the monastery of the friars of St. Francis, in Stamford, which was dissolved October 8, 1535; and his majesty was the better enabled to do this, as Sir Will. Weston, the last prior, who had an annuity out of the monastery, died two days after the justs. Fortunate king and fortunate knights, to have a prior die so opportunely! But to break a heart is not a bad recipe for death at any time.

\* See Noble's Protectoral House, vol. i., p. 11, and Fuller's Church History.

† In his will (which is dated as early as June, 1545), it appears, he styled himself by the alias Williams, a custom observed by all the Cromwells up to and even past the time of Oliver. An extract of this will, in which Sir Richard describes himself as of "the privy chamber of the king," is given by Mr. Noble. "He directs that his body shall be buried in the place where he should die; and devises his estates in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Bedford, to his eldest son Henry, with the sum of £500 to purchase him necessary furniture, when he shall come of age: his estates in Glamorganshire he devises to his son Francis (his only other son), and bequeaths £300 to each of his nieces, Joan and Ann, daughters of his brother, Walter Cromwell; and directs, that if Tho. Wingfield, then in ward to him, should choose to marry either of them, he shall have his wardship remitted to him, otherwise that the same should be sold; he also leaves three of his best great horses to the king, and one other great horse to Lord Cromwell, after the king has chosen: legacies are also left to Sir John Williams, knt., and Sir Edw. North, knt., chamberlains of the court of augmentation, and to several other persons, who seem to have been servants. Gab. Donne, clerk; Andr. Judde, Will. Coke, Phil. Lenthall, and Rich. Serivington, were appointed executors. This will was proved Nov. 26th, 1546. Sir Richard." Mr. Noble adds, "must have left a prodigious fortune to his family, by what he possessed by descent, grants and purchases of church lands,

fortunate than his father. Elizabeth esteemed him highly, knighted him in 1563, and in the following year honoured him by a visit at his family seat of Hinchinbrook, on her return from the University of Cambridge. His memory still lived in the neighbourhood of his estates some century since, for he had associated it with generous actions in the hearts of the poor of the district, and, to the poor, long memories for benefits belong. They called him in his lifetime the Golden Knight, for he never entered any of the towns or villages around him without bestowing some money on the needy and distressed; and that honourable title survived him.\* He lived to a good old age, and left behind him six sons and five daughters, of whom the second daughter, Elizabeth, gave birth to the patriot Hampden, and of whom the second son, Robert, the meanest in fortune, was destined to exert an influence on the destinies of the world unapproached by the most illustrious of his ancestors, or the most powerful of their patron princes, for he was the father of Oliver Cromwell.

Mr. Robert Cromwell, but for this memorable circumstance, would have lived and died unknown in Huntingdon, since his tastes were humble as his fortunes.† He was sent, indeed, to one of Elizabeth's Parliaments by the electors of that borough, but he appears to have experienced only enough of that sort of public life to conceive disgust to it, since all the duties he afterward discharged were confined to his native town, in which he served as one of the bailiffs,‡ sat as justice of the peace, and, when

and from the sums he must have acquired by filling very lucrative employments, with the liberal donations of his sovereign, King Henry VIII. This is evident from his possessions in Huntingdonshire, the annual amount of which, at an easy rent, were worth at least £3000 per ann.; these estates only, in Fuller's time, were, he says, valued by some at £20,000, and by others at £30,000 annually, and upward; and from what these estates now let for, in and near Ramsey and Huntingdon (which are only a part of them), I should presume that Sir Richard's estates in that county only would now bring in as large a revenue as any peer at this time enjoys; and yet it is evident that he had considerable property in several other counties.\*

\* See Noble's Memoirs of the Cromwell Family, vol. i., p. 22.

† These fortunes are thus described by Noble: "Rob. Cromwell, Esq., second son of Sir Henry Cromwell, knt., had, by the will of his father, an estate in and near the town of Huntingdon, consisting chiefly, if not wholly, of possessions belonging formerly to the monastery of St. Mary for Augustine friars, amounting, with the great tithes of Hartford, to about £300 per ann."

‡ His name as bailiff is to be found at this day in the nave of a church in Huntingdon. Dr. Russell's friend, before referred to, says: "In the nave of St. Mary's Church, Huntingdon, the following notice is to be seen on one of the pillars:

'Cromwell.  
Turpin.  
Bailiffs.  
1600.'

The church was not built till 1680, and Robert Cromwell, the Protector's father, who must be the person here meant, died in 1617. The inscription was probably made by some curious person, after the name of Cromwell had gathered all its fame, and drawn public attention and inquiry to the ancestors of the Protector.‡ That he took great interest in the concerns of his native county, and was consulted respecting its improvements by its leading proprietors, is, however, indisputable, from a passage in Sir William Dugdale's History of the Fens, where his signature is found attached to a certificate addressed to the privy council in 1615, stating that the drawing of the fens in Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge (a work which his son afterward resolutely opposed), was practicable, and might be accomplished "without peril to any haven or county." In recommending this great improvement, he was joined by sixteen of the principal persons in the

his family had outgrown his income, betook himself to the occupation of a brewer. He had married in early life Elizabeth, the daughter of William Steward, of the city of Ely, an undoubted descendant of the royal family of the Stuarts.\* This lady had already been the wife of "Will. Lynne, gent., son and heir-apparent of John Lynne of Bassingborne, Esq.,"† when, in the second year of her widowhood, with a jointure of only £60 a year,‡ she married Mr. Robert Cromwell.

Thus allied to a self-ennobled family on the one hand, and on the other to royalty itself, Mr. Robert Cromwell and his wife were nevertheless brewers of Huntingdon. It is strange, indeed, that this should ever have been disputed, since not the remotest shade of doubt, and as little of discredit, can possibly be thrown upon the fact. The records of the purchase of the brewery, and of its management, are in existence still; and from the unimpeachable testimony of many witnesses, that of Roger Coke§ may be selected, whose father, being asked whether he knew the Protector, answered, "Yes, and his father too, when he kept his brewhouse in Huntingdon." A contemporary writer tells us something more: "Both Mr. Cromwell and his wife were persons of great worth, and no way inclined to disaffection, either in their civil or religious principles, but remarkable for living upon a small fortune with decency, and maintaining a large family by their frugal circumspection."|| In subjoining the statement of Sir William Dugdale, we may, perhaps, discover the ridiculous pretence with which the scrupulous asserters of Mr. Robert Cromwell's "pure gentility" satisfy their tender consciences, and lay the burden of the brewery on his wife. "Robert Cromwell," says Dugdale,¶ "though he was, by the countenance of his elder brother, Sir Oliver, made a justice of the peace in Huntingdonshire, had but a slender estate; much of his support being a brewhouse in Huntingdon, chiefly managed by his wife." The Royalist chronicler, Heath,\*\* is still more explicit on the latter point. "The brewhouse," he says, "was kept in his father's time, and managed by his mother and his father's servants, without any concernment of his father therein, the accounts being always given to the mistress, who, after her hus-

band's death, did continue in the same employment and calling of a brewer, and thought it no disparagement to sustain the estate and port of a younger brother, as Mr. Robert Cromwell was, by those lawful means; however, not so reputable as other gains and trades are accounted." True, not so reputable as Mr. Heath would have accounted the trade and gain of a servile follower of courts, of a mean flatterer of kings, of a base tool of incapable favourites or ministers. Had Mr. Cromwell been all this, and lent out his wife in furtherance of the calling, loud should have been the praises of the apostles of the Restoration!

Scarcely less contemptible do they seem to us, however, who foolishly imagine they exalt the claims of Robert Cromwell's son, in making out his father an idle "gentleman," and his mother a laborious drudge. That the wife assisted the husband in his pursuits is yet indisputable, as it was natural, for the fashion of fine ladyism in a tradesman's wife had not then "come up" in the world; while of her own more homely fashion, she proved the superior advantage, when her husband's death had left her the sole protectress of a young and numerous family. An interesting person, indeed, was this mother of Oliver Cromwell—a woman with the glorious faculty of self-help when other assistance failed her: ready for the demands of fortune in its extremest adverse time—of spirit and energy equal to her mildness and patience; who, with the labour of her own hands, gave dowries to five daughters sufficient to marry them into families as honourable, but more wealthy than their own; whose single pride was honesty, and whose passion love; who preserved in the gorgeous palace at Whitehall the simple tastes that distinguished her in the old brewery at Huntingdon; whose only care, amid all her splendours, was for the safety of her beloved son in his dangerous eminence; finally, whose closing wish, when that anxious care had outworn her strength, accorded with her whole modest and tender history, for it implored a simple burial in some country churchyard, rather than those ill-suited trappings of state and ceremony wherewith she feared, and with reason feared, that his highness, the Lord Protector of England, would have her carried to some royal tomb! There is a portrait of her at Hinchinbrook, which, if that were possible, would increase the interest she inspires and the respect she claims. The month, so small and sweet, yet full and firm as the mouth of a hero; the large, melancholy eyes; the light, pretty hair; the expression of quiet affectionateness suffused over the face, which is so modestly enveloped in a white satin hood; the simple beauty of the velvet cardinal she wears, and the richness of the small jewel that clasps it, seem to present before the gazer her living and breathing character.\*

ties most immediately interested, and among them by his brother Sir Oliver. \* See Appendix A.

† The following inscription rests on a tombstone in the Cathedral of Ely: "Hic inhumatus jacet optimus spei adolescens Gulielmus Lynne, generosus, filius & hæres apparens Johannis Lynne de Bassingborne in Co. Cantab. Arm. qui quidam Gulielmus immatura morte præemptus in ipso ætate flore 27 ægis Annum, 27 die Julij A.D. 1589, non sine summo omnium dolore, ex hac Vita placide migravit; unquam relinquens filiam Catharinam scilicet, quam etiam 17 die Martij sequentis præpropere mors eadem Nature lege natum sustulit, simulque jam cum Patre æterno fruitur gaudio—Ponuit amoris ergo moestissima illius Conjux Elizabetha filia Gulielmi Steward de Ely Armigeri."

‡ The smallness of this jointure (for the family fortune that remained to the Stewards rested solely with her brother, Sir Thomas, of whom mention will be made hereafter) was a favourite subject of lampoon with the Cavaliers up to the period of his death. "It is hoped," I find in one of their scurrilous papers, "that now our enormous taxes will be eased, as the Protector's highness, by the death of his mother, is freed from her dowry, which amounted to the prodigious sum of £60 annually."

§ See Detection, vol. iii., p. 57. ¶ Noble, vol. i., p. 84.

|| See Short View of the Recent Troubles, p. 459.

\*\* Flagellum, p. 15.

\* Out of the profits of her trade," says a writer in the Biographica Britannica, "and her own small jointure of sixty pounds a year, she provided fortunes for her daughters, sufficient to marry them into good families. The eldest was the wife of Mr. John Deaborough, afterward one of the Protector's major-generals; another married, first, Roger Whetstone, Esq., and afterward Colonel John Jones, who was executed for being one of the king's judges; the third espoused Colonel Valentine Walton, who died in exile; the fourth, Mrs. Robina Cromwell, married, first, Dr. Peter French, and afterward Dr. John Wilkins, bishop of Chester,

On the 25th of April, in the year 1599, this excellent woman gave birth to Oliver Cromwell. He was her second son, and the only one of three who lived to manhood; one of her daughters had also died in youth, and the names of the survivors were Elizabeth, Catharine, Margaret, Anna, Jane, and Robina, who, with Oliver, formed the family of Mr. Robert Cromwell.

Four days after his birth, Oliver Cromwell was baptized in the parish church of St. John's, in his native place: his uncle, Sir Oliver, after whom he was named,\* standing for him at the font.

Of his extreme youth, marvellous stories were recollected in his days of power, not for this, however, to be rejected, since what has once been believed should in all future time be matter of just concern. When Milton undertook a history of England, he began it with a large collection of traditional fables, because he well knew that to whatever has been truly believed, however false or fabulous, belong some of the most sacred privileges of truth itself, and that the imagination can never be strongly influenced without a corresponding and enduring action upon the opinions and the character. The fables of biography may show us, at all events, in what various ways the celebrity of their object has wrought upon his countrymen.

From the instant of his birth, according to the traditions of Huntingdon, the peculiar destiny which had marked the infant for its own saved him from all meaner chances.† A non-juror, who afterward purchased and inhabited his father's house, used to assert this destiny to have been nothing less than the devil; and, in proof of the connexion, would show, behind the door of the room that Oliver was born in, a curious figure of that personage wrought in

the hangings. On the same authority rests the version of one of Oliver's escapes, wonderful as Gulliver's at Brobdignag. "His grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell," so goes the story, "having sent for him to Hinchinbrook, when an infant in arms, a monkey took him from the cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house. Alarmed at the danger Oliver was in, the family brought beds to catch him upon, fearing the creature's dropping him; but the sagacious animal brought the 'fortune of England' down in safety: so narrow an escape had he, who was doomed to be the conqueror and sovereign magistrate of three mighty nations, from the paws of a monkey."\* The tradition which saves the daring and reckless young lad from drowning by the providential interference of the curate of Cunington,‡ is, perhaps, better worthy of belief, though it might be difficult to say so much of the Royalist addition to the story, tagged on after the Restoration—that this same worthy curate, at a future period, when kindly called upon by Oliver, in a march at the head of his troops through Huntingdon, and asked if he recollected the service he had done, answered, "Yes, I do; but I wish I had put you in, rather than see you here in arms against your king."

The child's temper, it seems admitted on all hands, was wayward and violent,‡ and is said to have broken out on one occasion, when he was yet only five years old, with an ominous forecast of times and deeds to come. The anecdote is told by Noble. "They have a tradition at Huntingdon," says that industrious collector, "that when King Charles I., then Duke of York, in his journey from Scotland to London, in 1604, called, in his way, at Hinchinbrook, the seat of Sir Oliver Cromwell, that knight, to divert the young prince, sent for his nephew Oliver, that he, with his own sons, might play with his royal highness; but they had not been long together before Charles and Oliver disagreed; and as the former was then as weakly as the latter was strong, it was no wonder that the royal visitant was worsted; and Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignity, that he made the royal blood flow in copious streams from the prince's nose. This was looked upon as a bad presage for that king when the civil wars commenced. I give this only as the report of the place: thus far is certain, that Hinchinbrook, as being near Huntingdon, was generally one of the resting-places when any of the royal family were going to or returning from the north of England, or into or from Scotland." An anecdote, which somehow bears upon it the stamp and greatness of reality! If these boys ever met (and when King James's frequent visits to Hinchinbrook are borne in mind,§ it is difficult to suppose they did not), what occurrence so likely as a quarrel, and what result so plain as that the anecdote tells us! The nervous, feeble, tottering infan-

a famous preacher and a celebrated mathematician. It may not be amiss to add, that an aunt of Cromwell's married Francis Barrington, Esq.; another aunt, John Hampden, Esq., of Buckinghamshire, by whom she was mother to the famous John Hampden; a third aunt was the wife of Mr. Whaley, and the mother of Colonel Whaley, in whose custody the king was while he remained at Hampton Court. He had two other aunts, but of their marriages we have no account. There are some errors and some omissions in this account. The wife of Desborough was Jane, the fifth daughter (the eldest, Elizabeth, dying unmarried); Catharine, the second, married Jones; Margaret, the third, married Walton; Anna, the fourth, who is omitted by the writer, married John Sewster, of Wistow, in Huntingdonshire, Esq.; and the sixth and youngest, Robina, married as stated.—[This article was written by Kipper, and is a very satisfactory narrative: perhaps it affords as clear a representation of the Protector as can be found in the same compass.—C.]

\* See Appendix D., Sir Oliver Cromwell.

† In the very curious little volume which I have already had occasion to quote, Heath's Flagellum, it is made matter of reproach against nature that no portentous omens had ushered the lad into the world. "Fate," he says, "when it had decreed and ordained the unhappy birth of this famous, by her most secret and hidden malice, brought him into the world without any terrible remark of his portentous life, neither omens, nor earthquakes, nor such like violences of nature, ushering or accompanying him, to the declaring and pointing out that the scourge of the English empire and nation was now born. Thus also she did, by indiscernible methods, train him up to the possession of the throne, and so secretly and cunningly, after all his bloody and most furious actions, shift him out of it, and with a blast of her spirit fury turned him into his wished-for grave." The latter sentence is somewhat obscure, unless "the blast of her spirit fury" is taken to indicate the storm, which actually, on the day of his death, unroofed the houses in London, and tore up trees in the parks.

\* The Rev. Dr. Lort's MSS., quoted in Noble, vol. i., p. 92. † Then a Mr. Johnson.

‡ "From his infancy," says Heath, "to his childhood, he was of a cross and peevish disposition, which, being honoured by the fondness of his mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outrageous in his juvenile years, and adult and masterless at man's estate."

§ See Appendix D., Sir Oliver Cromwell.



cy\* of the shambling king's son, unequally matched against the sturdy little limbs and daring young soul of the man child of the Huntingdon brewer—yet foolish obstinacy urging the weakness of the one, and a reckless ambition of superiority overcoming the kindness and generosity of the other. The curtain of the future was surely for an instant upraised here!

Nor here alone. More signal and direct manifestations were avouched, if still stronger and more widely-believed traditions are received. Nor will they be rejected hastily by such as care to penetrate beneath the surface of the character which had lain, as it were, wrapped up even in the very cradle of this child. The supernatural, as it seems to the vulgar, is not always what it seems. The natural, when denied for a time its proper vent, will force itself into the light in many various shapes, which assume a fearful aspect from their intensity alone. The tame and common medium of dull and feeble minds is not what the world has distributed among all her sons. Thoughts, as their sufferer has himself described them, "like masterless hell-hounds," roared and bellowed round the cradle of Bunyan; round that of Vane the forms of angels of light seemed to vision the everlasting reign of peace which his virtuous labours would have realized; and now, round the bed of the youthful Cromwell played an awful yet delicious dream of personal aggrandizement and power.

He had laid himself down one day, it is said, too fatigued with his youthful sports to hope for sleep, when suddenly the curtains of his bed were slowly withdrawn by a gigantic figure which bore the aspect of a woman, and which, gazing at him silently for a while, told him that he should, before his death, be the greatest man in England. He remembered when he told the story—and the recollection marked the current of his thoughts—that the figure had not made mention of the word *king*. The tradition of Huntingdon adds, that although the "folly and wickedness" of such a notion was strongly pointed out to him, the lad persisted in the assertion of its truth, for which, "at the particular desire of his father," he was soundly flogged by his schoolmaster. The flogging only impressed the fact more deeply on the young day-dreamer; and betaking himself immediately to his Uncle Steward,† for the purpose of unburdening himself once more respecting it, he was told by that worthy kinsman of royalty that it was "traitorous to entertain such thoughts."‡

\* It is unnecessary to inform the reader that in the infancy of Charles I. he was unable to stand firmly, owing to the weakness and distortion of the legs which he had inherited from his father, and that in his most vigorous manhood the infirmity was never entirely corrected. Even in the fine equestrian portrait by Vandyke, now at Hampton Court, a curvature at the knee is distinctly visible.

† Sir Thomas Steward. See Appendix A.

‡ Mention of this matter is thus made in the *Flagellum*. All the other accounts give the story as in the text. "Twas at this time of his adolescence that he dreamed, or a familiar rather instigated him and put it into his head, that he should be king of England; for it cannot be conceived that now there should be any such near resemblance of truth in dreams and divinations (besides, the confidence with which he repeated it, and the difficulty to make him forget the arrogant conceit and opinionated pride he had seemed to evince it was some impulse of a spirit), and ceased long ago. However the vision came, that his father was exceedingly troubled

This incident in Cromwell's youth was not forgotten in his obscurity to be remembered only in his eminence; for Clarendon distinctly tells us that "it was generally spoken of, even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation." In the height of his glory, we have also good authority for saying, Cromwell himself mentioned it often; and when the farce of deliberation took place on the offer of the crown to the Protector, it is remarked by Lord Clarendon, that "they who were very near to him said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former dream or apparition, that had first informed and promised him the high fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of, even from the beginning of the troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed that it had only declared that he should be the greatest man in England, and that he should be near to be king, which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain, the crown."

Another incident, not, perhaps, unconnected with the foregoing, and as singular, if less awful, connected the childhood of Cromwell with the mighty future that awaited it. I shall detail it in the words of the Royalist Heath,\* because, of the many accounts that exist of this happily undisputed anecdote, they appear to be the most characteristic. "Now," observes that writer, "to confirm a royal humour the more in his ambitious and vain-glorious brain, it happened (as it was then generally the custom in all great free-schools) that a play called 'The Five Senses' was to be acted by the scholars of this school,† and Oliver Cromwell, as a *confident youth*, was named to act the part of *Tactus*, the sense of feeling; in the personation of which, as he came out of the tying-room upon the stage, his head encircled with a chaplet of lawrel, he stumbled at a crown, purposely laid there, which, stooping down, he took up, and crowned himself therewithal, adding, beyond his cue, some majestical mighty words; and with this passage the event of his life held good analogy and proportion, when he changed the lawrel of his victories (in the late unnatural war) to all the power, authority, and splendour that can be imagined within the compass of a crown."

The extemporization of the "mighty majestical words" is an addition of the zealous narrator: the reader will observe, when the scene is before him, that the exact speeches of *Tactus* are mighty and majestical enough to effect the strange coincidences of the story without other aid. The comedy is well known to the lovers of old English dramatic literature by the

at it; and having angrily rebuked him for the vanity, idleness, and impudence thereof, and seeing him yet persist in the same presumption, caused Dr. Beard to whip him for it; which was done to no more purpose than the rest of his chastisements, his scholar growing insolent and incorrigible from those results and susurians within him, to which all other dictates and instructions were useless, and as a dead letter."

\* The author of the *Flagellum*, which I have already quoted—the first biographer of Cromwell after the Restoration. He was, I believe, the son of Charles I.'s cutler, an exiled Loyalist, and was, moreover, a needy scribe, who wrote pamphlets of all sorts to order, and corrected manuscripts for a maintenance.

† Huntingdon Free-school, where Oliver then was.

name of *Lingua*, as a highly ingenious and pleasant work, with more than the usual share of that strong good sense which distinguishes its otherwise fantastic author, Anthony Brewer.\* It is in the nature of an allegory, celebrating the contention of the five senses for the crown of superiority, and discussing the pretensions of *Lingua*, or the tongue, to be admitted as a sixth sense; ending, as far as the latter is concerned, with the allotment of "the sense of speaking" to women only.

Now let the reader imagine little Master Oliver Cromwell entering, "his head encircled with a chaplet of lawrel," and gazing up so high above him as to be utterly unconscious of the plotter at his side, and, till he stumbles on it, of the crown at his feet.

"TACTUS. The blushing childhood of the cheerful morn

Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs  
Yonder gilt eastern hills, about which time  
Gustus most earnestly importuned me  
To meet him hereabouts; what cause I know not.

MENDACIO. You shall do shortly, to your cost, I hope.

TACT. Sure, by the sun, it should be nine o'clock!

MEN. What a star-gazer! will you ne'er look down?

TACT. Clear is the sun, and the blue firmament thinks the heavens do smile— [ment:]

[TACTUS sneezeth.

MEN. At thy mishap,  
To look so high, and stumble in a trap!

[TACTUS stumblcth at the robe and crown.

TACT. High thoughts have slippery feet; I had wellnigh fallen.

MEN. Well doth he fall that riseth with a fall.

TACT. What's this!

MEN. O! are you taken! 'tis in vain to strive.

TACT. How now!

MEN. You'll be so entangled straight—

TACT. A crown!

MEN. —that it will be hard—

TACT. And a robe!

MEN. —to loose yourself!

TACT. A crown and robe!

\* It contains, among other striking things, that fine enumeration of the characteristics of different languages—"The Chaldee wise, the Arabian physical," &c.—given in Charles Lamb's *Specimens*, and also the following masterly discrimination of Tragedy and Comedy in all their ornaments and uses, which the reader will not object to my quoting:

"These two, my lord, Comedies and Tragedies,  
My fellows both, both twins, but so alike  
As birth to death, wedding to funeral.  
For this that rears himself in buskins quaint  
Is pleasant at the first, proud in the midst,  
Stately in all, and bitter death at end.  
That in the pumps doth frown at first acquaintance,  
Tumble in the midst, but at the end concludes,  
Closing up all with a sweet catastrophe.  
This grave and sad, distain'd with brinish tears:  
That light and quick, with wrinkled laughter painted.  
That deals with nobles, kings, and emperors,  
Full of great hopes, great fears, great enterprises:  
This other trades with men of mean condition,  
His projects small, small hopes, and dangers little.  
This gorgeous, broader'd with rich sentences:  
That fair and perled round with merriments.  
Both vice detect and virtue beautify,  
By being death's mirror, and life's looking-glass."

The comedy was first acted, we learn from the preface to its first impression, at Cambridge, and next at this Huntingdon Free-school.

MEN. It had been fitter for you to have found a fool's coat and a bauble—hey! hey!

TACT. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here!

MEN. O! sir, Jupiter is making thunder; he hears you not; here's one knows better.

TACT. 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but sure it is not so: ho!

Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck, ha! No, I am awake, and feel it now.

Whose should it be? [He takes it up.

MEN. Set up a *si quis* for it.

TACT. Mercury! all's mine own; here's none to cry half's mine.

MEN. When I am gone. [Exit.

TACTUS, alone, soliloquizeth.

TACT. Tactus, thy sneezing somewhat did Was ever man so fortunate as I? [portend.

To break his shins at such a stumbling-block!

Roses and bays pack hence: this crown and My brows and body circles and invests! [robe

How gallantly it fits me! sure the slave Measured my head that wrought this coronet.

They lie that say complexions cannot change; My blood's ennobled, and I am transform'd

Unto the sacred temper of a king.

Methinks I hear my noble parasites Styling me *Cæsar* or *great Alexander*,

Licking my feet, and wond'ring where I got This precious ointment. How my pace is mended!

How princely do I speak! How sharp I threaten! Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,

And make you tremble when the Lion roars. Ye earth-bred worms! O for a looking-glass!

Poets will write whole volumes of this change! Where's my attendants! Come hither, sirrahs,

Or by the wings of *Hermes*— [quickly,

It is not difficult to picture to the imagination the strut of democratic contempt with which the reckless young actor delivered some of these lines:

"How my pace is mended!  
How princely do I speak! How sharp I threaten!"

The whole scene is curious, and was, no doubt, remembered with emotion in after years, when state had indeed seemed to ennoble blood; when epithets of *Cæsar* or *Alexander* were as nothing in the mouths of parasites; when the clownish soldier had been mended into the comely prince; and the voice that sounded sharp and untunable through the House of Commons in 1640, sent forth accents at Whitehall, some very few years later, of the sweetest grace and majesty.

Such scanty records as may be now collected of young Cromwell's school-days realize what it does not tax the imagination to receive as a not unfair impression of them. He was active and resolute; capable of tremendous study, but by no means always inclined to it; with a vast quantity of youthful energy, which exploded in vast varieties of youthful mischief; and, finally, not at all improved by an unlimited system of flogging adopted by his schoolmaster. How easily, in such cases, are the lessons of tyranny taught; and, when they have failed to subdue, how long and bitterly remembered! Dr. Beard, then at the head of the Huntingdon free-school, had made himself notorious severity,\* even in that age of barbarism.

\* The frontispiece to a well-known book of "The Theatre of God's Judgments," is said to be

as Cromwell he seems to have been the object for its exercise. The biographer, already quoted, describes these attacks with characteristic force; and, removing the writer's prejudice, we have little difficulty in separating false from true. "Young Cromwell," he says, "and the school-governance of a mistress, his father removed him to the tuition of Dr. Beard, school-master of the free-school of that town, where his book began to persecute him, and learning to commence his great and irreconcilable enmity. For his master, honestly and severely observing that and others his faults (which, like weeds, sprung out of his rank and uncultivable nature), did, by correction, hope to better his manners, and with a diligent hand and careful eye, to hinder the thick growth of those vices which were so predominant and visible in him. Yet, though herein he trespassed upon that respect and lenity due and usual to children of his birth and quality, he prevailed nothing against his obstinate and perverse inclination. The learning and civility he had, coming upon him like fits of enthusiasm, now a hard student for a week or two, and then a truant or otioso for twice as many months—of no settled constancy."

"Amongst the rest of those ill qualities," continues this impartial biographer, "which fructuated in him at this age, he was very notorious for robbing of orchards; a puerile crime and an ordinary trespass, but grown so scandalous and injurious by the frequent spoiles and damages of trees, breaking of hedges and inclosures, committed by this apple-dragon, that many solemn complaints were made, both to his father and master, for redress thereof, which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his hide; on which so much pains were lost that that very offence ripened in him afterwards to the throwing down of all boundaries of law or conscience. From this he passed into another more manly theft, the robbing of dovec-houses, stealing the young pigeons, and eating and merchandizing of them, and that so publicly, that he became dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent country."

Nor are his offences of youth limited by charges of this kind. Other gross imputations against his good taste and refinement—such as the boy-days of Louis XIV. were not altogether free from—received general acceptance before his eminence, and were not altogether contradicted by his occasional practices after it. The diligent Mr. Noble thus supplies one of those stories from various writers: "Sir Oliver was a worthy knight, loved hospitality, and always kept up old customs. Accordingly, at Christmas, his doors were thrown open to all, who were not only feasted, but entertained with music, dancing, and the usual sports of the age and place. Among the relations and friends of Sir Oliver came his nephew and godson, by invitation, to partake of the festivity of one of those seasons; but he so far forgot himself, that, to humour a depraved taste, he besmeared his clothes and gloves with the most nauseous filth, and accosts the Master of Misrule in the frequent turnings of a frisking dance, as

of this pain-inflicting pedagogue. It represents him with a red in his hand, two scholars standing behind, and as is

well as every other person that came in his way, so that the company could scarce bear the room. The Master of Misrule, discovering that our young Oliver was the offender, seized, and ordered him to undergo a severe ducking in a pond adjoining to the house; Sir Oliver, his uncle, permitting the sentence to be carried into full execution, as a punishment for his dirty behaviour. Perhaps I ought to apologize for relating so filthy a tale; but, as this was the occasion of Oliver's losing his uncle's good opinion, I thought its particular relation could not be dispensed with."\* There is possibly great exaggeration in the story, but, in after years, the Protector's turn for pleasantry was now and then oddly developed, as we shall have occasion to show; and what, in those youthful days, might have equally deserved a ducking in a horsepond on a cold Christmas night, was received as the greatest favour and condescension by ladies of birth and breeding.

From the grammar-school of Huntingdon, on the 23d of April, 1616, when Cromwell was within two days of completing his seventeenth year, he was entered a fellow-commoner of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge,† and seems to have carried all his school propensities, in the most lively and flourishing state, along with him to the University. "In his youth," says Sir William Dugdale, "he was for some time bred up in Cambridge, where he made no proficiency in any kind of learning; but then and afterwards sorting himself with drinking companions, and the under sort of people (being of a rough and blustering disposition), he had the name of a *Roxster* amongst most that knew him." This is borne out by Heath, who accompanies it with other details. "The relation of a father," he observes, "and one so stern and strict an examiner of him (he being in his nature of a difficult disposition and great

\* The learned Dr. Bates, who attended the Protector in his last illness, has given his authority to this incident (Elenchi. Mot., pars. prima). And Heath, in his "Flagellum," relates it thus: "By these low actions he had so alienated the affections of his uncle and godfather Sir Oliver Cromwell, that he could not endure the sight of him, having, in his own presence, in the great hall of his house, where he magnificently treated King James at his assumption to the crown of England, in a Christmas time (which was always highly observed by him by feasting and keeping open house), played this unhandsome and unseemly trick or frolick, with the relation of which the reader will be pleased to indulge me, because I have seen it recounted by a worthy and learned hand. It was Sir Oliver's custom in that festival to entertain in his house a Master of Misrule, or the Revels, to make mirth for the guests, and to direct the dances and the music, and generally all manner of sports and gambols; this fellow Cromwell, having besmeared his own clothes and hands with surververence, accosts in the midst of a frolicking dance, and so grimed him and others upon every turn, that such a stink was raised, that the spectators could hardly endure the room; whereupon the said Master of Misrule, perceiving the matter, caused him to be laid hold on, and by his command to be thrown into a pond adjoining to the house, and there to be smelt over head and ears, and ruced of that filth and pollution sticking to him; which was accordingly executed, Sir Oliver suffering his nephew to undergo the punishment of his unseemly folly."

† The following is an extract from the register of Sidney Sussex: "A festo Asuacionis, 1616. Oliverius Cromwell Huntingdoniensis ad comitatum S. Edmundi Aprilio vicessimo tertio; Titore Mr. Ricardo Huxlett." Between this entry, however, and the next, it is amusing to observe that there is crowded in, in a smaller hand or letter, the underwritten character. "Hic fuit grandis ille imperator, carnifex peritissimus, qui pientissimo rege Carolo 1o a sefra cede sublatu, ipsum usurpavit thronum, et tria regna, per 5 ferme annorum spatium, sub protectoris nomine indomita tyrannide vexavit."

*spirit, and one that would have due distances observed towards him from all persons, which begat him reverence from the country people). kept him in some awe and subjection till his translation to Cambridge, where he was placed in Sidney College, more to satisfy his father's curiosity and desire than out of any hopes of completing him in his studies, which never reached any good knowledge of the Latine tongue. During his short residence here, where he was more famous for his exercises in the fields than in the schools (in which he never had the honour of, because no worth and merit to, a degree), being one of the chief match-makers and players at foot-ball, cudgells, or any other boysterous sport or game, his father, Mr. Robert Cromwell, died, leaving him to the scope of his own inordinate and irregular will, swayed by the bent of very violent and strong passions." It is significant of much to discover, in these notices of Cromwell's boyish irregularities, that his father was as strict and stern to the lad as his mother was affectionate and indulging.\**

There is no reason to question the irregularities themselves. They are such as thousands committed even in those times, and tens of thousands have committed since, whom obscurity in after life has dismissed, with all their vices and all their virtues, to a happy oblivion. It is worth while to observe, however, that the supposition of Cromwell's having left the University only as wise, in point of learning, as he went there, is by no means so credible.

Cromwell's learning in after years, which there is no reason to doubt he acquired at this time, was of a fair average character. His sincere respect for men of greater learning, and his anxious desire to elevate and promote the claims of literature at all times, has never been questioned save by the meanest and least scrupulous of his detractors. A good knowledge of Latin it is quite certain he possessed, though Bishop Burnet tells us of it with a sneer. "He had no foreign language but the little *Latin* that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very vitiously and scantily." The most learned of the ambassadors he received during the Protectorate do not, on the other hand, seem to have discovered these defects in his Latin. Beveridge writes to Jongstall at the Hague,† that "last Saturday I had a discourse with his Excellency Cromwell above two hours, without any body being present with us. His excellency spoke his own language so distinctly that I could answer him. *He (Cromwell) answered again in Latin.*" In various incidents of a similar sort, related in the records of the Commonwealth, it is difficult to discover any grounds of truth for Burnet's reproach; and it is worth adding, that the Royalist friend of Waller, who prefixed a life of the poet to the first edition of his works, takes occasion to tell his readers that "Cromwell loved, or affected to love, men

of wit: Mr. Waller frequently waited on him being his kinsman; and, as he often declared to me, observed him to be very well read in the Greek and Roman story"\* Other opportunities may occur for adverting to this subject; but there exists, in one of the ambassadorial addresses to Cromwell, a passage of eloquence bearing upon it, and now known to have proceeded from Milton's hand, which seems to me to decide the question completely, and to say all that need be said concerning it in the finest possible manner.

Don Juan Rodriguez de Saa Meneses, Conde de Penaguala, addressed to Cromwell in Latin an idea of a perfect hero—Milton having discharged himself of a portion of his ever-lofty admiration of Cromwell by composing it at the request of that illustrious foreigner. Having named various imaginary qualities, he proceeded thus: "To these I added a study of letters, by which nature should be cultivated, the mind polished and subdued, and reason sharpened; yet this, in a person instructed for the Commonwealth, and trained up for political affairs, *I wished might be moderate*; for as the art of governing a commonwealth, for the most part, is active and practical, it should rather consist of counsel and prudence than of speculative and theoretical knowledge and wisdom. It is necessary, therefore, for him who is brought up to the art of ruling and commanding, *to be tinged indeed with a study of letters*, which may reasonably inform him, and banish ignorance and unskilfulness from his mind, yet not to be so deeply tutored as to comprehend them absolutely and exactly in every point; for I know not by what means this thorough knowledge of the sciences, at the same time that it sharpens the intellect, dulls the soul, and interrupts its close attention to the administration of public affairs: perhaps because it wastes the spirits necessary for action, and, by gradually consuming them, causes the mind, in proportion as it is deprived of them, to grow languid. These applications of the wit and mind are tender things; they do not fancy the sun and the crowd, but delight in shade and retirement; noise and business disturb them; they shrink up at the horror of arms, and are even affrighted at the bawling of the forum. Like noble and delicate maidens, they

\* It is certain, too, that he had made it his care in life to become master of a noble library. An authority exists for saying this—than which no better could be urged—in the life of the famous and most learned Dr. Manton. "When Cromwell took on him the Protectorship, in the year 1653, the very morning the ceremony was to be performed, a messenger came to Dr. Manton to acquaint him that he must immediately come to Whitehall: the doctor asked him the occasion; he told him he should know that when he came there. The Protector himself, without any previous notice, told him what he was to do, *i. e.*, to pray upon that occasion. The doctor laboured all he could to be excused, and told him it was a work of that nature which required some time to consider and prepare for it. The Protector replied that he knew he was not at a loss to perform the service he expected from him, and opening his study door, put him in with his hand, and bid him consider there, which was not above half an hour. The doctor employed that time in looking over his books, which he said was a noble collection." Manton, as Dr. Harris emphatically says, *was a judge*. Let us add here, that in his days of power, Cromwell showed an invariable regard and respect for the *Alma Mater* of his boyhood. We find an order of his, dated July 1, 1652, directed to all officers and soldiers under his command, forbidding them to quarter any officer or soldier in any of the colleges, halls, or other houses belonging to Cambridge University, or to offer any injury or violence to any of the students, or members of it; and thus at their peril.

\* Heath begins his narrative with a statement that "from his infancy to his childhood he was of a cross and peevish disposition, which being humoured by the fondness of his mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outrageous in his juvenile years."—(It may be well to say that Heath was his first biographer, who has been generally copied as an authority, and the discreditable stories affecting his early life are introduced by him.—C.)

† 12th of August, 1653.

must rather be kept safe at home than brought forth into engagements and perils; wherefore the most celebrated generals of antiquity have so addicted themselves to the instructions of their preceptors, *as rather to adorn than to profess those studies*; they have applied themselves just so much to them as might serve to nourish, not to overwhelm, their minds. It was this course that the hero Achilles held under Chiron and Phoenix; Alexander under Aristotle; Epaminondas under Lysias; Scipio under Panætius. And though Pericles among the Greeks, and Julius Cæsar among the Romans, may have passed for scholars, yet certainly their praise (whereof both obtained a very great share) is comprised chiefly in their eloquence, which consists more in force and nature than in art and precept. For this reason it is delivered down to us, that the one thundered when he spoke, and that the other pronounced everything with the same spirit he fought with. You, O most excellent Cromwell! have applied your mind to the study of letters in this manner, copying exactly what I had observed in these and other famous captains of antiquity. *You have gathered up the literary dust at Cambridge, without deepening the tracks of learning.* You have garnished your understanding with those arts which become a liberal nature; you have rubbed off the rust of your mind; you have sharpened the edge of your wit; you have gained such a character *as not to be reckoned an ill scholar*, and fitted yourself, by the rudiments of the sciences, to manage the highest offices of the Commonwealth. You have given us, in fact, such a specimen of your capacity, that you may make it appear, if you were disposed to go on in the pursuit of learning, how very able you are to equal the greatest masters; just as Julius Cæsar did, whose steps you so nearly tread in, according to the testimony of Cicero himself, that prince in every kind of learning. And in conducting the Commonwealth, you have chose to imitate that Cæsar rather than Cicero, by preferring the harsh, incessant, and laborious employment of a general, to the delicate and sedentary office of a senator. *It did not become that hand to wear soft in literary ease, which was to be inured to the use of arms, and hardened with asperity; that right hand to be wrapped up in down among the nocturnal birds of Athens, by which thunderbolts were soon after to be hurled among the eagles which emulate the sun.*"

In June, 1617, Robert Cromwell died, and it is probable, since his widow found herself obliged to continue the brewery after his decease, that a consideration of family circumstances (for the disagreement with Sir Oliver appears to have still continued) withdrew her son from the University immediately afterward. It is certain that, before half his college term had expired, he returned to Huntingdon, and was passed from thence to London, where, in accordance with the almost universal practice with young men of any family in that age, he was entered as a member of Lincoln's Inn.\*

\* His name does not appear now in the books of that society, but his having entered of it was a fact notorious to his contemporaries, and no doubt, therefore, the name was erased in the new and base-born loyalties of the Restoration. Anthony Wood tells us distinctly, "his father dying while he was at Cambridge, he was taken home and sent to Lincoln's Inn to study the common law; but making nothing

But, if the general tradition is trustworthy, he now utterly rejected every habit of study; carried his practices of school and college to the very highest pitch of dissolute recklessness; and, after some little time, returned to Huntingdon a finished London rake, with a strong tendency in his rakishness to the coarse and the low. Heath's account of this cannot possibly be omitted.

"It was not long after his father's death ere Oliver, weary of the Muses, and that strict course of life (though he gave latitude enough to it in his wild sallies and flyings out), abandoned the University, and returned home, saluted with the name of young Mr. Cromwell, now in the room and place of his father; which how he became, his uncontrolled debaucheries did publicly declare. For drinking, wenching, and the like outrages of licentious youth, none so inflamed as this young Tarquin, who would not be contraried in his lust, in the very strain and to the excess of that regal ravisher. . . . These pranks made his mother advise with herself and his friends what she should do with him, to remove the scandal which had been cast upon the family by his means; and therefore it was concluded to send him to one of the inns of court, under pretence of his studying the laws, where, among the mass of people in London, and frequency of vices of all sorts, his might pass in the throng without that particular near reflection upon his relations, and at worst the infamy should stick only on himself. . . . Lincoln's Inn was the place pitched upon, and thither Mr. Cromwell, in a suitable garb to his fortunes, was sent, where but for a little while he continued; for the nature of the place, and the studies there, were so far regretful beyond all his tedious apprenticeship to the more facile academick sciences, that he had a kind of antipathy to his company and converse there, and so spent his time in an inward spite, which for that space superseded the enormous extravagancy of former viciousness—his vices having a certain kind of intermission, succession, or transmigration, like a compleat revolution of wickedness into one another, so that few of his feats were practised here. And it is some kind of good luck for that honourable society that he hath left so small and so innocent a memorial of his membership therein. . . . His next traverse was back again into the country to his mother, and there he fell to his old trade, and frequented his old haunts, consumed his money in tipling, and then run on score per force. In his drink he used to be so quarrelsome as few (unless as mad as himself) durst keep him company. His chief weapon, in which he delighted, and at which he fought several times with tinkers, pedlers, and the like (who most an end go armed therewith), was a quarter-staff, in which he was so skilful that seldom did any overmatch him. A boisterous discipline and rudiment of his martial skill and valour, which with so much fierceness he manifested afterward in the ensuing war! . . . These and the like strange, wild, and dishonest actions made him everywhere a shame or a terror, insomuch that the alewives of Huntingdon and other places,

of it, he was sent for home by his mother, became a debauchee, and a boisterous and rude fellow." This is corroborated, too, by almost every contemporaneous record.

when they saw him a coming, would use to cry out to one another, 'Here comes young Cromwell; shut up your doors:' for he made it no punctilio to invite his roysters to a barrel of drink, and give it them at the charge of his host, and in satisfaction thereof either beat him, or break his windows, if he offered any shew, or gave any look or sign of refusal or discontent. . . . His lustful wantonnesses were no less predominant than the other unruly appetites of his mind, it being now his rude custom to seize upon all women he met in his way on the road, and perforce ravish a kiss, or some lewder satisfaction from them; and if any resistance were made by their company, then to vindicate and allay this violence and heat of his blood with the letting out of theirs, whose defence of their friend's honour and chastity innocently engaged them. And the same riots was he guilty of against any who would not give him the way, so that he was a rebel in manners long before he was a Belial in policy. . . . I am loath to be too large in such particulars, which may render me suspect of belying him, out of prejudice or revenge; but I have heard it confirmed so often from knowing persons, and the stories made use of by his party, who did thereby magnify his conversion, making him thus dear and precious unto God, that I was obliged to mention them."

These coarse details are given here in the persuasion that they may represent, making allowance for the natural exaggeration of the writer, the wild course and current of Cromwell's irregular youth—a youth how common in that age, how common in every age, but how seldom followed by those wonderful fortunes which have burned into these records of this life things that are held of no account in the lesser fortunes of meaner men, yet are in truth less pardonable in them than here, where they must be taken to express some portion of that amazing energy of temperament which is afterward destined to force out for itself a nobler outlet on a grander theatre of action. Nor will the reflecting reader hold that even such experiences, so wild and so unworthy, were altogether without their use in the after-chances of a career like Cromwell's, wherein power was to be achieved by practising upon the weakness, no less than by guiding the strength, of all classes of the humanity around him. It is said of him by a professed panegyrist, who sought to explain, and not unsuccessfully, the sort of life he led at this time in London, that "he came to Lincoln's Inn, where he associated himself with those of the best rank and quality, and the most ingenious persons; for though he were of a nature not adverse to study and contemplation, yet he seemed rather addicted to conversation, and the reading of men and their several tempers, than to a continual poring upon authors."\* Men of a large soul have no need

of all those studies that are necessary to the education of other men. Nature offers herself to be studied by them, without the spectacles of books to read her by. They have only to look inward, as Dryden finely says, and they will observe her, in all her strength and all her weakness, there.

There is only one incident in these early and irregular practices which, if true, leaves a serious stain on that portion of the life of Cromwell. Sir William Dugdale originated it in his "Short View of the Late Troubles,"\* where we find this remark: "By his exorbitances, at last he so wasted his patrimony, that, having attempted his uncle Steward† for a supply of his wants, and finding that on a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured, by colour of law, to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it. But therein he failed." The diligent researches of Mr. Noble, it must be admitted, seem to confirm this serious charge, while they are more explicit in detailing the grounds of it. From them it would seem that, soon after his return to Huntingdon from London, he "endeavoured to reinstate his fortune by annexing the estate of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, to his own, even in the lifetime of Sir Thomas. It was not unlikely that he had asked of that gentleman a liberal supply, and 'finding that by a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it:' which he did by petitioning his majesty to grant him a commission of lunacy; but the king dismissed the petition as ill founded." With a strong reluctance to entertain this story, I am nevertheless bound to subjoin what strikes me to be farther evidence in support of it—evidence which some may even take to be incontrovertible. Hacket, in his life of Archbishop Williams (Scrinia Reserata), gives it as an eminent proof of that wily bishop's penetration, that, at the very outset of Cromwell's career, he thoroughly detected his character. In a council held in 1645, Hacket represents Williams thus speaking of Cromwell to the king: "I knew him at Buckden, but never knew his religion, being a common spokesman for sectaries, and maintaining their part with stubbornness. He never discoursed as if he were pleased with your majesty and your officers, and, indeed, he loves none that are more than his equals. Your majesty did him but justice in refusing his petition against Sir Thomas Steward of the Isle of Ely; but he takes them all for his enemies

particular account of his gallantries, introduces him to an audience of the French king, and an intimacy with Cardinal Richelieu. Upon his return he assures us that Cromwell was highly in the good graces of Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, to whom he says he was nearly related; and, what is still more extraordinary than all this, Mr. Leti lets us into the secret that the bishop had an amour with Cromwell's wife; and in the same ingenious style, and with equally scrupulous attention to truth, he perseveres through the whole work, assuring us that he wrote it during his stay in England, and that he took care to be perfectly well informed as to everything which he relates. It is bare justice to Mr. Leti, however, to add, that he names the Earl of Angelsea, the Earl of Aylesbury, and several other persons of distinction, as the authors of the various matters he acquaints us with, and it is just possible that they were the somewhat stupid but successful jokes of those distinguished persons.

\* P. 456.

† See Appendix A.

\* "Portraiture of his Royal Highness Oliver," by Carrington, p. 8, a book, on the whole, not so deficient in trustworthiness as others of the time—Mr. Daubeny's, for instance, or M. Gregorio Leti's. The last, published in French, at Amsterdam, fifty years after Cromwell's death, obtained considerable circulation in England. A copy is in my possession, and a short specimen of it may possibly amuse the reader. For instance, M. Gregorio Leti makes Cromwell a prodigy of learning at the University, exceedingly admired by the bishops, a great favourite with King James. He then sends him over to France upon his travels, gives us a

that would not let him undo his best friend, and, above all that live, I think him the most mindful of an injury. He talks openly that it is fit some one should act more vigorously against your forces, and bring your person into the power of the Parliament. He hates the Earl of Essex, because he says he is but half an enemy to your majesty, and has done you more favour than harm. His fortunes are broken, that it is impossible for him to subsist (much less satisfy his ambition) but by your majesty's bounty, or by the ruin of us all in one common confusion. In short, every beast has some evil properties, but Cromwell has the properties of all evil beasts."

One consideration remains, involving a different and less injurious view of the charge itself. It is indisputable that this Sir Thomas Steward, at his death, which occurred not many years afterward, left the whole of his fortune to his nephew—to the young man at whose hands he had suffered so recently such a cruel and insulting wrong. Is it possible to imagine that intercession on the part of relatives, which is alleged to have brought this result about, would have sufficed in any way to that end, if the old man had not now, in reality, proved somewhat wavering in his wits. Giving Oliver Cromwell the advantage (to which he is fairly entitled) of the doubt so started, it is surely not difficult to imagine that, when he petitioned the king to the effect stated by Dugdale and Noble, and apparently corroborated by Archbishop Williams himself, he may really have believed his kinsman to be labouring under the malady alleged.

The time now arrived, however, when the wild days were to close, and with them the imputations they gave birth to; when higher purposes and objects were to wake out of their early sleep in Cromwell's heart, and thenceforth sleep no more; when his fellow-townsmen were to ask with wonder among each other how such a reformation could have risen,

"Since his addiction was to courses vain:  
His companies unlettered, rude, and shallow;  
His hours fill'd up with riots, banquets, sports;  
And never noted in him any study,  
Any retirement, any sequestration  
From open haunts:"

and possibly some one, more intelligent and accomplished than the rest, was to answer in that counter-quotations from the prince of poets and philosophers, whose death should just then have plunged the world in mourning, if the world had known his value:

"The strawberry grows underneath the nettle,  
And wholesome berries thrive and ripen best  
Neighbour'd by fruit of baser quality:  
And so this man obscured his contemplation  
Under the veil of wildness: which, no doubt,  
Grew like the summer grass, fastest by night,  
Unseen, yet creasive in his faculty."

Whereat might the questioner have rejoined, with the strongest confidence that he had indeed attained in this the secret of Cromwell's mental progress,

"It must be so; for miracles are ceased."

On the 22d of August, 1620, four months after the completion of his twenty-first year, Cromwell married Elizabeth Bourchier, daughter of Sir James Bourchier, of Felsted, in Essex, a kinswoman of the Hampdens, a woman of high spirit, of an ancient and honourable

family, and whose irreproachable life and unobtrusive manners should indeed have protected her from the insults and obloquies of the time, if any thing could have been held sacred from them. The marriage took place at St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, London; and three days afterward, we discover from a deed still in existence, Cromwell (described in the document as Oliver Cromwell, alias Williams, of Huntingdon, Esq.) entered into a defeasance of statute staple to Thomas Morley, citizen and leather-seller, of London, in £4000, conditioned that he should, before the 20th of November following, convey and assure unto Elizabeth his wife, "for the term of her life, for her jointure, all that parsonage house of Hartford, with all the glebe lands and tythes," in the county of Huntingdon.\* It is interesting to find that, some years afterward, when Cromwell's wants appeared to require it, this amiable and excellent woman surrendered this jointure, which, with the fortune she had brought her husband, is reported to have gone in satisfaction of the debts contracted by early extravagance.

Nor, through all the wonderful changes she was doomed to experience, did she ever lose the simplicity and modesty of her youth. She is said to have borne what few women can patiently bear, with only such complaints as the most sweet and generous nature would give utterance to—and in this was more influenced by love than restrained by awe.† Her husband's elevation she rather endured than rejoiced in; for even the stern Ludlow, when telling us that "he (the Protector) removed

\* See Noble's "Memoirs of the Protectoral House."

† I have already ventured to say all that, perhaps, need be said in a question of this kind in my *Life of Strafford*, p. 88, 89, to which the reader is referred; but one of the notes in Noble's book bears too close a reference to this subject to be omitted here: and the writer was too candid as well as industrious not to have a right to claim fair attention to what he supposes himself to have had reason to believe in a case of this kind. "The Protector Oliver," he says, "though a great devotee, is known to have indulged himself, after he arrived at power, with the company of ladies, and that not in the most innocent manner. Lady Dysert, afterward Duchess of Lauderdale, and Mrs. Lambert, have been frequently given as his mistresses. They were ladies of very different accomplishments; the former was beautiful, witty, learned, and full of intrigue; Mrs. Lambert employed herself only in praying and singing hymns. It was a court jest, that the Protector's instrument (of government) was found under my Lady Dysert's petticoat. His acquaintance with the gay Lady Dysert gave such offence to the godly, that he was obliged to decline his visits to her; and it was thought that General Tollemache owed his birth to Oliver: but there could no hurt arise in holding heavenly meditation with Mrs. Lambert. Heath, in his 'Flagellum,' says, Mrs. Lambert was a woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleasing attractions, both for mind and body. There is a history written of a pretended natural son of the Protector's, but it is too marvellous to be true. Probably, however, Oliver had natural children, one of whom might be Dr. Millington, after whose name, in the register of Strensham, in Worcestershire (the birthplace of the humorous Butler), is, 'Query: was not he a bastard of Oliver Cromwell?' and I am the more inclined to think this true, because in the postscript of a letter from Ursula Hornbyhold, dated from London, Dec. 4, 1744, to a gentleman in the vicinity of that place, is, 'Did you ever hear it said that Dr. Millington was illegitimate? Here has been talk that Dr. Millington was a bastard of Oliver Cromwell.' The scandal it would have given, had the Puritans known of his amours, and the advantages the Cavaliers would have made of it, would be sufficient reasons for his keeping matters of this kind from the eyes of the public. Besides, though her highness was an obedient wife, she was not without spirit and sensibility: but, though she might know that she had reason to suspect the Protector, we cannot suppose she carried it to such unreasonable lengths as to be jealous of Christina, queen of Sweden, as some pretend."

from the Cockpit, which house the Parliament had assigned to him, to take possession of Whitehall, which he assigned to himself," adds, that "his wife seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur."\* This "satisfaction" will, perhaps, be more truly expressed in saying that, while the wife of Cromwell had good sense enough to be contented with an humble station, she had yet spirit and dignity sufficient for the loftiest. "She was, indeed," says an impartial witness, "an excellent housewife, and as capable of descending to the kitchen with propriety as she was of acting in her exalted station with dignity. Certain it is, that she acted a much more prudent part as protectress than Henrietta did as queen, and that she educated her children with as much ability as she governed her family with address. Such a woman would, by a natural transition, have filled a throne." This pleasing picture of a virtuous and able woman's character seems to me to be completed by the fact her biographer should be proud to subjoin, that she was the only one of the relatives of Cromwell whose kinsmen received no place of profit or emolument under the protectorate of Cromwell.†

\* "Ludlow's Memoirs." The Royalist writers, I may observe, were so deficient in materials of accusation against her, that they made as much as they could of an alleged piety of person; and Cowley, meaning to ridicule this in his "Cutter of Coleman-street," has put the following into Cutter's mouth, as part of his description of his friend Worin: "He would have been my Lady Protectress's poet: he writ once a copy in praise of her beauty: but her highness gave for it but an old half-crown piece in gold, which she had hoarded up before these troubles, and that discouraged him from any farther applications to court." The portraits of Mrs. Cromwell now in existence give the lie to this, nevertheless, and represent a pretty and comely person, with just such an expression on the face as is borne out by her quiet and unassuming character.

† The name of Bouchier appears in some of the appointments. Yet, in a MS. of the Suffolk gentry during the usurpation, now existing in the handwriting of Sir John Cellam, is to be found the following entry: "In 1635, — Bouchier, Esq., and — Bouchier, gent., brothers of Oliver Cromwell's wife, and sons of Sir Ja. Bouchier, knt., in the parish of Whepsted, within about four miles of Bury. Sir John found in the registers these items: 'Mr. James Bouchier buried the 15th of March, 1636; Mr. Henry Young and Mrs. Susan Bouchier were married the 8th of April, 1636.'" No doubt, therefore, these were claimants for office, had their sister countenanced the claims. It will not, perhaps, be out of place here to append a sketch of the few incidents in the life of the Protectress, after her great husband's death; what other mention she receives in these pages will be in the ordinary course of my narrative. On the revival of the council of officers after Cromwell's death, they showed themselves not insensible to her merit; they obliged the Parliament to make a suitable settlement upon her, at a time when the Cromwellian interest was no more. It was grateful in them, and honourable to her. "Perceiving the return of the king," however, Noble tells us, "would take place, she conveyed a great quantity of gold, and some of the best and most portable valuables belonging (as was alleged, but by a fiction of royalty alone) to the royal family, to a fruiterer's warehouse, near the sign of the Three Crowns, in Thames-street, with an intention to export them out of the kingdom; but it being discovered, the council, May 16, 1660, ordered persons to view them, who reported that some pictures, and other things belonging to his majesty, were found; the remainder was attached in the custody of Lieutenant-general Cox; and June 9 following, information was given to the House of Lords that she, her son Richard, and Henry, Lord Herbert, had many deeds, evidences, and writings belonging to the Lord-marshal of Worcester [whose estates Cromwell had received from Parliament in payment of his military services], all of which they were ordered to deliver up. She had, until about this time, resided at the Cockpit and at Whitehall; but, leaving these places, she went from London and retired into Wales. Mr. Granger says he was credibly informed that she was a considerable time in Switzerland; but probably she never

Such was the partner for life's journey whom Cromwell had the good fortune to obtain, and from his union with whom his useful life began. He fixed his residence in his native town of Huntingdon, and having reconciled all old differences with his wealthy kinsmen—the Barringtons, the Hampdens, his uncle Sir Oliver, and all whom his early courses had offended—he addressed himself to those studies and pursuits which were to pave his way to greatness.

Then was seen the same vehemence of temper in the rigid duties of life which had so recently transported its owner into the extremes of pleasure. Cromwell's house became notorious as the refuge of Nonconformist ministers, or of such as suffered in any way for conscience' sake: nor was he content with offering them this refuge merely; he encouraged them to opposition; he stimulated his fellow-townsmen to support them in it; he attended the Bishop of Lincoln in person (afterward the famous Archbishop Williams) to press their suits; he preached for them; he prayed with them;\* he proclaimed in every place the wrongs they were exposed to, and urged at every season, and by every allowable means, the necessity of redress.†

was there. Finding that no inquiries were made after her, she returned into England, and found an asylum in the house of her son-in-law, Mr. Claypole, at Northborough, in Lincolnshire, where she continued unto her death, courted obscurity. She had, as I have before mentioned, had the tithes of Hartford settled upon her: these she gave up. Oliver some years afterward gave her a grant of £2000 per ann.; but probably she never received any part of it, as it was, I think, issuing out of estates which were given to him by the Parliament, and belonged to the delinquent Loyalists, who, at the Restoration, would naturally reclaim what had been illegally and forcibly taken from them. The £2000 per ann., settled upon her by the Parliament, was never paid to her, nor perhaps any part of it; so that we must suppose she had but trifling means to support herself upon during her widowhood, and that arising chiefly from the sale of those valuables that she retained after the Protector's death. She survived her husband seven years; and, dying at Northborough, was buried in a vault in the chancel of that church, but no memorial whatever is to be found to her memory."

\* "His house," says a writer in the "Biographica Britannica," "became the retreat of the persecuted Nonconformist teachers; and they show a building behind it which, they say, he erected for a chapel, where many of the disaffected had their religious rites performed, and in which Mr. Cromwell himself sometimes gave them some edifying sermons. From his strenuousness in their cause, he was soon looked upon as the head of that party in the county; and he often interested himself warmly in their behalf, by attending Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and importunately desiring some mitigation for such of the Nonconformist preachers as had fallen into trouble, he regarding them as suffering persecution for conscience' sake."

† Having satisfied himself with the venerable divines of the Church, says Meath, "he fell in with some of the preciser sort; began to show himself at lectures, to entertain such preachers at his house, to countenance that way, and be very zealous in all meetings of such people, which then began to be frequent and numerous, and to exercise with them by praying and the like; to estrange himself from those his benefactors, and at last to appear a public dissenter from the discipline of the Church of England." The same writer gives, in the way of a anecdote, a noble instance of the truth and sincerity of Cromwell's new way of life. "And now," he says, "he was grown (that is, he pretended to be) so just, and of so scrupulous a conscience, that, having some years before won £30 of one Mr. Catton at play, meeting him accidentally, he desired him to come home with him, and to receive his money, telling him that he had got it by indirect and unlawful means, and that it would be a sin in him to detain it any longer; and did really pay the gentleman the said £30 back again." Mr. Noble, too, in the course of his zealous researches, discovered, in one of the manuscripts submitted to him, a similar anecdote, which he thus relates: "Dr. Hutton, in his MS. book, says that Oliver won some money from Mr. Rob. Compton, a general lad,



Herein was shown, by this extraordinary man, his aptitude for the great claims and questions of the age. Of all the discontents that then muttered at a distance of the coming change; of all the grievances that were pushing on the stumbling and shambling government of the first Stuart to the inevitable precipice awaiting it; of all the mighty motives that were likely, while they stirred masses of men to generous suffering and great action, to consolidate in the end one tremendous party, irresistible and unyielding for life or death, the questions of religion and the conscience not only stood the first, but might be said to hold every other within their mighty embrace; for what the Church was then immortal language has depicted, in describing all that aspired to dignity in her service, from the curate to the bishop, as

"Such as for their bellies' sake  
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold.  
Of other care their little reck'ning make,  
Than how to scramble at the shearer's feast,  
And shove away the worthy bidden guest.  
Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
A sheep-hook; or have learn'd aught else the least  
That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs!  
What recks it them! What need they! They are sped;  
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs  
Grate on their scannell pipes of wretched straw:  
The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,  
But, swoll with wind, and the rank mist they draw,  
Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread:  
Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw  
Daily devours apace, and nothing said."

So great was the influence acquired by Cromwell in his masterly seizure of such grievances as these, that the chiefs of his fellow-townsmen offered to return him for the borough in the next Parliament that should be summoned. The effort was made in 1625, and failed; but in 1628 Oliver Cromwell went up to Westminster, and took his seat in the third Parliament of Charles I., as member for the borough of Huntingdon.\*

A question has been raised as to the nature of his employment at Huntingdon in the interval after his marriage, since there is little doubt that his own private resources were insufficient to his support. It scarcely admits of a doubt, as it seems to me, that he took an active share in the business of his mother's brewery. The universal attempts of the Royalists of his day, both before and after the usurpation, to cast ridicule upon his having once followed

son of a draper, or some such trade, in London; and it being, by unfair play, he was determined to repay it him, which he did most opportunely, for the messenger found him at an ordinary, surrounded by bulliffs, so that he could not venture to leave the room; but he satisfied the debt, which was £20, and took away with him £100." Sir Philip Warwick, too, distinctly tells us that "he used a good method upon his conversion, for he declared he was ready to make restitution unto any man who would accuse him, or whom he could accuse himself to have wronged. To his honour I speak this, for I think the public acknowledgments men make of the public evils they have done to be the most glorious trophies they can have assigned to them."

\* An impression has prevailed that he sat in the 1625 Parliament—as alleged by various writers, and even by the plodding and curious Mr. Noble. A friend of one of his later biographers, however, Dr. Russell, supplies the following decisive note on this point: "A few years since there was a disputed election case in the borough, which was carried to a committee of the House, and it became necessary that authenticated copies of the returns should be procured from the originals in the town. I examined these, and found that Cromwell sat only once for Huntingdon, namely, in the third Parliament of Charles I., as stated above. In the first Parliament of that monarch, the former members, Sir Henry St. John and Sir Henry Mainwaring, were returned."

the occupation of a brewer,\* are surely enough to raise a strong presumption of the fact (however justly the ridicule may be despised), in the absence of any counter statement on the part of his friends or dependants. And there is a passage in Milton's noble panegyric of him, applying to a somewhat later period, which is not without a certain strong bearing on the question: "Is matura jam atque firmata ætate, quam et privatus traduxit, nulla re magis quam religionis cultu purioris, et integritate vitæ cognitus, domi in occulto creverat; et ad summa quæque tempora fiduciam Deo fretam et ingentem animum tacito pectore aluerat." "Being now arrived to a ripe and mature age, all which time he spent as a private person, noted for nothing so much as the culture of pure religion and an integrity of life, he was grown rich at home; and enlarging his hopes with reliance in God for any the most exalted times, he nursed his great soul in silence." The expression "grown rich," in this magnificent passage, seems undoubtedly to warrant the inference that it was by some pursuit he had thus grown rich, for it is well ascertained that at that time he had found out no easier method of achieving wealth or substance.†

A family, too, had meanwhile grown up around him. On the 13th of October, 1621, fourteen months after his marriage, his first son was baptized at St. John's Church, in Huntingdon. He was named Robert, after his grandfather, but died in his childhood. A second son, named Oliver, was baptized in the same church on the 6th of February, 1623, and subsequently received his education at the Felsted free grammar-school, in Essex, where he had been placed by means of the influence of his maternal grandfather (Sir James Bourchier)

\* See Appendix C. A thousand other instances might be given—as in Hudibras, where the knight's dagger is spoken of:

"It had been 'prentice to a brewer,  
Where this and more it did endure,  
But left the trade, as many more  
Have lately done on the same score."

Again, in a description of the House of Commons

"'Tis Noll's old brewhouse now, I swear,  
The speaker's but his skinker.  
Their members are like th' council of war,  
Carmen, pedlars, tinkers."

And in another description of the Protector's court.

"Who, fickler than the city ruff,  
Can change his brewer's coat to buff,  
His dray-cart to a coach, the beast  
Into two Flanders mares at least:  
Nay, hath the art to murder kings,  
Like David, only with his slings."

And, finally, for it is unnecessary to give more, in a song called "The Sale of Religious Household Stuff:"

"And here are Old Noll's brewing vessels,  
And here are his dray and his slings."

With prose writers such allusions are scarcely less abundant. Walker, who wrote the "History of Independency," and prophesied that Cromwell (then lieutenant-general to Fairfax) would assume the supreme sway, added to his prediction, "Then let all true saints and subjects cry out with me, 'God save King Oliver and his brewing vessels.'" And, speaking of Harry Parker, under the name of *Ob-servator*, he notices his return from Hamborough, and that "he is highly preferred to be a brewer's clerk (alias secretary to Cromwell)." Cowley's "Cutler of Coleman-street" has also an allusion to the business of Cromwell, when Worm, in derision of Cutler's learning, is made to ask, "What parts hast thou? Hast thou scholarship enough to make a brewer's clerk?"

† See, for an argument in favour of this, Mr. Thomas Cromwell's "Life and Times of Oliver Cromwell," p. 44.

ith the Earl of Warwick. At the breaking it of the civil war, this boy, then nineteen, secured a commission by his father's interest, and, when the strife had wellnigh closed, fell in battle. His name, in touching allusion to that oath, was one of the last words that rose to the Lord Protector's lips in this world.\*

The first daughter born to Cromwell was baptized at St. John's, in Huntingdon, on the 14th of August, 1624. She will find subsequent mention in these pages for her uncompromising spirit and love of freedom. She married the famous Ireton; and, after the death of that most eminent soldier and statesman, took, as her second husband, Lieutenant-general Charles Fleetwood, in obedience, as was supposed, rather to the Protector's earnest entreaty than the selection of her own desire. Cromwell's next child was his successor Richard, who was born at Huntingdon on the 4th, and baptized at St. John's on the 19th of October, 1626; and this was followed, on the 20th of January, 1628, by the birth of Henry, afterward lord-lieutenant of Ireland, who was baptized on the 29th of that month, in the Church of All Saints, in Huntingdon. The education of both these boys was finished, along with that of their eldest brother, at the Felsted school, where they were taught by a man of well-known accomplishment, Mr. Holbeach; and had the advantage of the strict superintendence of their grandfather, Sir James Bourchier.

A letter from Cromwell to one of his son Richard's sponsors was found among some Cambridge manuscripts a few years ago. It is dated from Huntingdon on the 14th of October, 1626, and addressed to one of the tutors in St. John's College, Cambridge, whose friendship he had probably formed during his own stay at the University. "Loving sir," the letter runs, "make me so much your servant by being grandfather unto my child; I would myself have come over to have made a formal invitation, but my occasions would not permit me; and therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me intreat your company on Wednesday. By this time it appears I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours, than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found; but I know your patience and your goodness cannot be exhausted by your friend and servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. Hunt., this 14 October, 1626—to my approved good friend, Mr. Hen. Downtell, at his chambers in St. John's College there." This short and simple letter is interesting, because it is characteristic of Cromwell's mind at the period; and, notwithstanding the subject it relates to, contains not a cloudy or fanatic phrase. It shows, also, the sort of connexion he continued to keep up with Cambridge, and which, no doubt, was thus early preparing the way for his subsequent representation of that borough.

But it is time to return to the newly-elected representative for Huntingdon, on his way to take his seat at Westminster, in the month of March, 1628. Let us suppose that he and Hampden entered the House together, at the momentous opening of that famous Parliament

—two men already linked to each other by the bonds of counsel and of friendship yet more than by those of family, but presenting how strange a contrast to each other in all things, save the greatness of their genius! The one of exquisitely mild deportment, of ever civil and affable manners, with a countenance that at once expressed the dignity of his intellect and the sweetness of his nature; and even in his dress, arranged with scrupulous nicety and care, announcing the refinement of his mind; the other, a figure of no mean mark, but oh, how unlike that! His gait clownish, his dress ill made and slovenly, his manners coarse and abrupt, and his face such as men look on with a vague feeling of admiration and dislike! The features cut, at it were, out of a piece of gnarled and knotty oak; the nose large and red; the cheeks, coarse, warted, wrinkled, and sallow; the eyebrows huge and shaggy, but, glistening from beneath them, eyes full of depth and meaning, and, when turned to the gaze, piercing through and through the gazer; above these, again, a noble forehead, whence, on either side, an open flow of hair "round from his parted forelock manly hangs," clustering; and over all, and pervading all, that undefinable aspect of greatness alluded to by the poet,\* when he spoke of the face of Cromwell as one that

"Did imprint an awe,  
And naturally all souls to his did bow,  
As wands of divination downward draw,  
And point to beds where sovereign gold doth grow."†

\* Dryden.

† Other opportunities will occur for adverting to Cromwell's appearance, but I may here subjoin the chief authorities for the above slight sketch. First, let the reader turn to the careful engraving, after Lely's portrait, prefixed to this volume: the only portrait I ever met with, among the hundreds that are in existence, which, to my mind, expresses Cromwell. It represents him on the eve of his assumption of the Protectorate; and a story is told of Cromwell's instructions to the "young man" who painted it, that he was not to inflict any "nonense" on the canvas, but paint wrinkles, warts, and all. There is an air about it (which we may suppose gathered there by the wonderful events that had already declared themselves to the successful soldier) of calm and unalterable superiority. The firm-set lips, the fair, large front, the threatening brow and nose, all "declare absolute rule;" and yet to gaze upon it for a time is to understand the worst libels of the Royalists. Clarendon describes Cromwell as having something singular and ungracious in his look and appearance. The author of *Hudibras* says, "Cromwell wants neither wardrobe nor armour; his face was naturally buff, and his skin may furnish you with a rusty coat of mail; you would think he had been christened in a lime-pit, and tanned alive." When Major-general Massey was introduced into the presence-chamber at the Hague, after his escape from England, immediately after the execution of Charles I., the Marquis of Montrose (who had seen Cromwell often in battle) asked him, by way of drollery—but a very misplaced drollery at such a time—"how Oliver's nose did." Clement Walker says, that when Cromwell ordered the soldiers to fire, in the insurrection of the London apprentices, "his nose looked as prodigiously upon you as a comet;" and, speaking of the government making treason no treason, he adds, that, should the House vote that "Oliver's nose is a ruby, they would expect you to swear it, and fight for it." These scurrilous jests, which yet have a certain character of truth, might be multiplied infinitely from the journals and records of the time. The "*Mercurius Pragmaticus*" of January, 1648, tells us, "Then Mr. Cromwell, to show that this was no time to speak sense and reason, stood up, and the glow-worm glistening in his beak, he began to spit fire; and, as the devil quoted Scripture against our Saviour, so did he against his sovereign, and told the House, it is written, 'Thou shalt not suffer a hypocrite to live;' and what then, I pray you, will become of himself?" The "*Parliament Porter*" of the following August is not less complimentary: "Nothing is heard now among the brethren but triumph and fury, singing and mirth, for their happy success (thanks to the devil first, and next to Noll Cromwell's nose) against the Scots, whom they vaunt to have beaten to dust. Monro, one of the best soldiers in Christendom, is coming on

\* This has not been noticed by any writer, but will appear in an extract of one of the journals from the time.

Imagine, then, these two extraordinary men, now for the first time together,\* passing along the crowded lobbies of that most famous assembly—Hampden greeting his friends as he passes, stopping now and then, perhaps, to introduce his country kinsman to the few whose curiosity had mastered the first emotion inspired by the singular stranger, but pushing directly forward towards a knot of active and eager faces that are clustered round a little spot near the bar of the House, on the right of the speaker's chair,† in the midst of which stand Sir John Eliot, Sir Robert Philips, and Pym. The crowd make way for Hampden; the central figures of that group receive him among them with deference and gladness; he introduces his cousin Cromwell; and, among the great spirits whom that little spot contains, the clownish figure, the awkward gait, the slovenly dress, pass utterly unheeded, for, in his first few words, they have discovered the fervour, and, perhaps, suspected the greatness, of this accession to their cause. Pym is soon seen to draw the new member for Huntingdon aside, and, with a forecast of his favourite sphere of action, initiates him into the case against Mainwaring ‡

Meanwhile, let a passage from one of Dr. South's sermons hint to us what may, at that instant, have occupied the more vulgar thoughts of the Royalist portion of the assembly. "Who," said that zealous candidate for a bishopric, "who that had beheld such a bankrupt, beggarly fellow as Cromwell first entering the Parliament House, with a threadbare torn coat, and a greasy hat (and perhaps neither of them paid for), could have suspected that, in the course of so few years, he should, by the murder of one king, and the banishment of another, ascend the throne, be invested in the royal robes, and want nothing of the state of a king but the changing of his hat into a crown?" "Odds fish, Lory!" exclaimed the laughing Charles, when he heard this from the divine who had panegyricized the living lord-protector, "Odds fish, man! your chaplain must be a bishop. Put me in mind of him at the next vacancy."

with a powerful army to give Noll another field fight: he will find hard play here, for these will not be laughed out of their loyalty, nor frightened out of themselves with the blazoning of his beacon nose." Nor, in the "Mercurius Elencicus" of the February following the king's execution, is there any lack of characteristic forgery: "Sure Cromwell intends to set up his trade of brewing again, for the other day, being in the presence of the Duke of Gloucester, he stroked him on the head, and, like a merciful protector, said, 'Sirrah, what trade do you like best? Would not a shoemaker be a good trade for you, or a brewer? And for that little gentlewoman, your sister (meaning the Lady Elizabeth), if she will be ruled, I will provide her a husband: one of Colonel Pride's sons, or one of my own, if either of them like her, or can love her.' The duke told him that, 'being a king's son, he hoped the Parliament would allow him some means out of his father's revenue to maintain him like a gentleman, and not put him an apprentice like a slave.' Nose A——ty makes answer, 'Boy, you must be apprentice, for all your father's revenue will not make half satisfaction for the wrong he hath done the kingdom; and so Nose went blowing out.' This long note may be closed by a short notice from the "Annual Register," where an old lady sets down her recollections of Cromwell, and says, among other things, that, when she saw him, his face was very pale, and his nose a deep red.

\* Nothing is surely so probable, since Cromwell would most likely, in any case, have come up to town with Hampden, but, considering that this was his first session, must almost of necessity have availed himself of the present introduction of his influential cousin.

† See Life of Pym, p. 312.

‡ Ibid., p. 150.

Oh, glorious time for the Church! Oh, golden age for the profligate and the slave!

Not so the days before us now: the month of June has come, and Pym has risen, in this third Parliament, the accuser of the royal chaplain, Mainwaring. The various assertions of manly thought and elevated courage that rang through the great assembly after that memorable exposure have been celebrated in other portions of this work. Mainwaring, given up by Charles and by Laud, received severe judgment. Cromwell sat silently, earnestly watching all, and patiently waiting all.

The House reassembled, smarting with the gross events of the recess. A debate soon followed; and in the course of it were heard the mild, yet potent accents of the voice of Hampden, insinuating deadly objections under the notion of modest doubts, and, almost insensibly to themselves, influencing in his behalf the most violent of his opponents. The charm of that exquisite orator hangs yet over the House, when it is suddenly dispelled by a harsh and broken voice of astonishing fervour, whose untunable but piercing tones announce to the Royalists a foe to grapple with, and to the patriots a strong arm of help: it is Cromwell. Among other things, he accuses Dr. Alabaster of having preached *flat popery* at St. Paul's Cross, and more, that his diocesan, the Bishop of Winchester, had ordered him to do it! By this same bishop's means, he adds, *that Mainwaring, so nobly and justly punished here for his sermons, has been recently—recently, within a month, preferred to a rich living.* If these are steps to Church preferments, what may we not expect!\*

Cromwell resumed his seat, and was followed by Sir Robert Philips, a veteran in debate, and one of the acknowledged authorities of the House, whose tone, in the few words he addressed to the speaker, bore evidence to the striking effect which the new member had created. Then followed the singular scene which closed in the adoption of Pym's religious vow—the heaviest blow yet aimed at the Church of Laud; and then, *the dissolution.*

After that disastrous termination of this Parliament, Cromwell returned to Huntingdon, but thenceforward kept himself in frequent intercourse with Hampden and the celebrated St. John, the latter of whom had married his uncle's eldest daughter.† He had now openly chosen his part with that mighty body of able and resolute men, who were pledged to the death against a continuance of the old, the vile, and irresponsible government of England; and, though having merely set his hand to the plough, every idea and purpose of his mind seemed, in that very instant, to have stretched forward to some prospect of a harvest-time. Hampden's *vade mecum* was "Davila's History of the Civil Wars;" Cromwell's was the already unceasing thought of the great motives that might be infused into mean men by the simple use of one tremendous passion, in whose presence pleasure should avail not, and suffering be as nothing: a glorious and elevating thought of all the possible vices and follies in even the basest,

\* See Parl. Hist., vol. viii., p. 269.

† Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Cromwell, Esq., of Upwood.

the weakest, and the most low-born, which might thus be entirely overmastered or subdued. In other words, Hampden studied how best to manage an army; Cromwell, how best to raise one.

From this time it was notorious he carried religious exercises to an infinitely higher pitch than he had yet attempted; and now it was that Sir Philip Warwick was told by his physician, Dr. Simcott, of the splenetic man his patient was; and how he had "phansyes about the cross in that town;" and how that he, the doctor, had been "called up to him at midnight, and such unseasonable hours," so very many times, upon a "strong phansy, which made him believe he was then dying." No doubt the good Dr. Simcott knew about as much of the disease his patient laboured under as the grave Sir Philip Warwick himself. The thoughts that shook Oliver Cromwell then were far beyond the reaches of *their* souls; it is possible, nay, almost certain, that they were even "beyond the reach" of the thinker's own; for therein consists, as our noblest philosopher has in a single line defined it, the whole pain of hypochondriacal metaphysics. Cromwell had already projected himself too far into the future.

And the process, thus commenced, seems to have gone regularly on during the brief interval he remained in Huntingdon. Had Shakspeare personally undergone the precise disease, he could not more finely have defined it, as by a prophetic forecast, in Cromwell's case, than by the description Polonius gives of Hamlet's suffering. For the young prince, observes that fine, politic specimen of the Burleigh school,

*Fell into a sadness; thence into a fast;  
Thence to a watch; thence into a weakness;  
Thence to a lightness;*

and this was the very movement of hypochondriacal disease now traced in Cromwell. At one time plunged in sorrow; now still more alarming the affectionate solicitude around him by refusing support that nature cried for; then starting from his bed in the dead of night with fits of painful watching; troubled strangely afterward with "phansies about the cross" of Huntingdon; and then, after an interval, suddenly plunging into fantastic shapes of merriment, that showed most painful and dangerous of all: thus did Cromwell, according to the traditions and records of the time, pass the three years that followed his return to Huntingdon from the Parliament of 1628.

At last (perhaps moved to it by some desire to seek refuge in a change of scene) he resolved to leave that town. I should observe that, some days after his return from his Parliamentary duties, he had been appointed, in conjunction with his old tutor, Dr. Beard, and one Robert Bernard, a justice of the peace, under the new charter granted about that time to the Huntingdon corporation; but this appointment, made with a probable view of softening the asperity of the late formidable member of Parliament, had grown irksome to him from circumstances recently named, and his discomfords were thought to have been increased by the neighbourhood of his very violent Royalist uncle, Sir Oliver, whose influence had already rendered hopeless his re-election for Huntingdon.

Be this as it may, there is no doubt that, in 1631, he prevailed with that uncle, his wife, and his mother,\* to concur with him in the sale of certain lands and tithes of the family, out of which his small patrimony was at present derived. By this sale he realized £1800; and having stocked a little farm at St. Ives with the money, he at once, leaving his mother at Huntingdon, in the midst of old associations too dear to her to be resigned, removed to St. Ives with his wife and children.

Nearly every local memorial of the residence of the Cromwells at Huntingdon has perished. The great old family are extinct; their manor-houses and lands have passed to other proprietors; but, though no trace remains to tell of the old knightly fortunes and splendours of the chief representatives of the name, the memory of the self-raised brewer has clung fast to the soil—even to fragments of it—and will cling there immortally. A portion of land near Godmanchester is still called Oliver Cromwell's Swath; and two acres in the manor of Brampton still bear the name of Oliver Cromwell's Acres.

In the care of the St. Ives farm he now not only sought employment for some portion of the ill-subdued energy which always craved in him for action, but also put to the proof the value of those thoughts we have attributed to him after the disastrous dissolution of 1628. In the tenants that rented from him—in the la-

\* The industry of Mr. Noble furnishes us with an abstract of the conveyance, which I shall give (as probably interesting to the reader), premising that "the reason of Sir Oliver and Mrs. Robert Cromwell joining in the deed is, that the latter had a small portion out of it, and that, with reference to the former, Sir Henry Cromwell had merely given or devised these premises to his son, Rob. Oliv., the Protector's father, for a long term of years, as it was usual anciently." The following is Mr. Noble's abstract and description of the property: "On the 7th of May, 1631, he obtained that his uncle, Sir Oliver Cromwell, alias Williams, of Ramsey, in the county of Huntingdon, knt., his mother, Eliz. Williams, alias Cromwell, of Huntingdon, widow, should join with himself and his wife (who are described, Oliver Williams, alias Cromwell, of Huntingdon, Esq., and Elizabeth, his now wife), to convey his estates in and near Huntingdon, and at Hartford, to Richard Oakeley, of the city of Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, Esq., and Rich. Owen, also of the county of Middlesex, Esq. As it may be very acceptable to many of my readers, especially those of Huntingdon and its vicinity, I will give the parcels as they stand in the deed, omitting only the general words. All the capital messuage called the Augustine Fryers, alias Augustine Friars, within the borough or town of Huntingdon, and the messuages, &c., belonging to it, and one close, called the Dove-house close, and also all those three cottages or tenements, with a malt-house, and a little close, by estimation one acre, lying together in Huntingdon, aforesaid, theretofore of Edm. Goodwyns; and also all those seven less of pasture, containing by estimation two acres, called Toothill Leas, lying in Huntingdon; and also all those two acres and three rods of meadow, lying and being in Brampton, in the said county of Huntingdon, in a meadow there called Portholue; and also all those two acres of meadow, in Godmanchester, in the said county of Huntingdon; all the above premises are called either late, or now or late, in the possession of the said Eliz. Cromwell, widow; and all other the lands and tenements of the said Eliz. Cromwell, widow, Oliv. Cromwell, Esq., or either of them, in Huntingdon, Godmanchester, or Brampton aforesaid, or any of them. And also all the rectory and parsonage of Hartford, in the said county, and the tithes both great and small of the same, with all and singular the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, to the late dissolved priory or monastery of the blessed Virgin Mary, in Huntingdon aforesaid, heretofore belonging or appertaining, and being some time parcel of the possessions thereof. The sum," Mr. Noble adds, "that these estates were sold for was only £1800; with this he did not think it beneath him to stock a grazing farm at St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, whither he went upon leaving the place of his birth."

bourers that took service under him—he sought to sow the seeds of his after-troop of Ironsides. He achieved an influence through the neighbourhood all around him, unequalled for piety and self-denying virtue. The greater part of his time, even upon his farm, was passed in devotional exercises, and expositions, and prayer. Who prays best will work best; who preaches best will fight best: all the famous doctrines of his later and more celebrated years were tried and tested on the little farm at St. Ives. His servants were taught that, however inferior to the lords of the earth they might be in worldly circumstances, there were yet claims of loftier concern in which they had equal share, and in the right understanding of which their humanity might exalt itself to the level of the proudest. He did not drudge them from rising to setting sun, as if they had been merely beasts of burden; he left them time, at intervals, to ponder on the momentous fact that even they had immortal souls. Before going to their field-work in the morning they knelt down with their master in the touching equality of prayer; in the evening they shared with him again the comfort and exaltation of divine precepts, and were taught the inexpressible value of the religion that is practical, and tends to elevate, not to depress, the soul.

In St. Ives, to this day, significant memorials of Cromwell exist, which strangely and deeply connect themselves, even at this distance of time, with those solemn scenes. A vast number of swords are scattered round the neighbourhood, bearing on their hilts the initials O. C. They have descended from the farmers and labourers of the times we are retracing, to the possession of their present owners; for in 1641, when the sky foretold the imminent storm, a large supply of swords was sent to the district of St. Ives, marked with those initials, for which, some few months after, the sum of £100 was voted to Cromwell, in acknowledgment of the outlay and the zeal. With the Bible he had before given them in one hand, and the sword he then gave them in the other, those old tenants and labourers of St. Ives afterward formed part of that immortal phalanx which was never known to yield or be beaten in battle.\*

Meanwhile the farm itself was anything but prosperous. It was probably, however, the last part of Cromwell's care, and therefore the sneers of the Royalist biographers and historians on this point fall harmless enough. "The long prayers," writes Lunn, "which he said to his family in the morning, and again in the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reserved no leisure for the care of his temporal affairs."† His health,

\* We owe this curious fact respecting the swords to Mr. Noble, who incidentally mentions the discovery, in some doubt of their origin. Mr. Noble tells us, also, that, at the time he wrote, a large barn which Cromwell built still went by his name, and that the farmer who then rented the lands which he occupied marked his sheep with the identical iron which Oliver used, and which have upon them the letters O. C.

† The ingenious Mr. Heath also gives his usual scurrilous version of these incidents, in *Cromwell's History*. "But his estate at St. Ives, he betook himself at last to a farm, being parcel of the royalty of St. Ives, where he intended to husband it, and try what could be done by endeavour, since nothing (as yet) succeeded by design; and accordingly took servants, and bought him all utensils and materials, as

more than his temporal affairs, troubled him at this time. The cold and damp air of St. Ives never thoroughly agreed with him; and his appearance almost every Sunday in the parish church was long remembered and adverted to by the inhabitants of that place, after his fame had directed all eyes towards him, and made him the argument of every tongue. They described him walking up the aisle in an ill-arranged dress, and with a piece of red flannel\* fastened round his throat to protect him from the frequent inflammations to which the sharp cold and excessive moisture of the air had painfully exposed him.

Other memories, too, Cromwell left behind him among the people of St. Ives. More friendly to the true religion than to its professed ministers—in whose communion he nevertheless seems up to this time to have remained—he was remembered as the friend of the poor or the oppressed in conscience; as a man of wonderfully fervent piety, ever zealous to promote good works and to reward good men. One of his letters, written during his residence at St. Ives, is fortunately preserved in the British Museum, and corroborates in all respects this report of his character. It is addressed to his "very loving friend Mr. Storie, at the sign of the Dogg in the Royal Exchange, London." The object of it appears to have been to secure the continuance of "a man of goodness, and industrie, and abilitie every way," in a lectureship which Mr. Storie and others had instituted in St. Ives. Its spirit is that of a generous and disinterested earnestness, and it is not without its characteristic touches.

"MR. STORIE.—Amongst the catalogue of those good workes which your fellow-cityenues and our countreyemen have done, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feeding of soules. Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies; to build materiall temples is indyed a worke of pietye; butt they that procure spirituall food, they that build up spirituall temples, they are the men trulye charitable, trulye pious. Such a worke as this was your erectinge the lecture in our

ploughs, carts, &c.; and the better to prosper his own and his men's labour, every morning, before they started out, the family was called together to prayer, at which exercise, very often, they continued so long, that it was nine of the clock in the morning before they began their work; which awkward beginning of their labour sorted with a very sorry issue; for the effect of those prayers was, that the hinds and ploughmen, seeing the zeal of their master, which disjunctured with the profitable and most commodious part of the day for their labour, thought they might borrow the other part for their pleasure, and therefore commonly they went to plough with a pack of cards in their pockets, and having turned up two or three furrows, set themselves down to game till dinner-time, when they returned to the second part of their devotion, and measured out a good part of the afternoon with dinner, and a repetition of some market-lecture that had been preached the day before. And that little work that was done was done so negligently and by halves, that scarce half a crop ever reared itself upon his grounds, so that he was (after five years time) glad to abandon it, and get a friend of his to be the tenant for the remainder of his time."

"The clerk of the parish of St. Ives, who is a very intelligent old man, and much superior to his station (having been bred an attorney), told me, that he had been informed by old persons who knew Mr. Cromwell when he resided at St. Ives, that he usually frequented divine service at church, and that he generally came with a piece of red flannel round his neck, as he was subject to an inflammation in his throat. It appears by *Mercurius Eboracicus* that Oliver's neck was awry; surely it was a disorder incident to heroes."—*Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House.*

Countrie, in the which you placed Dr. Welles, a man of godnesse, and industrie, and abilitie every way, not short of any I knowe in England; and I am perswaded that sithence his cominge, the Lord by him hath wrought much good amongst us. It only remains now that he whose first moved you to this, putt you forward to the continuance thereof: it was the Lord, and therefore to him lift we up our hearts that he would perfect it. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thinge to see a lecture fall in the hands of so manie able and godly men, as I am perswaded the founders of this are, in these times wherein we see they are suppressed with too much hast and violence by the enemies of God his truth; far be it that soe much guilt should stick to your hands, who live in a citie so renowned for the clere shining light of the Gospell. You knowe, Mr. Storie, to withdrawe the pay is to lett fall the lecture, for whoe goeth to warfare at his own cost? I beseech you, therefore, in the howells of Christ Jesus, putt it forward, and lett the good man have his pay. The soules of God his children will bless you for it; and so shall I, and ever rest your lovinge friend in the Lord, OLIVER CROMWELL. Commende my hartie love," he adds in a postscript, "to Mr. Busse, Mr. Beadley, and my other good friends. I would have written to Mr. Busse, but I was loath to trouble him with a longe letter, and I feared I should not receive an answer from him: from you I expect one soe soon as conveniently you may. Vale."

This letter is dated "St. Ives, 11th of January, 1635;" and in the following year he left that place to take possession of a property of some little value in and near Ely, which just then fell to him by the will of his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Steward.\* In the month of June, 1636, we find him domiciled at the glebe-house, near St. Mary's Churchyard, in the city of Ely. His property here, though respectable in amount, was not very considerable, for it consisted less of any extensive freehold or independent possession, than of long leases and tithes held under the dean and chapter, whom he found, however, not unwilling to accommodate his wishes, and so, as they may have fancied, purchase his forbearance or esteem, by renewing the greater part of his leases for one-and-twenty years.† They appointed him, also,

\* See *ant.* p. 402.

† "After a residence of between four and five years at St. Ives, by the death of his maternal uncle, Sir Tho. Steward, in the beginning of Jan., 1635-6, without issue, he became possessed of very considerable estates in and near Ely, part of which consisted of a lease of land and tithes belonging to the parishes of Trinity and St. Mary, in Ely, held under the dean and chapter: this caused him to seat himself in that city. He resided in the glebe-house, near to St. Mary's Churchyard, now occupied by Mr. Page, the present lessee: he certainly had removed to Ely so early as June 7, in that year, as he had then signed an acquaintance for £10 given by the Attorney-general Noy, and required of the executors of Sir Tho. Steward. He was chosen, Aug. 20 in this year, a trustee in Parson's Charity, together with the right reverend father in God, Fra. lord-bishop of Ely, Will. Fuller, D.D., and dean of Ely, Anth. Page, of Ely, gent., and Will. Austin, of Ely, yeoman; and by the charter of incorporation granted by King Charles I., Jan. 16, 1632, no one could be a freeman unless he was actually an inhabitant of that city. The dean and chapter of Ely, Oct. 20 following, renewed his lease for 21 years of the tithes of the parishes of Trinity and St. Mary in that city. The dean and chapter of Ely, Oct. 27, 1637, granted to him, jointly with the bishop of that see, Will. March, John Goodwinke, Anth. Page, Esqrs., Henry Goodricke, and others, fees, therein named, a lease of Denver's Hilt, near Stuntney,

to the trusteeship of some important charities in the city.

Here it was, however—while living, as he told his own Parliament in 1654, neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity\*—that one of his worst hypochondriacal distempers is reported to have seized him. It was natural that it should have done so, even as on those melancholy days we have described, following the dissolution of the Parliament he first sat in. The threatening thunder of the impending political tempest was now again heard along the sky, louder and more imminent than ever. The outrages on the people—on life, on liberty, on conscience, on all that gave life value, or could endear it even to its native land—those horrible outrages which had now for nearly twelve long and dreary years been endured, without an apparent prospect of redress, were at last approaching their fearful hour of consummation and retribution. All this, in its minute detail, has already been described,† and need not be repeated here. Now, with the sure sense of what such events were swiftly urging on, they must have struck with their deepest force on Cromwell. His most melancholy and distempered state of religious metaphysics would as surely descend with them. If he had horrible visions of the slit noses, and careless heads, and bloody human mutilations going on in the pillories of Laud, be sure that he had visions too, which pressed yet more terribly upon him, of the oceans of blood that lay between these days and the days of liberty, and that were nevertheless to be passed, amid the singing of psalms and expoundings of prayer, without a thought for suffering or sorrow. Cromwell's most intense manifestations of religion, it is to be invariably observed, preceded his greatest resolves, and went hand in hand with his greatest deeds. No wonder, then, they pressed fearfully upon him in these three years at Ely. No wonder, when he saw, as he described it in after years,‡ thousands of his "brethren forsake their native country to seek their bread from strangers, or to live in howling wildernesses," that he thought, with flushed cheek and agitated heart, of those noble uses of the most despised life he had taught to his tenants and labourers at his little farm at St. Ives, of the better and braver resource that should have yet remained even to lowest and most oppressed humanity.

I do not pause to tell the reader that the idea of Cromwell himself having ever entertained the notion of leaving England to seek a safer home in America is utterly incredible, and supported by no worthy evidence. Elsewhere, in these lives, it has been refuted § Such was

During the following year, there are several memorandums preserved respecting Parson's Charity, in which his name is mentioned: and Oct. 29 in this year, he received from the dean and chapter of Ely two leases, one of Mullcourt manor, the other of Beche closes, each for 21 years.—*Noble's Memoirs of the Protector's House*

\* "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity."—*Words spoken to his Parliament, Sept. 12, 1654.*

† In Lives of Eliot and Pym.

‡ To the Parliament of 1651—in dissolving it.

§ See Life of Pym. The reader will recollect the incident referred to. Yet it may be as well to subjoin it, for lovers of the marvellous. "Lord Brooke, Lord Say and Sele and his sons, Pym, and other distinguished men of the same sentiments, were about to remove to a settlement in

not the cast of his mind or temper. To leave England, where everything heaved with the anticipation of *such* a future—when the name of Hampden filled all mouths, and his quiet attitude of immovable resolution during the great trial of ship-money had made grateful all hearts—when the harvest of what had been sown by suffering approached to be reaped in triumph—nay, when the very corn was ripe and only waiting for the glancing sickle! The bare thought is of ridiculous unlikelihood.

In Thurloe's State Papers is preserved a letter of deep interest from Cromwell to his cousin, the wife of Oliver St. John, written at this period from Ely. It is addressed to "My beloved Cozen Mrs. St. John, att Sir William Masham his house called Oates in Essex," and bears the date of "Ely, 13th of October, 1638." It seems to me not only to point to the thoughtless past, but to cherish the hope of the great and thoughtful future.

"**DEERE COZEN,**—I thankfully acknowledge your love in your kind remembrance of mee upon this oportunitie. Alas, you doe too highlye prize my lines and my Companie. I may bee ashamed to owne your expressions, consideringe how unprofitable I am, and *the meane improvement of my talent.* Yett to honour my God by declaringe what *hee hath done for my soule*, in this I am confident, and I will bee soe. Trulye then this I finde, that hee giveth springes in a drye and barren wilderness, where no water is. I live (you know where) in Mesheck, which they say signifies prolonginge; in Kedar, which signifieth blacknesse; yett the Lord forsaketh meo not. Though hee doe prolonge, yett he will (I trust) bringe mee to his Tabernacle, to his resting-place. My soule is with the congregation of the first-borne, *my body rests in hope; and, if heere I may honour my God either by doeing or suffering, I shall be most glad.* Trulye noe poore creature hath more cause to *putt forth himselfe in the Cause of his God* than I. I have had plentifull wadges beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earne the least mite. The Lord accept mee in his Sonn, and give mee to walke in the light, and give us to walke in the light, as hee is in the light. Hee it is that enlighteneth our blacknesse, our darknesse. *I dare not say hee hydeth his face from mee.* He giveth mee to see light in this light. One beame in a darke place hath exceedinge much refreshment in it; blessed bee his name for shininge upon soe dark a hart as mine. *You knowe what my manner of life hath bin. O, I lived in, and loved darknesse, and hated the light; I was a chiefe—the chiefe of Sinners. This is true, I hated Godlinesse, yett God had mercy on mee.* O the riches of his mercy! praise him for mee, pray for mee, that hee, whoe hath be-

New-England, where the name of Saybrooke, in honour of the two noble leaders, had already been given to a township in which they were expected. Eight vessels with emigrants on board were ready to sail from the Thames, when the king, by an order of council, forbade their departure, and compelled the intended passengers to come on shore, fatally for himself; for among these passengers Hazlerig and Hampden, and Cromwell, with all his family, had actually embarked. There are few facts in history which have so much the appearance of fatality as this." I have shown the worthlessness of the authority on which this story rests; and also, if it depends on the actual occurrence of the ships' having been stopped by an order of council, the patriots ought to have left after all, for the embargo was speedily taken off the ships, and they left with all their passengers.

gunn a good worke, would perfect it to the day of Christ. Salute all my good friends in that Family whereof you are yett a member. I am much bound unto them for their love. I blesse the Lord for them, and *that my Sonne by their procurement is soe well.* Lett him have your prayers, your Councell; lett mee have them. Salute your Husband and sister from mee. He is not a man of his word; hee promised to write about Mr. Wrath of Epinge, butt as yett I received noe letters. Putt him in minde to doe what with conveniency may bee donn for the poore cozen I did sollicit him about. Once more farewell; the Lord bee with you: soe prayeth your trulye lovinge Cozen, OLIVER CROMWELL. . . . My wife's service and love presented to all her friends."

This letter has been strangely remarked upon by the only other biographer of Cromwell, who quotes it thus: "It expresses," says Dr. Russell, "the strong feeling of remorse and self-abasement with which he was then agitated. Nor were his views of the future more cheerful than his retrospect of the past. He brooded over the evils which his diseased imagination created, and saw no recovery for his affairs, spiritual or temporal, in the distant perspective which opened up before him." No recovery for his affairs spiritual! Why, the purpose of the letter is to reflect back upon his dear cousin some portion of the spiritual light that had then shone in so graciously upon himself. No hope for his temporal affairs! Why, his body, he tells his correspondent, rests in hope; he is looking forward with gladness to some nearly approaching time when he may possibly honour his God "either by doing or suffering;" and in the very next sentence to that, repeats the idea which evidently occupies him so as almost to exclude every other, of "putting himself forth in the cause of his God." The tone of the letter is any thing but despondent or cast down. Even its reference to his early days of dissolute wildness is rather made with a joyous sense of a blessed change, than with a still exacting or self-accusatory grudge. When Cromwell wrote that letter he was rather thinking, be sure, of the Parliament that must be summoned soon, and the place he was likely to succeed in standing for, than with any remorseful or despondent dread of either temporal or spiritual thing.

Before proceeding to that great subject of all his present thoughts, a slight allusion in the letter should detain us briefly with his domestic concerns. His son Richard was then staying at Sir William Masham's; and truly it may be supposed to have become a matter of some moment with him now, to clear his house, when he could, of a few of its numerous little inmates, for his family had increased around him. On the 2d of July, 1629, a second daughter had been christened at the old Huntingdon church of St. John's. She was called Elizabeth, after his mother, and will have mention in these pages hereafter as the favourite daughter of Cromwell. On the 8th of January, 1632, a boy, born at St. Ives, had been baptized in the same church of Huntingdon, and received the name of James, after that of his maternal grandfather; but some few days afterward he appears to have died, and to have been buried there.

Then, in February, 1637, the gentle Mary, so handsome, and yet so like her father, afterward wife to Earl Faulconberg, had been born in Ely, and subsequently, as with the rest, baptized in Huntingdon. Lastly, Frances, the fourth and youngest daughter, swiftly followed, and was baptized on the 6th of December, 1639, at St. Mary's Church in Ely. The motive for sending all these children, except this last (when some accident or illness, no doubt, intervened to make her an exception), to receive baptism in Huntingdon, must have been a kind deference to the wishes of their grandmother and to her prejudice in favour of that place, since their father had yet had no open quarrel or difference with the churchmen of St. Ives or Ely.\* This supposition is farther borne out by a fact which surprised Mr. Noble in the course of his researches, that the children of her daughters, the Wautons, the Disbrowes, and the Sewsters, were also nearly all of them brought for baptism to the same old church in Huntingdon. She was equally fond of, and interested in them all. It increases our admiration for that true affection which, with all its weakness and with all its strength, characterized the noble-hearted mother of Oliver Cromwell.

But his name recalls the thoughts with which he was at this time eagerly watching the prog-

\* The late good old Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, in his terrifically steeped quarto about his great progenitor, is always anxious to exhibit Cromwell, with a singular weakness, as on the best possible terms to the last moment with Church and antichurch. "In the books of Record of a Charitable Institution in Ely," he observes, "the members whereof are styled Ely Feoffers, is the following entry, so late as 1641 (whereof the Writer has been permitted to take a Copy), he then being an active member of the Long Parliament: '1641. Gave to divers poor people, in the presence of Mr. Archdeacon and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, £16 14s.' This shows that he had not then ceased to associate with the clergy of the Establishment." Indeed, worthy old gentleman, it proves nothing of the sort, but is merely a necessary act of duty on the part of Cromwell, as one of the charitable trustees as aforesaid. What would Mr. Cromwell make of this anecdote told by Mr. Noble? "It will be proper to observe, that Oliver was probably neither pleased with the clergy, nor the manner that the Cathedral service was performed in Ely: for in Jan., 1643-4, he wrote to the Rev. Will. Hitch, the clergy-vicar, to desire he would desist using the choir service, as unedifying and offensive; but advised him to catechize, read, and expound the Scriptures, and have more frequent preaching than had been usual; and this, for fear the soldiers should tumultuously attempt a reformation; subjoining, that he must answer it if he did not comply: which he not choosing to do, both the soldiers and the rabble broke into the Cathedral during divine service, and Oliver addressing himself to Mr. Hitch, said, 'I am a man under authority, and am commanded to dismiss this assembly.' Mr. Hitch made a pause; when, finding that Oliver, and the people with him, proceeded up to the communion table, he began to discharge the office of his function; at which Cromwell returned with great displeasure, and laying his hand upon his sword, in a passion, bid the clergyman leave off 'his fooling,' and come down; and then drove the whole congregation from the Cathedral." "There is also," proceeds old Mr. Cromwell, furnishing us with some little facts connected with Cromwell's residence in Ely that may be worth subjoining, "a Petition at Ely, addressed to Matthew Wren, bishop of Ely, by the inhabitants of the Isle of Ely, in the reign of King Charles I., stating that Aldreth was a great market for fat cattle, but that it had been discontinued in consequence of the decay of Aldreth bridge, which should be kept in repair by the Earl of Suffolk as lord of the manor of Haddenham. The object of this Petition is to request the Bishop to lay their case before the King for redress. This Petition is signed by Cromwell and many others. With these Records is also a letter of Cromwell's, of which the following is a copy: 'Mr. Hand,—I doubt not but I shall be as good as my word for your monie. I desire you to deliver 40s. of the Town monie to this bearer, to pay for the phisicke for Benson's Cure. If the Gentlemen will not allow it at the tyme of account, keep this boat, and I will pay it out of my own purse. Soe I rest, your lovinge friend, OLIVER CROMWELL.' Sept. 13, 1638."

ress of events towards the now inevitable Long Parliament. And now an occasion arose, whereof he most skilfully availed himself, in furtherance of these eager hopes and wishes.

The Earl of Bedford and other noblemen of the day had, some seven or eight years before, proposed a scheme for draining the extensive fens which in those days covered some millions of acres of the finest plains in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon, Northampton, and Lincoln. The good work had now advanced to a certain extent—that part of it, in fact, properly called the *Bedford Level*, and containing nearly 400,000 acres, had been completed—when it was found necessary to call in other aid to the project, and a proposition was made to the crown, offering a fair proportion of the land for its countenance, assistance, and authority in the completion of the whole.

Up to this point all had gone on well: the scheme included in itself unquestionably a large share of public advantage, and its chief projector was a nobleman of wide and deserved popularity: but, from the instant of the royal interference, all kinds of difficulties and contentions were introduced. A parcel of court commissioners—officers ever hateful in that day, and with reason, to the wretched and oppressed commonalty—arrived in the districts, held courts for the adjudication of claims connected in any way with the property, decided all the questions in the king's favour of course, and, it is even said, proposed to dispute with Lord Bedford and the other originators of the undertaking their retention of 95,000 acres of the land already recovered, in compensation of the venture they had undergone.\* Whether the latter allegations are true or false, it is not doubted that the occasion was at once seized by the king's officers as an admirable one for enriching the then most needy Exchequer, and that, with this view, several acts of injustice were threatened.

The common people began to murmur—to complain loudly—to clamour for justice—to threaten in their turn. Meetings were held; and at one of them a powerful auxiliary suddenly appeared in the person of Oliver Cromwell. From that instant the scheme became thoroughly hopeless. With such desperate determination he followed up his purpose—so actively traversed the district and inflamed the people everywhere—so passionately described the greedy claims of royalty, the gross exactions of the commission, nay, the very questionable character of the improvement itself, even could it have gone on unaccompanied by incidents of tyranny—to the small proprietors insisting that their poor claims would be merely scorned in the new distribution of the property reclaimed—to the labouring peasants, that all the profit and amusement they had derived from *commoning* in those extensive wastes were about to be snatched forever from them—that, before his almost single individual energy, king, commissioners, noblemen-projectors, all were forced to retire, and the great project, even in the state it then was, fell to the ground.

This matter has been variously described; but in the account just given, an attempt has

\* Life and Times of Cromwell, by Thomas Cromwell, p. 66.



been made to reconcile the discrepancies that have appeared in other descriptions of it. It seems clear to me, from all the documents that afford us information,\* that the scheme had proceeded, entirely unopposed by the people, till, on the completion of the Bedford Level, the name and interest of the king became involved in it; that Cromwell then saw the advantage which might be taken of the popular discontent awakened by the latter circumstance, and availed himself of it accordingly; that when he moved in it first, it might merely have been with a view to support and protect the threatened rights of the popular nobleman who was the chief projector, but that, in the course of his opposition, he saw an irresistible opportunity of impressing with a sense of his influence not only large masses of the small proprietors, and of the lower orders of discontented men whose rights and pleasures were now found to be endangered by the scheme, but also of exhibiting that influence to the country at large in the defeat not only of king and commissioners, but of the entire scheme itself; and that, before this temptation, every consideration of the real utility and the many beneficial tendencies of the undertaking involved, vanished altogether. A pure motive of good may have engaged him first, but it was certainly a mixed motive of evil and good that shaped his ultimate course.

Let the facts which I shall now state prove this, if farther proof is wanted. In the year 1649 the Long Parliament passed an act for "draining the great level of the Fens," and in the preamble of that act it is stated, "that whereas the said great level, by reason of frequent overflowings of the rivers . . . has been of small and uncertain profit, but (if drained) may be improved and made profitable, and of great advantage to the Commonwealth, and the particular owners, &c. . . . And whereas Francis, late Earl of Bedford, did undertake the said work, and had 95,000 acres, parcel of the said great level, decreed and set forth, in October, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late King Charles, in recompense thereof; and he and his participants, and their heirs and as-

\* Even Sir P. Warwick's account, though for many reasons coloured to the author's purpose, offers no violent contradiction to it. He writes: "The Earl of Bedford, and divers of the principal gentlemen, whose habitations confined upon the fens, and who, in the heat of summer, saw vast quantities of lands which the fresh waters overflowed in the winter, lie dry and green, or drainable—whether it was public spirit or private advantage which led them thereunto, a stranger cannot determine—they make propositions unto the king to issue out commissions of sewers to drain those lands, and offer a proportion freely to be given to the crown for its countenance and authority therein: and as all these great and public works must necessarily concern multitudes of persons, who will never think they have exact justice done to them for that small pretence of right they have unto some commons, so the commissioners, let them do what they can, could never satisfy such a body of men. And now the king is declared the principal undertaker for the draining; and by this time the vulgar are grown clamorous against these first popular lords and undertakers, who had joined with the king in the second undertaking, though they had much better provisions for them than their interest was ever before; and the commissioners must by multitudes and clamours be withstood; and, as a head of this faction, Mr. Cromwell, in the year 1639, at Huntingdon, appears, which made his activity so well known to his friend and kinsman, Mr. Hampden, that he gave a character of Cromwell of being an active person, and one that would sit well at the mark." See, also, Camden's *Britannia*, by Gibson, i., 489, 490; also Dugdale, p. 400.

signs, have made a good progress therein, with expense of great and vast sums of money; but by reason of some late interruptions, the works there made have fallen into decay: be it therefore enacted and ordained, that William, now Earl of Bedford, &c., in recompense of the aforesaid charge and adventure, and for bearing the charge of draining, and maintaining the works from time to time, shall have and enjoy the said whole 95,000 acres." Now the chief advocate of this measure in the House was no other than "Lieutenant-general Cromwell," whose name afterward appears as a commissioner "to hear, determine, order, adjudge, and execute all such things as are prescribed by this act." Circumstances had changed a little! It was not undeserving of praise in Cromwell, however, to seek thus to repair\* the temporary obstruction he had offered to an undertaking of general advantage, and in his former opposition to which he had supposed himself sanctioned by the consideration of higher objects and efforts that then claimed the influence such opposition gave him.

For his influence in all the districts around Huntingdon and Ely was now indeed supreme. The "Lord of the Fens" was the name the common people worshipped him by.† Some of the Parliamentary chiefs congratulated Hampden on the great position of popularity his kinsman had achieved, and suggested various places he might offer himself for in the ensuing Parliament, if, as was then generally supposed, his uncle's influence was too strong for his success in Huntingdon. He is indeed, returned the sagacious Hampden, an active man, a man "to sit well to the mark;" for the other matter, he and his kinsman had already taken council.

The writs appeared, returnable in November, 1640, and Cromwell offered himself at once for Cambridge. He was encountered by a formidable opposition, headed by John Cleaveland, the well-known poet, who was at that time a tutor of St. John's, and a man of considerable influence, all of which he levelled in every possible way against Cromwell. The contest was obstinately fierce, and ended in Cromwell's return at last, by the majority of a single vote. That vote, exclaimed Cleaveland—or at least his friends affirm he exclaimed this—"that vote, that single vote, hath ruined both Church and kingdom."

Cromwell remembered the disservice in after years, and paid it back with interest by means of his major-generals of the Protectorate. Cleaveland was arrested by those worthies under Haynes, and sent to prison in Yarmouth. I cannot resist inserting here the reasons which were given by them for this step, from the state documents of the time. The first was, that he lived in utter obscurity in the house of a Royalist, very few persons in the neighbourhood knowing that there was such a man resident among them! the second was, that he possessed great abilities, and was able to do considerable disservice; and a third reason for his imprisonment was, that he wore good clothes, though, as he confessed, he had no estate but £20 per

\* He passed another act for the same purpose on the 30th of May, 1651, during his own Protectorate.

† *Mercurius Aulicus*, November 5, 1643.

annum, allowed him by two gentlemen, and £30 by the person in whose house he resided, and whom he assisted in his studies! He would, it is said, have been released, had he possessed any property upon which the commissioners could have fixed an assessment.

Yet Cleaveland had possibly the advantage after all, for his good spirits never forsook him, and there was light enough in his prison to enable him to write out that definition of a protector, which not uncharacteristically illustrates, as we shall find, some passages in Cromwell's history.

"What's a Protector? He's a stately thing,  
That apes it in the monage of a king.  
He's a brass farthing, stamped with a crown,  
A tragic actor, *Cæsar* in a clown!  
A bladder blown—with others' breath puff'd full—  
*Not the Perillus, but Perillus' Bull!*  
Eeny's proud Ass vail'd in the Lion's skin,  
An outward Saint lined with a Devil within.  
An echo whence the royal sound doth come,  
But just as a barrel head sounds like a drum.  
Fantastic image of the royal head,  
The Brewer's with the King's arms quartered.  
He is a counterfeited piece, that shows  
Charles his effigies with a copper nose.  
In fine, he's one we must Protector call,  
From whom the King of kings protect us all."

In November, 1640—that month never to be named but with honour by the well-informed student of English history—this "*Cæsar* in a clown" once more entered the House of Commons. The world-amazing scenes that followed up to the time when Charles, on an inauspicious day of wind and storm, erected his standard at Nottingham, and proclaimed the chief representatives of the English people to be a parcel of rebels and robbers, have been already placed before the reader in the lives of Pym, of Hampden, and of Strafford. Such incidental points only remain to be noticed here as may serve in any way to illustrate the character of Oliver Cromwell, before it blazed forth all over the land in the splendour of military achievement.

The morning of the 11th of November, 1640, saw anxious crowds assembled in the neighbourhood of Westminster. A great business was afoot. Crowds of members poured into the House from all quarters. Some, as Hyde remarked, were observed to have sad and melancholy faces; and others, as if flushed by a stern and "unnatural" joy, to be "marvellous elated" in step and aspect. Such was, indeed, the natural difference between the men who saw a crisis impending that would overtax their strength, and the greater men, who, in the sure terrors of the future, that were to be born of the miseries of the past, only recognised and welcomed the stormy yet not impassable sea which rolled between slavery and freedom. Other thoughts, deeper in his heart of hearts, lurking there even unknown to himself, may have agitated Cromwell. His friends said, in after years, that even now he would startle them by sudden and gratuitous graspings of his sword, and by fits of the same abrupt and immoderate laughter which were noted on the eve of Worcester and Dunbar.

The members are now all within the House, and upon the crowd outside an anxious silence has fallen, such as anticipates great events. Hour passes after hour, yet the door of the Commons is still locked, and within may be

heard, by such as stand in the adjoining lobby, not the confused and wrangling noise of a various debate, but the single continuous sound of one ominous voice, interrupted at intervals, not by a broken cheer, but by a tremendous shout of universal sympathy. Suddenly a stir is seen outside, the crowd grows light with uncovered heads, and the carriage of the great lord-lieutenant of Ireland dashes up to the House of Lords.

Ten minutes more have passed—the door of the Commons' House is abruptly thrown wide open—and forth issues Pym, followed by upward of three hundred representatives of the English people, in that day the first men of the world in birth, in wealth, in talents. Their great leader crosses to the House of Lords, and the bar is in an instant filled with that immortal crowd.

What, meanwhile, was the suspense lately endured by the meaner masses outside, to the agitation which now heaved them to and fro, like the sullen waves of an advancing storm. But the interval is happily shorter. It is closed by the appearance of Maxwell, the usher of the House of Lords, at whose side staggers Strafford himself—a prisoner! The storm which had threatened fell into a frightful stillness. They make "through a world of staring people," as old Baillie the Covenanter wrote to his friends in Scotland, towards the carriage of the Earl, "all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered." Statesmanship had achieved its master-stroke. The power of the greatest and proudest minister that ever ruled a nation—of the only minister of genius that Charles I. possessed—lay grovelling in the dust beneath the feet of the meanest person in that assembled populace.

An act worthy of the lofty praise of Milton. "Thus," says that great writer, having noticed the high birth of this famous assembly, their singular attainments, and their astonishing public virtue in having for the most part passed the ordeal, not only of courtly vengeance, but of courtly temptation—"thus, in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects, having given proof of themselves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue than others, under the holiest precepts and best examples, have been headstrong and prone to vice; and having, in all the trials of a firm, ingrafted honesty, not oftener buckled in the conflict than given every opposition the foil; this, moreover, was added, by favour from heaven, as an ornament and happiness to their virtue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclipsed for want of matter equal to illustrate itself; God and man consenting, in joint approbation, to choose them out, as worthiest above others, to be both the great reformers of the Church and the restorers of the Commonwealth. Nor did they deceive that expectation, which, with the eyes and desires of their country, was fixed upon them; for no sooner did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy, but, encountering the dazzled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and subtle, till they had laid her grovelling upon the fatal block: with one stroke

winning again our lost liberties and charters, which our forefathers, after so many battles, could scarce maintain."

In that true master-stroke Oliver Cromwell bore his part with the foremost men of the time. He did not often speak in the House, but he was full of action. In at least twenty out of the forty committees that were appointed within the first week to consider of various grievances, we find his name. And he could speak, too, as we have already seen, and when he spoke, it was something much to the purpose.

"The first time I ever took notice of him," writes the grave and trustworthy Royalist, Sir Philip Warwick, "was in the beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came into the House one morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor: his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a *speck or two of blood upon his little band*, which was not much larger than his collar: his hat was without a hatband. His stature was of a good size; *his sword stuck close to his side*; his countenance swoln and reddish; his voice sharp and untunable; and *his eloquence full of fervour*—for the subject-matter would not bear much of reason, it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council-table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council, for *he was very much heartened unto*. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom, out of no ill-will to him, I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real, but usurped power (*having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company*), in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, *appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely presence*. Of him, therefore, I will say no more, but that verily I believe he was extraordinarily designed for those extraordinary things which one while most wickedly and facinorously he acted, and at another so successfully and greatly performed."\*

\* Warwick's Memoirs. Lord Clarendon, in his life, has described similar earnestness, rudeness, and passionate fervour on the part of Cromwell, in a private committee of the House. The account, however, is not so credible as Warwick's—there are many errors in it which the reader will at once perceive—and it is deeply tinged with that vanity and gross egotism which characterized Clarendon not less than his wonderful talents: "Mr. Hyde," the passage runs, "was often heard to mention one private committee, in which he was put accidentally into the chair, upon an enclosure which had been made of great wastes, belonging to the queen's manors, without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the queen to a servant of near trust, who forthwith sold the lands enclosed to the Earl of Manchester, lord-privy-seal; who, together with his son Mandevil, were now most concerned to maintain the enclosure; against which, as well as the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a

It was not the tailor, good Sir Philip, who had wrought any portion of this change. A great man had achieved greatness, and had fallen into its state with the ease of one who merely assumes his natural place in the human family. The genius which could achieve Cromwell's aims included in itself all the faculties, tempers, and tastes which they might require to establish or assert them.\* At present, indeed, all these were in tumult and confusion. His mind was as yet the chaos only, from which order and majesty were to spring. But there, even then visible to penetrating minds, their great elements lay heaped, massed, crowded together.

As Hampden left the House on the day Sir Philip Warwick witnessed what he has described so well, Lord Digby, who had himself in that Parliament just entered public life, was seen to hurry after him, "Pray, Mr. Hampden," he asked, overtaking the patriot as he descended the stairs, "pray, Mr. Hampden, who is that man—that sloven who spoke just now! for I see he is on our side, by his speaking so warmly." Hampden answered, in ever-memorable language, "That sloven whom you see before you hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king, which God forbid!—in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England."

Yet the "breach with the king" was approaching fast! Strafford had expiated on the scaffold his mighty guilt, and the wretched master who had deserted him was now on all sides himself deserted.

Ominous questions then passed between men, and strangers asked of each other what was

very high hand, and supported by power. The committee sat in the queen's court; and Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners, who were numerous, together with their witnesses: the Lord Mandevil being likewise present as a party, and by the direction of the committee, sitting covered. Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the House of Commons) ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceeding, and seconded and enlarged upon what they said with great passion; and the witnesses and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the council and witnesses on the other side with great clamour when they said anything that did not please them, so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs and some threats to reduce them to such a temper that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell, in great fury, reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, who justified him, and declared that he behaved as he ought to do; which more inflamed him who was already too much angry. When, upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before and at the enclosure, the Lord Mandevil desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer and reply upon him with so much indecency and rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end, his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him, and to tell him if he proceeded in the same manner he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the House of him, which he never forgave, and took all occasions afterward to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge to his death."

\* Even Clarendon himself spoke thus of him in after years: "As he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had concealed his faculties till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom."

likely next to happen. Sir Philip Warwick, walking with Sir Thomas Chicheley into the House, met Cromwell unexpectedly, and, unable to resist an impulse which prompted him at the moment, went up to him and desired honestly to know what the real objects of his party were. "I can tell you, sirs," answered Cromwell, abruptly, as he passed on, "I can tell you what I would *not* have, if I cannot what I *could*." The words, no doubt, in truth expressed at that particular time the condition of the speaker's mind, but this perhaps, I would add, less from the real uncertainty that then prevailed there than from the control exerted over it by men of wisdom as great as his own, and of experience more enlarged in Parliaments, whose plans were of a different cast, and had already taken shape and substance.

Pym and Hampden, I firmly believe, had it in their design from the first to rest contented with a strong and decided limitation of the monarchical government: not with such a settlement as that of 1688, but with one wherein the popular substance should have had place no less than the popular form, and in securing which they would have taken care to recognise, by something better than a quibble, those rights and privileges of the people that were the source of all to be attempted and the object of all to be achieved, at once the means and the end of every constitutional settlement. In the life of Pym I have accordingly offered some reason for supposing that when Charles had entered the field of civil war, and his hopeless sincerity left any ultimate arrangement with himself almost as hopeless, these great leaders cast their thoughts towards Charles Louis, the young prince-elector of the Palatinate—a wanderer from his kingdom by the tyrannical encroachment of Austria—the elder brother of Prince Rupert, and the next heir to the English crown in case the family of Charles I. were set aside. I afterward found that the conclusion I then arrived at had been anticipated by one of Bishop Warburton's most acute notes on Clarendon.

Since the publication of that memoir, however, Lord Nugent has intrusted me with the loan of some valuable family papers, hitherto unpublished, with a courteous permission to make all necessary use of them. Among them are several letters from this young prince to his mother—the sister of Charles I., the beautiful and unhappy Queen of Bohemia, "the eclipse and glory of her kind"\* Some extracts may be valuable here, and will not be thought uninteresting, since they illustrate, in some striking points, the character and events of the time.

The prince not only lived with his uncle at this time, but, according to Clarendon, enjoyed a pension from him of "twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly." This pension may have been nominally due, but it seems certain, from some of the letters which I shall quote, that it was not regularly paid. That Charles treated his nephew with extreme kindness is, however, indisputable; what Henrietta's conduct towards him may have been admits, perhaps, of some doubt. From Whitehall "this 1<sup>st</sup> of May, 1641," he thus writes in the course of one of his letters to the Queen of Bohemia:

\* Sir Henry Wotton.

"I did not writte to y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>w</sup> by the last post, not knowing whether the same might not be stopped as the former was, whereof I doubt but by this y<sup>r</sup> M<sup>v</sup> doth know the occasion, w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>as</sup> my L<sup>d</sup> of Strafford's death hath putt the queene in an ill humour.\* In this the king hath shewed himselfe a good master & a good Christian, & att last a good king, for the day afore he should give the howses of parliament an answer concerning the Bill of Attaindore against the Earll of Strafford, the bishops, after a whole daye's debate, had much to doe to perswade him that he might give way unto it w<sup>th</sup> a safe conscience, because the judges did declare, upon the voting of the two houses of the fact, that it was treason, though the king could not be satisfied of it in his conscience, & that w<sup>h</sup>all the people stood upon it w<sup>h</sup> such violence, that he would have putt himselfe & his in a great danger by denying execution. Therefore, att last, the king protested att the counceill table, that if his persone were onely in danger, he would gladly venture it to save L<sup>d</sup> Strafford's life; butt seeinge his wife, children, & all his kingdome were concerned in it, he was forced to give way unto it; w<sup>ch</sup> he did not expresse without teares. This bearer will tell y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>w</sup> the circumstance of my L<sup>d</sup> of Strafford's execution, for he sayth he was close by. What passed since in parliament, y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>w</sup> will understand from others; that of greatest note is, that w<sup>h</sup> the Bill of my L<sup>d</sup> of Strafford, the king passed another, that the parliament should not be adjourned nor broken w<sup>h</sup>out the consent of the two howses. Concerning the king's manifest, my friends advise me to stay as yet some few dayes w<sup>h</sup> it untill the Scotts treaty come to an end, butt they assure me w<sup>h</sup>all that it *shall not want applause in the houses*. The king intends to make a posting journey for Scotland, as he doth declare openly, *butt whether it will hold, God knoweth, since resolutions are apt to be changed att this court*."

The prince's definition of a good master, a good Christian, and a good king, is scarcely satisfactory. The letter offers some proof, however, of an implied intercourse held even thus early with the popular leaders. The next letter I shall quote (dated "this 28th of July, 1641") still farther confirms this, and presents some characteristic points besides. Its opening sketch of the widowed Lady Strafford is extremely touching.

"I have done y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>w</sup> comaunds to my Lady Strafford, who did expresse a great deal of humble devotion to y<sup>r</sup> service, & to be very sensible of the favour you did her; *She hath promised me to send Mrs. Kirck's picture inameld to y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>w</sup>*. If I gett it soone enough I will send it by this bearer. She also desired me to make hir humble excuse to you, that *she doth not writte to y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>w</sup> because this great affliction hath made a shaking in her limbs, soe that she is not able to rule a penn*. By my former y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>w</sup> hath understood how the queen's journey was broken, & by Cave the change of the L<sup>d</sup> Chamberlaine. It was a thing my L<sup>d</sup> of Essex did not att all sue for, & would not have accepted it, butt that he saw the king was resolved the other should not keepe it, & that if he had refused that also, after soe many other things w<sup>ch</sup> were put upon him, the

\* This seems to dispose altogether of Bishop Burnet's assertion of the queen's indifference to that act.

world might have thought that the high hand he carried in parliament was not soe much for to maintaine the liberties of the subjects as out of a spleene to the court. He [L<sup>d</sup> Essex] hath done what y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>y</sup> desired in y<sup>m</sup> of the 12<sup>th</sup> of July in the house of peeres, & by Mr. Hamblen in the house of commons, & is alwayes very forward in anything that concernes y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>y</sup> & y<sup>m</sup>. There hath offered itselfe an oportunitie w<sup>ch</sup> doth discover how much y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>y</sup> is bound to M<sup>r</sup> Treasurer Vane, w<sup>ch</sup> you may see if you compare the printed order of the howse of commons concerning the manifest, w<sup>ch</sup> the written coppie w<sup>ch</sup> was sent you, for in that is left out THE QUEENE OF BOHEMIA by his expresse order to Weckerlin, though it was inserted in this when it was read publickly by the speaker afore the king; Madam, I could not indure this insolent, ungrateful & base trick of his, butt have complained of it to some of the house of commons & my L<sup>d</sup> of Essex, w<sup>thout</sup> naming Vane, but onely desiring them to question the printer, & then it will be seene from whence it came; it was Vane also that pressed me most about the ceremonies w<sup>ch</sup> the Prince of Orange, & I doubt not butt he did as much w<sup>ch</sup> the king. I shall know to-day or to-morrow what will become of it. Just now my L<sup>d</sup> of Essex told me that he moved it in the house of the peeres, & that the printer is to come to-morrow to the barre to answer for it. S<sup>r</sup> Henry Vane puts it from himselfe upon the king, when I spoke to the king in it & argued it w<sup>th</sup> him, as that it did not att all ingage him—that it was only an honour w<sup>ch</sup> the 2 howses intended to y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>y</sup>: he said nothing else, butt that since it was printed it could not be altered. S<sup>r</sup> Tom Berington was going to speake of it in the howse, & S<sup>r</sup> Raph Hopton, butt some other businesse that came betweene hinder'd it, & afterwards they were spoken to by Vane & L<sup>d</sup>. Say not to meddle in it, butt what they have done since I doe not know."

There cannot be a doubt, from the tone and style of these extracts, that the writer was playing a double game at this moment between the court and the people's party. It is observable as much in his hatred to old Vane and the queen's set of courtiers, as in his more distinct assertions. Another letter is written from "Newmarket, this 10th of March, 1642." while staying there with the king, after the attempted arrest of the five members (when the prince-elect, it will be recollected, accompanied his uncle to the House) had led to the ill-fated flight from London. This letter paints a miserable picture, and is here printed entire.

"MADAME,—I have done what y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>y</sup> did therein comaund me towards the king, who tooke it very well, & sayd, I doubt not butt my wife & my sister will be very good frends. As for my brother Rupert's employment in the Irish warres, the king is enough inclined to it, butt I beleve the parliament will imploy none there butt those that they may be sure of. I shall speake w<sup>ch</sup> some of them about it, either for him or br. Maurice. This last I thinke might w<sup>ch</sup> honour have a regiment under Lesly, butt to be under any other odd or sencelesse officer, as some are proposed, I shall not advise it. . . . The L<sup>d</sup>s Pembroke, Holland, Dunsnow, Seymour, & 8 of the howse of commons, have presented the king yesterday w<sup>th</sup> a new declaration from both howses to

shew the causes of theyr feares & jealousies, & againe to presse the king to putt the militia into their hands, & to come nearer unto them, for to give the lesse cause of feare, & that it would make a clearer understa<sup>d</sup>ing betweene him & his people; & if his Ma<sup>y</sup> did refuse this, they would be forced to publish the said declaration, and take the militia into their hands of themselves. This is the effect of it, for the thing itselfe hath not beene suffered to be printed, nor any coppies to be taken as yett; butt now I doubt not butt it will be published, because I heare the king's answer this morning concerning the militia was a plaine deniall, and concerning his coming nearer to London, that he would doe it when the parliament would give him cause for it, butt would not farther explaine himselfe upon this last. I doubt not butt the weeke wee shall remouve from hence, butt whither, God knows! Some say to Yorke, others to Norwich (w<sup>ch</sup> I cannot beleve), others into Scotland; in the mean time I have noe monie, & if I had not pawned my diamond garter (for the plate was pawned already) for a hundred pound, I could not have got monie for to have gone this journey, for the comissioners of the treasury could give me none; butt they & some of the house of commons have assured me to mowe the house for some present supply for me. Thus businesse goe heere, & I rest y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>y</sup> most humble and obedient sonn and servant,

"CHARLES L."

Here indeed was a change, sudden as it was miserable, yet pursuing in the order of a natural effect a miserable cause foregone. For the first twelve years of the reign of Charles, the people had never dared to call their property their own; scarcely a new morning ever rose on an English family that was not dreaded as the usher of some new oppression; new faces were never seen in town or village that did not inspire the terror of some new exaction, in support of the ever-craving and ever-impoorished Exchequer. These frightful scenes have already been minutely detailed by the writer of these pages. And what is the unfailing answer urged by the apologists of the court? that its wants were for the state, and that all its personal expenses were singularly moderate and economical. This poor answer has been as often refuted, yet scarcely a new record of the time is opened by the historical inquirer which does not make the refutation even more complete. A most striking instance of this has very recently appeared. Several interesting extracts from the "Pell Records" have been made public by a gentleman in the service of the government, Mr. Devon, in the shape of "issues of the Exchequer" in various reigns. Nothing could more vividly illustrate the spirit of the several courts—the superstition of one, the public spirit and usefulness of another, the brilliant and lavish gayety of a third. The publication was unfortunately discontinued on the eve of our admission to the Exchequer of Charles I. and II., but a sufficient quantity of the materials collected in these reigns has nevertheless been given to the public in another form: and what do we discover in those of Charles I.? Profusion of the most reckless sort squandered on mere personal vanities. While the people were starving—while the

terrors of the Spanish Inquisition were more than realized by the GENERAL FORCED LOAN inquisitors, let the reader observe the entries, during a short eighteen months of the time, made for the purchase of jewelry alone, and wonder, if he can, at the retribution which followed.

"On the 25th of March, 1626, there is an order to pay Sir John Eyre £2000, 'the price of a diamond of the weight of twelve carates,' given by his late majesty to the French ambassador. On the 17th of April, to John Aston, his majesty's goldsmith, £110, in part of £3063, 6s. 4d. [on the 26th of July, 1628, this debt had increased, or another been incurred, to the amount of £6866 16s. 0½d.], for gold and silver plate bought for his majesty's use, and for chains of gold, medals, and other things given to ambassadors. On the 19th of May, £200 to the Duke of Buckingham 'for a chain of gold provided by his majesty's direction, and sent by his majesty as a present to a Dutch captain.' On the 25th of May, to 'the Lady Theodocia Dudley, wife to Edward lord Dudley, £500, in part of £1700, due unto her for a rich diamond, sold and delivered for his majesty's use.' On the 3d of June, to Dame Elizabeth Moreton, widow of Sir Albert Moreton, 'the sum of £800, in part of £2000, in full satisfaction of and for a fair diamond ring, bought by his majesty of her, and bestowed upon the ambassador lately employed from the King of Sweden; as also the sum of £400, in full satisfaction of and for a fair jewel, set with many diamonds, bought of her, and bestowed upon the ambassador lately employed from the Elector of Brandenburg.' On the 20th of September, 'to Sir Maurice Abbott, £2000, in part of £4000, in full payment and satisfaction of the sum of £8000, due to him for a diamond cut in fassets, and set in a collet,' for his majesty's use; the remaining £4000 'to be paid out of the money of the second payment of the portion of his majesty's dearest consort.' On the 29th of December, to Henry Garway, Esq., £2000, for 'one large, thick table diamond, set in a collet of gold, which he sold and delivered to his majesty.' On the 16th of January, to the Earl of Pembroke, late lord-chamberlain, £6400, in full of £8400, 'for sundry jewels, disposed of by him for his majesty's service, according to such directions as he hath received from his majesty.' On the 12th of June, 1627, to Robert Hooke, goldsmith, £900, 'for a garter and two Georges, which his majesty hath sent to the Prince of Orange.' On the 28th of August, to Charles Herbert £1000, 'for a fair George, set full of diamonds, lately sold unto his majesty.' On the third of September, to Sir Maurice Abbott, £4000, in further payment of the £8000 due for the diamond cut in fassets, and set in a collet, before mentioned; and on the 4th of September £2000 in full payment. On the 6th of October, to Philip Jacobson, £300, 'for a diamond husband, bought of him by his majesty;' and a further sum of £100, in full of £2100, for a jewel, bought of him by his majesty, the same being a picture case of gold, set with seven great and fourteen small diamonds, cut in fassets;' and on the same day, to Edward Sewster, goldsmith, £1500, being 'the price of a ring, with a fair table diamond,' which his majesty

did bestow upon his majesty's dear consort Queen Mary's bishop;' and to Philip Jacobson, jeweller, £3480, 'due unto him for jewels, by him delivered for his late majesty's service, and for a George set with diamonds, and for a diamond set in a ring of gold, likewise delivered for his said late majesty's service, and for one great jewel bought of him by his majesty.' And on the 27th of October, to the Earl of Pembroke, £400, in part of £2000, residue of the sum of £10,000, in full satisfaction of a ring, bought by his majesty of the Earl of Holland, and of other jewels, bought of Philip Jacobson, jeweller, and a jewel, bought of William Rogers, goldsmith, amounting in the whole to the sum of £10,400.' The following entry, though of a later date, has reference to jewels bought during this period: 'By order, 1st of July, 1628, to Henry Ellowes, £1300, for a bracelet which his majesty bought of him, and bestowed upon his dearest consort the queen, for a new-year's gift, at Xmas, 1626.'"

The imagination of the poet was not a fiction!

"Ay, there they are,  
Nobles and sons of nobles, patentees,  
Monopolists, and stewards of this poor farm,  
On whose lean sheep sit the prophetic crows,  
Here is the pomp that strips the houseless orphan,  
Here is the pride that breaks the desolate heart.  
These are the lilies glorious as Solomon,  
Who toil not, neither do they spin—unless  
It be the webs they catch poor rogues withal.  
Here is the surfeit which to them who earn  
The niggard wages of the earth, scarce leaves  
The tithe that will support them till they crawl  
Back to its cold, hard bosom. Here is health  
Follow'd by grim disease, glory by shame,  
Waste by lean famine, wealth by squalid want,  
And England's sin by England's punishment.

The punishment followed hard indeed. Our next extract from these letters exhibits the writer's royal uncle not only a beggar, but a prisoner. I print the letters out of their order in time, because it is of importance, in regard to the connexion I believe to have been once meditated by the popular leaders with this young prince, to complete the view which is presented of him in these valuable and very interesting documents.

But first let the reader observe this passage from Clarendon. It refers to the latter part of the year 1643. "The arrival of the prince-elect at London," says the noble historian, "was now no less the discourse of all tongues than the death of Mr. Pym. He had been in England before the troubles, and received and cherished by the king with great demonstration of grace and kindness, and supplied with a pension of twelve thousand pounds sterling yearly. When the king left London, he attended his majesty to York, and resided there with him till the differences grew so high that his majesty found it necessary to resolve to raise an army for his defence. Then, on a sudden, without giving the king many days' notice of his resolution, that prince-elect left the court; and taking the opportunity of an ordinary vessel, embarked himself for Holland, to the wonder of all men, who thought it an unseasonable declaration of his fear at least of the Parliament, and his desire of being well esteemed by them, when it was evident they esteem'd not the king as they should. And this was the more spoken of, when it was afterward known that the Parlia-

never have disoblged me (to whom I have some relation) for my maintenance, than to France, or any others that have wronged me."

Finally, in a letter written within a month of his uncle's execution, and when that terrible course of policy was well known to have been decided on, this prince writes to his mother, the sister of Charles I., in this cold, unfeeling strain: "You did not faile in your judgement of the treaty wth the king, though I beleeeve y<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>y</sup> nor noeboddy else could have imagined the issue thereof altogether soe ill, as there is sufficient cause to feare it will prove. Many that were well wishers to it did ever apprehend *that the king's too long husbanding his concessions, and losse of opportunity, would produce those effects that are followed, & God knows where they will end, for wch those that have had or have still the manadging of those great affaires are to answer; others that are butt remotely concerned in the effects thereof, cannot be blamed if they doe not intermeddle; neither is it in their power to mead any thing; For it hath been seen in all governments that strength will still prevaile, be it right or wrong.*"

And so our candidate-king waited quietly by till the execution of his uncle, and then he found that other objects were entertained by its promoters, which could fairly dispense at last with his presence altogether. Certainly Cromwell had better claims than Charles Louis!

That extraordinary man—to resume the history of his fortunes—has spoken little in the House of late, but since the death of Strafford he has even increased in fervid activity. The remonstrance is now on foot in the House of Commons, and he is one of its most ardent promoters; for with every act of policy that had in view the separation of the moderate from the decided party, his excitement and zeal increased. And, even thus early in his public career, we can observe that affectation of indifference to objects on which he had set his soul, which he converted in after life into one great means of achieving them.

Thus Clarendon, speaking of the remonstrance, tells us, "They [the leading men in the House of Commons] promised themselves they should easily carry it: so that the day it was to be resumed, they entertained the House all the morning with other debates, and towards noon called for the remonstrance; and it being urged by some that it was too late to enter upon it, with much difficulty they consented that it should be entered upon next morning at nine of the clock; and every clause should be debated; for they would not have the House resolved into a committee, which they believed would spend too much time. Oliver Cromwell asked the Lord Falkland why he would not have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it. He answered, there would not have been time enough, for sure it would take some debate. The other replied, *A very sorry one: they supposing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppose it. But he quickly found he was mistaken.*"

It is not possible to suppose that Cromwell could have believed this, even if he said it, since none knew better than Pym, Hampden, and himself, that one of the great objects of the remonstrance was to act as a touchstone of par-

ties both in the House of Commons and throughout the nation. Clarendon's addition to the story, also, is utterly incredible, unless it is to be taken as another evidence of Cromwell's wily deceit, which it is difficult to take in that light, seeing so little motive for it. For the debate having been renewed the following day, and having ended in the stormy scene so vividly described by Sir Philip Warwick—"at three of the clock in the morning, when [by a majority of eleven] they voted it, I thought we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catthed at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate until the next morning!"—the noble historian tells us, "that as the members at that late hour were hurrying out of the House, the Lord Falkland asked Oliver Cromwell whether there had been a debate. To which he answered, he would take his word another time; and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, that if the remonstrance had been rejected, *he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more*; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution. So near," adds Clarendon, "was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance." The story, if taken as a piece of sincerity on the part of Cromwell, is not to be believed for an instant. That, as I have before remarked, was not his temper. It was not his temper to despair of any achievement on which he had fixed his determination and his hopes, so long as life, and his good strong arm, remained to him.

Civil war became inevitable, and it is characteristic of Cromwell that he was the first man absolutely in the field. Acting under no regular commission, he performed some pieces of daring and important service in his native districts. When the later declaration by the king\* respecting the question of the militia had left no doubt of the speedy unfurling of the royal standard, he suddenly left London for the old vicinity of Huntingdon, whither a supply of arms, sent at his own private charge, had preceded him, and where a large body of dauntless men awaited him, inspired to the coming conflict by no mercenary or mean motives, but by the great old lessons they had learned under the farmer of Ely and St. Ives. His striking determination, too, at this period, to venture every thing on the result of the contest, is farther shown by his having recklessly devoted large sums out of his dwindled private patrimony to the promotion of public designs. He had given £500 to the fund raised by Parliament for assistance to crush the Irish rebellion; he had purchased the weapons I have elsewhere named;\* and when, some few months

\* Given in the Life of Pym.

† The following are extracts from the journals of the House: "Whereas Mr. Cromwell hath sent down arms into the county of Cambridge for the defence of that county; it is this day ordered that Sir Dudley North shall forthwith pay to Mr. Cromwell £100, which he hath received from Mr. Crane, late high-sheriff of the county of Cambridge; which said £100 the said Mr. Crane had remaining in his hands for coat and conduct money." "Ordered, that Mr. Cromwell do move the lord-lieutenant for the county of Cambridge to grant his deputation to some of the

later, a difficulty arose respecting some hired wagons provided to put Lord Manchester's army in motion against the king, he at once got rid of the difficulty by paying out of his own purse £100 for the hire.

Having arrived and picked out his men—a solid foundation for his famous regiment of Ironsides—he appears at once to have bent his chief exertions to the organization of some system among the chief popular men of the district, whereby they might have the inhabitants immediately trained to military service, the eastern counties associated for mutual defence, and the movements of the Royalists watched with unsparing vigilance. In the Commons' Journals of a very little later date, an order is observed, that "Mr. Cromwell do move the lord-lieutenant for the county of Cambridge to grant his deputation to some of the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge to train and exercise the inhabitants of that town."

And a more obvious piece of daring service—more important it could not be—while the royal standard still remained unfurled, commemorated Cromwell's resolved zeal. Taking along with him his brother-in-law Valentine Wauton (member for the county of Huntingdon), he succeeded in stopping the plate of the University of Cambridge, a spoil of inestimable value, which was then on the point of being sent to the king, to be melted down for the purposes of the war.\* We find from the Journals, that on the 15th of August, 1642, Sir Philip Stapleton gave an account in the lower House, from the committee for the defence of the kingdom, that "Mr. Cromwell, in Cambridgeshire, had seized the magazine in the castle of Cambridge, and had hindered the carrying of the plate from that university." And on the 18th of August, we find from the same authorities, a committee was appointed to prepare an order for the "indemnity of Mr. Cromwell and Mr. Walton, and those that have or shall assist them in the stopping of the plate that was going from Cambridge to York."†

Nor, in these first decisive movements, did Cromwell forget his uncle Sir Oliver's powers of mischief and aptitude to use them. He marched over to Ramsey, found his uncle at home, and having treated him personally with

every demonstration of studied kindness and respect, resolutely took from him all his means of at that instant assisting the king. The scene must have been strange on both sides, but it illustrates in Cromwell, with singular force, one of the most remarkable qualities of his character. The reader will require nothing more to assist his imagination in the matter, after he has read the delightfully characteristic version of the anecdote given by Sir Philip Warwick. "While I was about Huntingdon," he says, "visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he told me this story of his successful nephew and godson: that he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and that he had asked him his blessing, and that the few hours he was there he would not keep on his hat in his presence; but, at the same time, he not only disarmed, but plundered him, for he took away all his plate."

At last the king took the field, and the regular levies commenced on both sides, as they have been described in the memoirs of Pym and Hampden. It only remains here to notice, in particular detail, the practical result of all those great thoughts which I have heretofore shown in the course of partial realization at the various stages of Cromwell's history—in the final organization of that immortal troop of horse, which became the after wonder and admiration of the world. Had his history closed with the raising and disciplining of these men, it would have left a sufficient warrant of his greatness to posterity.

Having accepted the commission under Essex of a colonel of a cavalry regiment, he proceeded to enrol a body of a thousand men. And on this point let us first quote the celebrated Baxter's words: "I think," says that generally well-intentioned person, "that, having been a prodigal in his youth, and afterward changed to a zealous religiousness, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscientious in the main course of his life, till prosperity and success corrupted him; that at his first entrance into the wars, being but a captain of horse, he had a special care to get religious men into his troop: these men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the importance and consequence of the wars; and making not money, but that which they took for the public felicity, to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valiant; for he that maketh money his end, doth esteem his life above his pay, and therefore is like enough to save it by flight when danger comes, if possibly he can; but he that maketh the felicity of church and state his end, esteemeth it above his life, and therefore will the sooner lay down his life for it. And men of parts and understanding know how to manage their business, and know that flying is the surest way to death, and that standing to it is the likeliest way to escape; there being many usually that fall in the flight for one that falleth in valiant fight. These things it's probable that Cromwell understood, and that none would be such engaged valiant men as the religious; but yet I conjecture, that at his first choosing such men into his troop, it was the very esteem and love of religious men that principally moved him, and the avoiding of those

inhabitants of the town of Cambridge to train and exercise the inhabitants of that town.—1642."

\* Various accounts have been given of this transaction, which, though disputed in various ways, is correctly stated in the text; but perhaps the most comical version is that which follows, from a tract entitled "*Querela Cantabrigiæ*," in which certainly, while the writer disputes the seizure of the plate, he concedes a seizure of a different sort, as prompt and more amusing. "Master Cromwell, burgess for the town of Cambridge, and then newly turned a man of war, was sent down, as himself confessed, by his masters above, at the invitation of his masters below, to gather what strength he could, and stop all passages, that no plate might be sent; but his designs being frustrated, and his character as an active, subtle man thereby somewhat shaken, he hath ever since bent himself to work what revenge and mischief he could against us. In pursuit whereof, before that month was expired, down he comes again, in a terrible manner, with what forces he could draw together, and surrounds divers colleges while we were at our devotion in our several chapels, taking away prisoners several doctors of divinity, heads of colleges, and these he carries with him to London in triumph."

† See, also, May's History of the Long Parliament, 3d book, p. 79. The booty must have been very large indeed, since we find that the particular pieces sent from St. John's College alone amounted to 2065½ ounces. See Barwick's Life, p. 24.



disorders, mutinies, plunderings, and grievances of the country, which debosht men in armies are commonly guilty of: by this means he indeed sped better than he expected. Aires, Desborough, Berry, Evanson, and the rest of that troop did prove so valiant, that, as far as I could learn, *they never once ran away before an enemy*. Hereupon he got a commission to take some care of the associated counties, where he brought this troop into a double regiment of fourteen full troops; and all these as full of religious men as he could get: these having more than ordinary wit and resolution, had more than ordinary success." In this passage the writer touches on a question of some interest in alluding to the first motives that are likely to have prompted Cromwell in the selection of such men as these. There cannot be a doubt, I think, as it has been the purpose of these pages hitherto to illustrate, that the religious tendencies were seized by his genius first as a means rather than an end; yet it might have been in his thoughts as strongly that the end to be achieved was that of the best interests of religion no less.

Nor will the reader who has accompanied me thus far suppose that this Republican captain held religion to be the sole necessary accomplishment of a soldier. While he held, indeed, that bravery unaccompanied by lofty motives was a mere brutish faculty, he held as strongly that the noblest and least mercenary motives required yet the most faithful discipline. His regiment is thus described by Whitelocke. "He had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders and freeholders' sons, who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel, and under Cromwell. And thus, *being well armed within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without by good iron arms, they would as one man charge firmly and fight desperately*." A political enemy to Cromwell writes still more strongly of the excellence of his military discipline. "His men," says the writer, "who, in the beginning, were unskilful both in handling their arms and managing their horses, by diligence and industry became excellent soldiers; for Cromwell used them daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses, and, when it was needful, *to lie together with them on the ground*; and, besides, taught them *to clean and keep their arms bright*, and have them ready for service; to choose the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over their enemies."\*

But the most striking and characteristic evidence on these minor points of discipline remains to be quoted from a still more inveterate enemy. "Cromwell," says Heath,† "well knowing the nature of the quarrel (which was

pretended for religion), resolved and advised that there were no men so likely to oppose the conquering gallantry of those gentlemen on the king's side as such who were or should be engaged upon account of conscience and zeal, which would spirit them with the same magnanimous fortitude, and make them also to endure the difficulties and hardships of the war with a more pertinacious constancy, as having bodies better able, and minds more finely sublimed upon that score, *pro aris et focis*, than the mixed and most rascally herd of loose and vicious people. But yet, prudently considering that in so long an interval and vacancy of war, from which this nation had been blessed, the most forwardest Hotspurs on the account of zeal might quale and shrink at the noise of the battel, and their spiritual proud courage abate at the encounter, and never defie a Cavalier again after one dismal alarum and fright of a discomfiture, he would *first prove and try his troopers how they could endure a sudden terrour*, and by that grow hardy to the constancy of danger (as eagles certifie themselves of the genuine race of their young ones by their experiencing how they can outstare and brave the sun, and imitate them with a bold and passive fortitude, the hardy rudiments of their fighting, predatory life); for as he relied on one hand upon their religious resolution and spiritual valour, so did he not reject the arm of flesh, which should actuate those inward impulses, and *by a just temperment of both to a true metal*, conduct and manage their sober and well-governed bravery to an assurance of success and victory; and *such whose hearts failed, he resolved to dismount them, and give their horses to more courageous riders*. This he did by a stratagem upon the first muster of his troop; when *having privily placed twelve men in an ambuscado* (it being neer some of the king's garrisons), *upon a signal or the appointed time, the said ambuscade, with a trumpet sounding a charge, galloped furiously to the body, out of which some 20 instantly fled out of fear and dismay*, and were glad the forfeiture was so cheap and easie, and, ashamed of their childish and disgraceful deserting of their station and colours, had not the confidence to request their continuance in his service, or deny or scruple the rendering their horses to them who should fight the Lord's battel in their stead."

Some shades there are in the account I have next to quote of this remarkable regiment, but it has also characteristic touches of happiest truth which may not be denied. "All Cromwell's men," says Sir Philip, "had either naturally the fanatic humour, or soon imbibed it. A herd of this sort of men being by him drawn together, he himself, like Mohammed, having transports of fancy, and, withal, a crafty understanding, knowing that natural principles, though not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of natural and politic ends, made use of the zeal and credulity of those persons; teaching them, as they too readily taught themselves, that they engaged for God when he led them against the king; and where this opinion met with a natural courage, it *made them the bolder, and too often the crueller*; for it was such a sort of men as killed brave young Cavendish and many others, after quarter given, in cold blood. And these men, *habituated more to spir-*

\* "Hi autem initio nec arma tractandi nec equos gnari, diligentia solertiisque bellatores acerrimi evaserunt; equis etenim curandis, nutriendis ac detergendis indices assuesfacti sunt, et si opus foret simul homicubando; arma insuper polire, nitida et usui expedita servare, locas optimas inducere, neque cetero armature genere communire conducere fecerat eos Cromwellius. Atque hoc exercitii militaris genere, prae reliquis commilitonum omnibus emicuisse virtute bellica, pleuresque ab hoste palmas reportarunt."—*Bate's Elenchi*, &c., part ii., p. 270.

† *Flagellum*, p. 31–33.

whose sobriety and manners, whose courage and success, made it famous and terrible all over the world. "On went Noll Cromwell," said the reckless Royalist Marchmont Needham—"forth went Noll in the might of his spirit, with his swords and Bibles, and with all his train of disciples; every one of whom is as a David, a man of war and a prophet; gifted men all, that have resolved to their work better than any of the sons of Levi, and are rushing through England with their two-edged swords and Bibles, to convert the Gentiles."

Cromwell styles himself a captain of a troop in the characteristic piece of autobiography quoted in these descriptions of his men, but I cannot discover that he ever held such a commission under Essex. It possibly refers merely to the period of his first daring excursions before the king's standard was in the field, and which, without any regular commission, he seems to have pursued also some few days after, for one of his exploits before all the Parliamentary commissions of array had been issued was to seize the person of Sir Thomas Conisby, high sheriff of the county of Herts, who had come to St. Alban's on the market-day for the purpose of proclaiming the Earl of Essex, and all who should be his followers, traitors. The self-important knight had arrived in the marketplace, and gravely unfolded his momentous proclamation, when suddenly he was pounced upon by Cromwell and his troop, and carried off a captive to London. Then it was Cromwell received his colonel's commission, with an instruction to increase his followers to a regiment of a thousand men; and how he did this the reader has seen.

Meanwhile, the commissions of array are out on all sides, and every town, every village, every hamlet in England is a muster-place for armed men, who are to fight against their own countrymen, their friends, perhaps their kindred. The causes which suddenly raised up for the king a larger levy of partisans and soldiers than could possibly have been anticipated by the Parliament, have been already placed before the reader.\* "I thought," says the enthusiastic and honest Ludlow, in describing his adhesion to the army of Essex,† "I thought the justice of that cause I had engaged in to be so evident, that I could not imagine it to be attended with much difficulty; for though I supposed that many of the clergy, who had been the principal

authors of our miseries, together with some of the courtiers, and such as absolutely depended on the king for their subsistence, as also some foreigners, would adhere to him, yet I could not think that many of the people, who had been long oppressed with heavy burdens, and now, with great difficulty, had obtained a Parliament, composed of such persons as were willing to run all hazards to procure a lasting settlement for the nation, would be either such enemies to themselves, or so ungrateful to those they had trusted, as not to stand by them to the utmost of their power; at least (though some might not have so much resolution and courage as to venture all with them, yet), that they would not be so treacherous and unworthy as to strengthen the hands of the enemy against those who had the laws of God, nature, and reason, as well as those of the land, of their side." But not the common people alone, whom many causes may be supposed to have influenced, deserted, at this trying hour, the Parliament which had risen to assert their rights of property, of labour, and of conscience: men of rank, who had hitherto acted firmly and resolutely against the king, now fairly deserted the principles they had avowed, and went over to the royal banner. Nothing but that subtle and delicate sense of honour, which the term loyalty implies, could have actuated these men to such a course. It was no love for Charles or for his cause: but that "grinning honour" stood in the way, they had fought against both. Their voices had been their own in the struggle for liberty and law, but their swords were the king's alone. "I would not continue here an hour," wrote Lord Robert Spencer from the royal camp to his wife, "if there could be an expedient found to solve the punctilio of honour." And thousands were agitated by the same melancholy reflection, till the welcome death they sought in battle solved every punctilio at last. Had such men as these seen the crown of England "on a hedge-stake," they would have remained to the death beside it.

A man of this sort, for instance, was Sir Bevill Grenville, who, when the king's affairs were in miserable plight at the first from the difficulty of collecting men, suddenly declared himself for Charles, published a commission of array, raised troops, and occupied a line of posts in the western counties. "I go," he said, "with joy and comfort, to venture my life in as good a cause, and in as good company, as ever Englishman did; and I do take God to witness, if I were to choose a death, it would be no other than this." Here there appeared no "grinning" doubts, but they existed notwithstanding. In Grenville they took the shape of that sort of melancholy foreboding touching his own fate, which also so strongly affected Falkland. In his active exertions in the field, in the more general business of the strife, in fierce and passionate resolution against the foe, Grenville yielded to none. Here he had no doubts, no scruples, nothing that stood in the way of service. Deeper in his heart of hearts the melancholy lay.

Among the manuscripts intrusted to me by Lord Nugent, I have found some interesting letters before and during the first year of the war, written to his wife—"to his best friend,

\* In the Life of Hampden.

† "Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with Mr. Richard Fienes, son to the Lord Say, and Mr. Charles Fleetwood, son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, then a member of the House of Commons, with whom consulting, it was resolved by us to assemble as many young gentlemen of the Inns of Court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms, to render ourselves fit and capable of acting in case there should be occasion to make use of us. To this end, we procured a person experienced in military affairs to instruct us in the use of arms, and for some time we frequently met to exercise at the Artillery Ground in London. And being informed that the Parliament had resolved to raise a life-guard for the Earl of Essex, to consist of a hundred gentlemen, under the command of Sir Philip Stapleton, a member of Parliament, most of our company entered themselves therein, and made up the greatest part of the said guard; among whom were Mr. Richard Fienes, Mr. Charles Fleetwood, afterward lieutenant-general, Major-general Harrison, Colonel Nathaniel Rich, Colonel Thomlinson, Colonel Twisleton, Colonel Buxwell, Major Whitby, and myself, with divers others."—*Ludlow's Memoirs*, vol. i., p. 42.

the Lady Grace Grenville"—by this gallant man. I shall quote one, dated from Bodmyn, the 12th of October, 1642, which illustrates a striking difference between the levy of the common troops for the king's service, and such levies as we have noticed in the case of Cromwell. It illustrates, too, the change which these distressing times could work in the gentlest natures. The mild and gentlemanly Grenville now threatens his neighbours and his tenants, and flings out insulting epithets against his old friend and associate, the Earl of Essex.

"DEARE LOVE,—I will detain Sym. Cottle noe longer, nor can he bring you much more newes than I sent you yesterday. Wee found men enough at the place appointed well arm'd, & for my part I am impatient (as all my honest frends else are) that wee did not march presently, to fetch those traitors out of their nest at Lancaster, or fire them in it, butt som of our faynter bretheren have prevailed soe farr w<sup>th</sup> the sherriff as there is a conference agreed on this day between —6—of a side, to see if they can compose matters. But we will march on neverthelesse, to be before hand if they agree not. *My neighbours did ill that they came not out, & are punishable by the lawe in a high degree; & though I will doe the best I can to save some of the honestest sort, yet others shall smart.* They were not in this to have comands from me; it is a legall course w<sup>ch</sup> the sherriff is directed to by the statute, & he is the comander in the buisnes, and not the collonells, butt he may take to his assistance whom he pleases. My neighbours did perchance looke to heare from me, & if wee proceed I shall expect they should yett come forth, or they shall suffer, & they shall have farther direction from me. The gallant Prince Rupert goes on gloriously in his uncles service; he hath given another blow to the enemy greater than the former, & hath well nye cutt off all their cavallry w<sup>th</sup> his; soe as *the great cuckold is forc'd to shutt himself up w<sup>th</sup> his foote w<sup>th</sup>in the walls of Worcester,* & not being able to keepe the field, witherward the king is moving w<sup>th</sup> his army to give the last blow, being able to barre him from all reliefe, and his army is mightily increased. Cottle hath a note. Publish it to y<sup>r</sup> frends. I have sent it already to my Cos. Cary. I hope wee shall shortly see good daies againe. My noble frend the brave Wilmott had a shrewd wound, & the prince himselfe slightly hurt, butt they killed 2000 of the enemy w<sup>th</sup> little losse. Your owne  
"B. GRENVILLE."

What a change from a few years before, when bonds of love no less than sympathy connected the writer with men of thoughts as lofty, and hearts as generous, and fame as pure as his own, but for whom he cannot find better words now than traitor or than cuckold! How different from the days when his only care was for the domestic charities he is now forced to thrust aside; when the sanctities of social life occupied the thoughts that are now only bent on the tragic scenes of civil strife, on plundered towns, on flaming villages, on ravaged homesteads. The reader will not, perhaps, object to my introducing here, from the same valuable manuscripts, a picture of Sir Bevill Grenville, as he was, in one of his letters of that former

time, to the same "best friend, Mrs. Grace Grenville." Such touching memorials, illustrating so vividly the changes of the period, belong peculiarly to a personal history of the time, and are used too scantily to be withheld when found. The matter of these letters contrasts not more strongly than their appearance: that which has been quoted, so worn and soiled as though it had travelled across a wide country in some trooper's pocket; these, almost as fresh and clean as letters written yesterday. The date of the first is London, May 18, 1626; that of the second only two days later.

"MY DEAREST,—Since myne by Stanburie I have received yrs by my Co: Trevillian's man, wherin you say you have not heard from me, w<sup>ch</sup> I wonder at, for surely I have written often unto you, both by way of Exeter and otherwise. Butt you doe much amaze me to tell me you are soe much distress'd for want of a midwife; for God's sake be sure to have one under hand, whatever it cost, and you cannot excuse your fault in neglecting it soe long. Howsoever, have myne Abbott by, if all else faile; shee, I hope, will doe her best, & I assure myselfe can doe well enough. There is little hope of having any of the Plate home as yett, butt all that can be don shall be. I am glad you have fetcht some of the Timber, to keepe Allen aworke; for I desire the worke should goe on w<sup>th</sup> all possible speed. If my co: Arundell be at Efford when you have Child, it will be verrie fitting shee should be a God-mother too; therefore, though it be a boy, intreat both her & my sister too; it is no more than wee have don formerly. My bro. Hen: is the man, whether it be boy or girl; & I hope S<sup>r</sup> Jo: Eliot shall be there too if it be a boy, though the King hath lately sent him to the Tower for some wordes spoken in the Parli<sup>mt</sup>; but wee are all resolv'd to have him out againe, or will proceed in noe business; & if y<sup>e</sup> Child chance to be borne before my coming downe, stay the Christning till wee can heare from one another. I will write shortly to you againe; in the mean time, doe rest y<sup>r</sup> owne BEVILL GRENVILLE. . . . Remember my duty to y<sup>r</sup> mother, & forgett me not to my sister." Again: "MY DEAREST,—How all the things, that at severall times I have & shall send to you from hence, will nowe come unto you, I knowe not, because they are to passe thorough so many hands; butt I will hope the best. I have this weeke sent you a boxe of . . . Sweet Meats, ass many sortes & the best I can gett, saving only apricots, whereof there are butt one pound, & those not verrie good, though the best y<sup>e</sup> can be gotten too; there were fewe or none don the last yeare, because of the sicknes, & that makes the scarcety. The note of particulars is heerinclosed, wanting only one boxe of the Quidiniocck, w<sup>ch</sup> I have eaten. I hope my Lady be now w<sup>th</sup> you, therfore reme'ber my duty to her. Wee have S<sup>r</sup> Jo: Eliot at liberty againe; the House was never quiet till the King releas'd him. If God send us a boye, I have a good minde to have him called John, for my poore brother John's sake; if it be a Girl, Grace. But I would faine perswade my selfe that I could be there at it, though I am now in some doubt, & therefore will heartily pray for you, if I cannot be present. Keepe my aunts and my sister by any meanes with you, & re-

member me to them. Soe I hasteley comend you to God, resting your own ever

"BEVILLE GREENVILE."

Since the levying of his regiment, Cromwell has, meanwhile, already greatly distinguished himself. His first service was sudden and complete as his seizure of the unlucky Sir Thomas Conisby. Having received intelligence of a meeting of gentlemen of the king's party at Lowestoft in Suffolk, for the purpose of concerting means for making a stand in that quarter, he came upon them by surprise, and made the whole body, consisting of about thirty persons of opulence and distinction, his prisoners. It was mentioned in the journals of the day as "the best piece of service that hath been done for a long time."\* The historian of the Parliament, May, tells us that the ammunition and engines of war secured on this occasion by Cromwell were "enough to have served a considerable force." And certain it was, pursues that historian, that "if Cromwell had not surprised them in the nick of time, it had proved a matter of great danger to the country; for within one day after, as many more knights and gentlemen that were listed before, would have met at the same place."

The first pitched battle between Charles and his subjects has been described in the life of Hampden. But while these early occurrences of the war left every one doubtful to which side success had fallen, the resolute cavalry of Cromwell were achieving remarkable and unquestioned advantages in every direction of their march.† At the head of twelve troops, their colonel had penetrated into Lincolnshire, disarming the disaffected as he passed, taking Stamford and Burleigh House by his way, and scattering all opposition before him. Not far from Grantham they were met by double their number—a flying corps of cavalry belonging to a light army levied by young General Cavendish, and with which he strove to recover Lincolnshire to the king. Cromwell's men, though many of them harassed and fatigued, stood firm; and the front they presented, few in numbers as they were, would seem to have been not at all inviting to the enemy, for the firing on both sides for upward of half an hour appears to have been confined to the skirmishers that covered each line, till at last Cromwell himself gave the word, and his men advanced

with an irresistible shock. The result may be described in the letter which Cromwell addressed to the speaker the instant after the event: "God hath given us this evening a glorious victory over our enemies. They were, as wee are informed, one-and-twentie colours of horse troops, and three or foure of dragoons. It was late in the evening when wee drew out. They came and faced us within two miles of the town. Soe soon as wee had the alarm, wee drew out our forces, consisting of about twelve troops, whereof some of them soe poure and broken that you shall seldome have seen worse; with this handfull it pleased God to cast the scale; for after wee had stood, a little above musket shot the one body from the other, and the dragoons having fired on both sides for the space of halfe an houre or more, they not advancing towards us, wee agreed to charge them, and advancing the body after many shots on both sides, came with our troops a pretty round trot, they standing firme to receive us, and our men charging fiercely upon them, they were immediately routed and ran all away, and wee had the execution of them two or three miles. I believe some of our souldiers did kill two or three men a pece. Wee have also gotten some of their officers and some of their colours; butt what the number of dead is, or what the prisoners, for the present wee have not time to inquire into."\*

Cromwell's next important service was the relief of Gainsborough, which, having been taken by Lord Willoughby, and garrisoned with Parliamentary soldiers, would have surrendered before the army of Lord Newcastle, returning victorious from Atherton Moor, but for the interposition of Cromwell, who, with sudden and astonishing bravery, threw himself and his regiment between the town and the first division of the advancing Royalist force, commanded by Lord Newcastle's brother, young General Cavendish. It was a fearful position. On the summit of an acclivity before them were ranged numbers in the proportion of at least three to one, while along the base of the hill ran a lofty fence, accessible only through a single gateway. On this quarter the enemy poured a heavy fire; yet Cromwell, having himself resolutely and safely passed, filed his men through, inspired by his own courage to deeds of as lofty daring, formed them as they passed, section by section, and then at once made a furious charge *up hill*, which overbore the enemy as much by the wonder the act inspired as by any real shock of arms. The major part of the Royalists fled in broken confusion. Cromwell, still holding his men together, plunged back on that part of the enemy which alone had been able to stand, drove them pellmell into a bog, and there, it is melancholy to be obliged to add, butchered them, including poor Cavendish himself, without mercy. It was the first great advantage these resolute soldiers had gained: their leader had inspired them to it by daring which might well have carried them beyond the common limits of soldierly forbearance, and it is charitable to suppose that this act was committed at a time when they were scarcely responsible agents.†

\* "By letters from Suffolk of the 15th present, it was informed that on Tuesday last, Colonel Cromwell, with about 1000 horse, having notice of a great confederacy held amongst the malignants at a town called Lowestoft, in that county, being a place of great consequence, came upon them unawares, and gained the town with small difficulty and no shot; took prisoners Sir Thomas Barker and his brother Sir John Pettus, Mr. Thomas Knevet, two of the younger Catlages, Captain Hammond, Mr. Corey, Mr. Turvill, Mr. Preston, and about twenty others of good worth. This was the best piece of service that hath been done for a long time, for both the counties will now be freed of their fears of the malignants. There were also taken in the said towns divers clergymen of the confederacy, good store of ammunition, excellent saddles, great store of pistols, powder, shot, and other engines for war, sufficient for a great force. This hath set the whole country right, so that now they are all up in arms, and would feign be in action for the Parliament."—*Perf. Diar.*, 18th Mar., 1643.

† "And now," writes Mrs. Hutchinson, "were all the countreys in England noe longer idle spectators, but several stages, whereon the tragedie of the civil warre was acted; except the easterne association, where Mr. Oliver Cromwell, by his diligence, prevented the designs of the royall party."

\* *Perfect Diurnal*, 25th of May, 1643.

† The *Perfect Diurnal* writes of the result: "Gen. Cav-

This achievement, Whitelocke tells us, was "the beginning of Cromwell's great fortunes, and now he began to appear in the world." It was the beginning, too, of his close and extraordinary intimacy with Ireton. This famous man was at the time a captain in "Col. Thornhaugh's regiment;" but hearing of Cromwell's brave intentions in this matter, solicited leave to join him in the enterprise, and a lasting bond of friendship was thereafter sealed between them. Cromwell had perhaps the most surprising faculty in selecting his friends or agents of any man that ever played a great part in the world; and it might possibly be taken as in some sort an evidence of the purity of his present motives that he now selected Ireton. Eleven years the junior of Cromwell, this gallant and virtuous man had been bred to the bar, and had distinguished himself thus early by the projection of various legal and constitutional reforms of a very striking and philosophical character. His opinions, however, were all Republican, and his integrity so stern and uncompromising,\* that no worldly motives or advantages ever changed or modified those convictions of his mind. Nor did military services ever transport him out of philosophical or meditative habits, since he was able with amazing facility, as Hume has with a misplaced sneer observed, "to graft the soldier on the lawyer, the statesman on the saint." Three years after the relief of Gainsborough, this excellent person married Cromwell's eldest daughter, Bridget, then in her twenty-first year, having, instantly upon the former action, Mrs. Hutchinson tells us, "quite left Colonel Thornhaugh's regiment," to join that of the greater colonel whose conduct and genius had "charmed him."

These individual successes, meanwhile, availed little against serious reverses lately undergone by the Parliament. Even after relieving Gainsborough, Cromwell was obliged to draw off towards Boston, which he did in masterly order, slowly retreating before the overwhelming force of the main body of Newcastle's army, yet presenting at every step of his retreat "a bold front to his pursuers, and appearing to invite rather than shun an encounter." Newcastle, however, marched straight on to Gainsborough, recovered that place, and made himself master of Lincoln.

In the west it was, however, that the king's forces were at this time chiefly successful. The letter already quoted from the Grenville manuscripts referred to some of these successes; and the fight of Bradock Down, where Sir Ralph Hopton commanded the royal troops, was

endish, and another person of note, much like to Gen. King, one colonel, lieutenant-colonel, sergeant-major, and a captain, with above 100 others, were found dead upon the place, near upon twice as many killed in the pursuit, and prisoners above 150. Upon their retreat they relieved the town with powder and other provisions; after which they skirmished with a new supply of Newcastle's army that came against them, brought off their foot, which was engaged with great disadvantage, and made a fair retreat into the town, with little loss."

\* Ludlow says of him in after years, that "when he heard of a bill brought into Parliament in his absence, to settle upon him two thousand a year in land, in his character of lord-deputy of Ireland, he expressed his displeasure, and said they had many just debts, which he wished they would pay before they made such presents; that, for their land, he had no need of it, and therefore would not have it."

a decided victory. In this Grenville greatly distinguished himself, and the rout of the Parliamentarians was complete. Shortly after, however, I find from these manuscripts, Grenville wrote from Okehampton to "his best friend" thus: "DEARE LOVE,—I will write a hasty line by my cos Parker. Wee march'd with some foote and horse from Plimpton to prevent the enemy from gathering power at Tavistock, where he forbare to come for feare of us. Wee then marcht to Okehampton to finde him, wee being sure they were there w<sup>th</sup> 5000 men, butt they ran away before wee came. There were sent some horse and dragoons to Chagford to pursue them in the night, butt for want of good foote, & the approach to the towne being very hard, *our men were forc't to retire againe after they were in, & one losse wee have sustain'd that is unvalluable, to witt, SIDNEY GODOLPHIN is slaine in the attempt, who was as gallant a gent. as the world had.* I have time for no more. Y<sup>r</sup> ever, B. GRENVILLE."

Godolphin\* was indeed a loss; and it is moreover clear from the tone of the letter, that the western Parliamentary men were rallying once more. They had, in fact, been elevated by the news of assistance providing for them by the Parliament, and Sir Ralph Hopton now foolishly offered siege to the unimportant garrison of Plymouth, dividing his army for that purpose, instead of concentrating it on one point towards Tavistock, to clear the country to the eastward, where the Parliamentarians were collecting strength. The latter had been the advice of Grenville, whose next communications to his wife, crumpled, soiled, and torn as his fortunes are accordingly most melancholy and desponding. The first is dated from Plympton, and presents several characteristic points.

"MY DEARE LOVE,—Y<sup>r</sup> great care & good affection, as they are very remarkable, soe they

\* Of this accomplished man, Clarendon speaks in a passage of his own life, which should not be omitted here. "There was never so great a mind and spirit contained in so little room; so large an understanding and so unrestrained a fancy in so very small a body; so that the Lord Falkland used to say merrily, that he thought it was a great argument into his friendship for Mr. Godolphin that he was pleased to be found in his company, where he was the properer man; and it may be, the very remarkableness of his little person made the sharpness of his wit and the composed quickness of his judgment and understanding the more notable. He had spent some years in France and in the Low Countries, and accompanied the Earl of Leicester in his ambassage into Denmark, before he resolved to be quiet, and attend some promotion in the court, where his excellent disposition and manners, and extraordinary qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though everybody loved his company very well, yet he loved very much to be alone, being in his constitution inclined somewhat to melancholy, and to retirement amongst his books; and was so far from being active, that he was contented to be reproached by his friends with laziness; and was of so soft and tender a composition, that a little rain or wind would disorder him, and divert him from any short journey he had most willingly proposed to himself; inasomuch as when he rid abroad with those in whose company he most delighted, if the wind chanced to be in his face, he would (after a little pleasant murmuring) suddenly turn his horse and go home: yet the civil war no sooner began (the first approaches towards which he discovered as soon as any man, by the proceedings in Parliament, where he was a member, and opposed with great indignation) than he put himself into the first troops which were raised in the west for the king, and bore the uneasiness and fatigue of winter marches with an exemplar courage and alacrity, until, by too brave a pursuit of the enemy into an obscure village in Devonshire, he was shot with a musket, with which (without saying any word more than, O God, I am hurt) he fell dead from his horse, to the excessive grief of his friends, who were all that knew him, and the irreparable damage of the public."

deserve my best thanks, & I could wish that the subject w<sup>th</sup> you bestowe them upon could better requite you. I shall returne your Messenger w<sup>th</sup> *but little certainly concerning our present Condition.* Our Army lyes still in severall quarters. Sr Ra. Hopton, w<sup>th</sup> my Lo: Mohun, is upon the north side of Plimouth w<sup>th</sup> two Regim<sup>ts</sup>; Collo: Ashbourn: Sr Js: Bark: & I, are on the east side w<sup>th</sup> two Regim<sup>ts</sup>, & Sr Ni: Glan: with Jack Trevan: & their two Regim<sup>ts</sup>, were sent the last weeke to Modbury, to possess that quarter before the enemy came, being the richest part of this Countrey, whence most of our provision and victualls does come. If it were taken from us, wee might be starv'd in our quarters. Modbury lyes 6 miles to the Eastward of us, & now the Enemy w<sup>th</sup> all the power y<sup>t</sup> they can gather of those that wee dispersed at Okeham: & Chag: & other aydes advanc'd w<sup>th</sup> in two mile of ou . . . at Modbu: *they are many thousand as the report goes, and wee are like to have speedy worke.* Wee have sent more ayde to them both of horse and foote. *God speed us well.* Plimouth is still supplied w<sup>th</sup> men & all sorts of provision by sea, w<sup>th</sup> wee cannot hinder, & therefore, for my part, I see no hope of taking it. Soe now the most danger *that hangs over the Kg's side is in these parts, for he hath had great successes in those parts where he is.* Cissiter, w<sup>th</sup> Prince Rupert tooke, hath drawne in all Gloucestershire. The Citties of Gloucester & Bristol do offer to render themselves w<sup>th</sup>out force, & they are places of great importance. The Earle of Newcastle hath given the Parli<sup>am</sup> power a great defeate in Yorkshire. The Queene is cominge w<sup>th</sup> good Ayde to the King. The Parli: did attempt to force severall quarters where the Kg's Army lay, & were beaten off w<sup>th</sup> great losse to themselves in all places. Wee have advertiz<sup>mt</sup>: that some ayde is coming from his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to us, *but it is soe slowe as wee shall need it before wee see it.* *But God's will be done; I am satisfied I cannot expire in a better cause.* I have given some directions to Jack for his study; pray cause him to putt them in execution, & to make some exercise in verse or prose every day. Intreat my Cos. . . & Bar: Geal: to take a little paines with him. I have releas'd the Prisoners that Bar: Geal: wrote for. Lett Cap: Stanb: know, it is all one to me whither he goe by Byd: or Pads: soe he make haste: & now to conclude, I beseech you take care of y<sup>r</sup> health; I have nothing soe much in my prayers. *Y<sup>r</sup> Phisition Jennings is turn'd a Traytor w<sup>th</sup> the rest, whereby he hath lost my love, & I am doubtfull to trust you w<sup>th</sup> him.* Present my humble duty & thanks to y<sup>r</sup> moth<sup>r</sup>: & I beseech God to blesse y<sup>r</sup> young people. I rest y<sup>r</sup> owne ever, BEVILLE GRENVILLE. . . My new cap is a little too straight. . . I know not what forme of a Certificate it is that Jo: Geal: desires, butt if he will send it to me drawne, I will gett it sign'd."

At last Hopton abandoned the siege of Plymouth, and joined his forces once more at Tavistock. Grenville immediately after writes thus to the Lady Grace: "DEARS LOVE,—There have been some changes since I wrote last; wee have raised our seige of Plimouth, w<sup>th</sup>, for my part, I never expected could have been successful, yet in submission to better judgm<sup>t</sup> I gave way, & wee are now at Tavistock, united againe

in one boddy. The party of ours w<sup>th</sup> was at Modbury indur'd a cruell assault for 12 houers against many thousand men, & kill'd many of them, w<sup>th</sup> the losse of fewe and some hurt, butt ours at last were forc'd to retire to Plimpton for want of Amunition, having spent all their stock. Wee are still threatned, *but I hope God's favour will not forsake vs.* Y<sup>r</sup> Neighbour of Gouldon, I heare, is one of the dead at Modbury, & *will not now plunder y<sup>r</sup> Countrey if it be true.* If my Soldier Hugh Ching continue sick, pray lett there be care had of him, & lett him not want what you can helpe him. Bidd Tom Añsley have speciall care of the busines I have now writt to him. Give my duty to y<sup>r</sup> mother, & I beseech God to keepe and blesse you all, & *if it be his will to send us a happie meeting, so prayeth y<sup>r</sup> faithfull BEVILLE GRENVILLE . . .* I have sent home some peare graffs; lett them be carefully graffed, some by Brute & some by Jo. Skiñer. I beseech you make Jack to pursue the directions I have given him. . . I did send home some Peare graffs from Truroe about Michaelmas; lett them be carefully graffed also, & note w<sup>th</sup> is one & w<sup>th</sup> the other."

The happy meeting prayed for in this touching letter was doomed never to take place. After some important successes gained by Hopton, Waller entered the western counties with a small but well-appointed army, and fought the disputed battle of Lansdowne, the result of which, let the victory be disputed as it may, certainly was to leave the Parliamentary general quartered that night in Bath, at the foot of the contested hill, while Hopton was borne off the field with heavy wounds, his army retreating at the same time towards Oxford, and leaving behind them, among the dead bodies of their chief officers, that of the brave and honourable Sir Beville Grenville. A very short time elapsed, however, before the Royalists rallied, and in an action near Devizes totally routed and dispersed the army of Sir William Waller.

Waller, on his return to London, mortified, deserted, and defeated, was yet received with honour, "as if," says Clarendon, with wonder, "he had brought the king prisoner with him." Yet here admiration would be better timed than wonder. The feeling that inspired the Parliament in such a policy was that of the Roman Senate in congratulating the general who was defeated at Cannæ, that he had not despaired of his country. It was only by such noble and elevated disregard of all petty jealousies that these great statesmen held their forces together, and subdued the jealousies of their chiefs, till fortune flung upon their side once more the chances of battle.

Never was the cause of the Parliament in such danger as now. The divisions and jealousies that had sprung up; the fatal imbecility and suspected treachery of Essex; the crowning disaster of the death of Hampden, with the yet unshrinking decision and fortitude of Pym, applied with success to the healing even of such wounds as these, have already been placed before the reader by the writer of this memoir.\* In the life of Vane, the masterly act of statesmanship resolved on at this time has also been commemorated. The commissioners for the

\* In the Lives of Pym and Hampden.

Solemn League and Covenant were now settling their great act in Edinburgh.

Exertions were not, meanwhile, wanting in England, while the Scottish supply was waited for. May, the historian of the Long Parliament, has described in a memorable passage the resolution shown by the Londoners when their great stronghold was threatened. "London," he says, "was at this time unfortified; nor could she, if the enemy, then master of the field, had come upon her, have opposed any walls but such as those old Sparta used, the hearts of her courageous citizens. But now was begun the large intrenchment, which encompassed not only the city, but the suburbs on every side, containing about twelve miles in circuit. That great work was by many hands completed in a short time, *it being then the practice for thousands to go out every day to dig, all professions, trades, and occupations taking their turns; not the inferior tradesmen only, but gentlemen of the best quality, knights, and ladies, for the encouragement of others, resorted to the works daily, not as spectators, but as sistsers, carrying themselves spades, mattocks, and other suitable implements*, so that it became a pleasant spectacle at London to see them going out in such order and numbers, with drums beating before them, which put life into the drooping people, being taken for a happy omen, *that in so low a condition they yet seemed not to despair.*" The cause was one which admitted not of despair, which, in the words of one of its noblest advocates, gave life in death to all the owners of it and all the sufferers for it.

Essex, with his army re-enforced and his jealousies compromised, was now active in the field once more; while jealousies, worse than any that had affected the Parliament's success, ravaged the victorious forces of the king. Charles's original commander in chief, Lord Lindsey, had fallen in the Edgehill fight, and the chief command had then been given to the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, a young man only twenty-three years of age, brave, but rash, impetuous, and with all the headstrong and plundering propensities of a mere soldier of fortune. He received the appointment of general of the Royal horse, with a fatal clause in his commission, exempting him from receiving any orders but from Charles himself. The first effect of this was disastrous in the extreme; for if the high-spirited and chivalrous Newcastle had joined Charles and Rupert in the south after the victory of Atherton Moor, instead of marching back to the north to avoid the mortification of receiving orders and perhaps insolence from Rupert, the result might have been hard to tell. In the same way, Prince Maurice—a youth of only twenty-two, with all the bad qualities of his brother Rupert, and none of his talent—harassed Hertford, whose lieutenant-general in the command of the west he was, so as to render almost of no avail Fiennes' ill-fated surrender of Bristol. And now, instead of co-operating upon one great point, Charles was at Gloucester, and Newcastle sat down before Hull.

To Gloucester, therefore, Essex directed a movement with his re-enforced army, and so well did he perform it that the sound of his cannon was Charles's first announcement of

his approach. The Royalists broke up in some confusion, and retired with the view of disputing the London road. Essex relieved and supplied Gloucester, and, anxious to avoid a battle with the king's superior cavalry, resolved to manœuvre his way back to London. He first marched to Tewkesbury, where he lay five days, and made demonstrations as if he had intended to proceed northward to Worcester. But, by a forced march during the night, he reached Cirencester, obtaining the double advantage of passing unmolested through an open country, and of surprising a convoy of provisions which lay in that town, where he also took upward of 400 prisoners. Having marched hence into Wiltshire, and now advancing towards the Auburn hills with the view of proceeding through an enclosed country to Newbury, Prince Rupert suddenly molested him with some divisions of horse, and in a skirmish some short distance from Hungerford nearly 2000 men were killed or wounded. In this skirmish an incident occurred, so characteristic yet so little known, that the reader will excuse its insertion from a rare tract entitled the "Life and Death of Robert Earl of Essex," by an officer who served under him. "Our horse," he says, "here made a great impression upon the queen's regiment of horse, and charged them again and again, and cut in pieces many of her life-guard. In this service the Marquis of Vivile was taken prisoner: *it seems he would not be known who he was; but endeavouring to rescue himself from a lieutenant that took him prisoner, and thereupon, having his head almost cloven asunder with a pike-axe, he acknowledged himself, in the last words he spoke, which were, Vous voyez un grand marquis mourant!* that is, you see a great marquis dying. His dead body was carried to Hungerford by the lord-general's command. It had not been long there, when the king did send a trumpet to his excellency, conceiving that the marquis had been wounded only and taken prisoner, and desired that his chirurgeons and doctors might have free access unto him for his recovery. His excellency certified the trumpet that he was dead, and returned his body to the king, to receive those funeral rites as his majesty would give it. Some say that his body was ransomed for 300 pieces of gold."

Essex arrived at Newbury at last, but, to his surprise, found that Charles and the Royalist army had been there two hours before him. An action was unavoidable now, and Essex met the crisis gallantly. He accepted the king's challenge for battle on the morning of the following day.

"All that night," says the officer I have just quoted, in a fine description, which appears in none of the histories, and therefore may be welcomed by the reader here, "all that night our army lay in the fields, impatient of the sloth of darkness, and wishing for the morning's light, to exercise their valour; and the rather, because the king had sent a challenge over night to the lord-general to give him battle the next morning. A great part of the enemy's army continued also in the field, *incapable of sleep, their enemy being so nigh; and, sometimes looking on the ground, they thought upon the melancholy element of which they were composed, and to which they must return; and sometimes looking*

up, they observed the silent marches of the stars, and the moving scene of heaven. The day no sooner did appear, but they were marshalled into order, and advanced to the brow of the hill; and not long after, the ordnance was planted, and the whole body of their horse and foot stood in battalia. *The officers and commanders of their foot did many of them leave off their doublets, and with daring resolution did bring on their men; and, as if they came rather to triumph than to fight, they, in their shirts, did lead them up to the battle.* The first that gave the charge was the most noble Lord Roberts, whose actions speak him higher than our epithets. He performed it with great resolution, and by his own example showed excellent demonstrations of valour to his regiment. The cavalry of the enemy performed also their charge most bravely, and gave in with a mighty impression upon him. A prepared body of our army made haste to relieve him. Upon this, two regiments of the king's horse, with a fierce charge, saluted the blue regiment of the London trained-bands, who gallantly discharged upon them, and did beat them back; but they, being no whit daunted at it, wheeled about, and on a sudden charged them. Our musketeers did again discharge, and that with so much violence and success, that they sent them now, *not wheeling, but reeling from them*; and yet, for all that, they made a third assault, and coming in full squadrons, they did the utmost of their endeavour to break through our ranks; but a cloud of bullets came at once so thick from our muskets, and made such a havoc among them, both of men and horse, that in a fear, full of confused speed, they did fly before us, and did no more adventure upon so warm a service.

"In the mean time, Sir Philip Stapleton performed excellent service with the lord-general's regiment of horse, and five times together did charge the enemy; but, above all, the renown and glory of this day is most justly due unto the resolution and conduct of our general; for, before the battle was begun, he did ride from one regiment to another, and did inflame them with courage, and perceiving in them all an eager desire to battle with their enemies, he collected to himself a sure presage of victory to come. I have heard, that when, in the heat and tempest of the fight, some friends of his did advise him to leave off his white hat, because it rendered him an object too remarkable to the enemy: No, replied the earl, *it is not the hat, but the heart.* The hat is not capable either of fear or honour. He himself, being foremost in person, did lead up the city regiment, and when a vast body of the enemy's horse had given so violent a charge that they had broken quite through it, he quickly rallied his men together, and with undaunted courage did lead them up the hill. In his way he did beat the infantry of the king from hedge to hedge, and did so scatter them, that hardly any of the enemy's foot appeared at that present to him to keep together in a body. After six hours' long fight, with the assistance of his horse, he gained those advantages which the enemy possessed in the morning, which were the hill, the hedges, and the river.

"In the mean time, a party of the enemy's horse, in a great body, wheeled about, and about

three quarters of a mile below the hill they did fall upon the rear of our army, where our carriages were placed; to relieve which, his excellency sent a selected party from the hill to assist their friends, who were deeply engaged in the fight. These forces marching down the hill, did meet a regiment of horse of the enemy's, *who in their hats had branches of furz and broom, which our army did that day wear, for distinction sake, to be known by one another from their adversaries,* and they cried out to our men, Friends, friends; but they being discovered to be enemies, our men gave fire upon them, and having some horse to second the execution, they did force them farther from them. Our men being now marched to the bottom of the hill, they increased the courage of their friends, and after a sharp conflict they forced the king's horse to fly with remarkable loss, having left the ground strewn with the carcasses of their horses and riders.

"And now his excellency, having planted his ordnance on the top of the hill, did thunder against the enemy where he found their numbers to be thickest, and the king's ordnance (being yet on the same hill) did play with the like fury against the forces of his excellency. The cannon on each side did *dispute with one another*, as if the battle was but new begun. The trained-bands of the city of London endured the chiefest heat of the day, and had the honour to win it; for, being now upon the brow of the hill, they lay not only open to the horse, but the cannon of the enemy; *yet they stood undaunted, and conquerors against all; and like a grove of pines in a day of wind and tempest, they only moved their heads or arms, but kept their footing sure*, unless, by an improvement of honour, they advanced forward to pursue their advantage on their enemies.

"Although the night did now draw on, yet neither of the armies did draw off. The enemy's horse, in a great body, did stand on the farthest side of the hill, and the broken remainders of their foot behind them; and having made some pillage, about the middle of the night they drew off their ordnance, and retreated unto Newbury. On the next morning, his excellency, *being absolute master of the field, did marshal again his soldiers into order to receive the enemy, if he had any stomach to the field, and to that purpose discharged a piece of ordnance; but no enemy appearing, he marched towards Reading.* The loss which the king's forces received in this memorable battle is remarkable for, besides the multitudes that were carried away in carts, there were divers found that were buried in pits and ditches. There were many personages of note and honour slain, as the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Sunderland, the Lord of Falkland, more famous for his pen than for his sword, Colonel Morgan, Lieutenant-colonel Fielding, Mr. Strode, and others: there were hurt the Lord Andover, Sir Charles Lucas, Colonel Charles Gerard, Colonel Fwers, the Earl of Carlisle, the Earl of Peterborough, Lieutenant-colonel George Lisle, Sir John Russell, Mr. Edward Sackville, Mr. Henry Howard, Mr. George Porter, Mr. Progers, Col. Darcy, Lieutenant-colonel Edward Villars, and many more of note and eminence, whose names are unknown unto us. . . . On the Parliament side,



there were slain, Colonel Tucker, Captain George Massey, and Captain Hunt, and not any more of quality than I can learn."

In this very striking and beautiful description are presented all the more memorable characteristics of this fatal civil strife. We see the daring and impetuous dash of the Royalists, touched with something of unnecessary brava-do, and met by the steady and immovable determination of the Parliamentarians. In vain, yet in vain, and again in vain, the impetuous Rupert dashes on the rampart of invincible pikes held by the raw recruits of London: men as Lord Clarendon observes in speaking of this action, "of whose inexperience of danger, or any kind of service beyond the easy practice of their postures in the artillery garden, men had, till then, too cheap an estimation."\* We have before us, too, the most terrible feature of all, in those expedients to distinguish friends and foes, which had become so fearfully necessary among men whose faces were familiar as those of brother to brother, who owned the same country, who spoke the same language. The result of the battle has been disputed, but surely they must be supposed to have been the victors who gained possession of the town, and were suffered to proceed next morning, unmolested, on their march to London.

This fight of Newbury cannot be left without a word to the eminent men who fell there. Four earls perished on that field, and of them were the youthful and beloved Sunderland, and the travelled and accomplished Carnarvon. But the loss to the Royalist party most deeply deplored—"a loss which no time would suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair"—was that of Charles's secretary of state, Lord Falkland; a person, exclaims Lord Clarendon, in all the fervour of a true affection, "of such prodigious learning and knowledge, of such inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that, if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity. . . . He was a great cherisher," his friend continues, "of wit and fancy and good parts in any man; and if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune. . . . His house being within ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that University, who found such an immenseness of wit and such a solidity of judgment in him; so infinite a fancy, bound in by a most logical ratiocination; such a vast knowledge that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university in a less volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser

propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation. . . . From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to. . . . He who had been so exactly unreserved and affable to all men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable, and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had intended before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense than is usual to so great a mind, he was now not only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some men (who were strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free. . . . When there was any overture or hope of peace, he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shriek and sad accent, ingeminate the word *PEACE, PEACE*, and would passionately profess 'that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart.' . . . In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the Lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers, from whence he was shot with a musket in the lower part of his belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a prisoner, though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the business of life that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence: whosoever leads such a life, need not care upon how short warning it be taken from him."\* In the presence of such

\* His lordship adds that "they behaved themselves to wonder"—standing as a bulwark and rampire to defend the rest—enduring without a shock the charges of Rupert and his choicest horse, "who could make no impression on their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheel about."—Vol. iv., p. 236.

\* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv., p. 266-257. From Lord Clarendon's life, I take a most graphic and singular description, little known, of Lord Falkland's person: "With these advantages, he had one great disadvantage (which in the first entrance into the world is attended with too much prejudice) in his person and presence, which was in no degree attractive or promising: his stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful, and his aspect so far from inviting, that it had somewhat in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned, that instead of reconciling, it offended the ear, so that nobody would have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world, but then no man more, or more disappointed this general and customary prejudice; that little person and small stature was quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage so keen, and a nature so fearless, that no composition of the strongest limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned presence and strength, ever more disposed any man to the greatest enterprise, it being

A eulogium, which in itself renders its object sacred, the faults or errors of Lord Falkland may not be remembered. Whitelocke and Rushworth have detailed in a similar strain the circumstances of his death. On the morning of the fight, they tell us, he called for a clean shirt, and told his friends gayly that if he were slain in the battle, they should not find his body in foul linen. In answer to their serious and passionate entreaty to him not to engage, "as not being a military man," he more seriously and with an air of inexpressible sadness replied that he was weary of his country's misery, and "did believe he should be out of it ere night."

During these eventful occurrences Cromwell remained in Lincolnshire, and performed so many signal acts of service in that and the neighbouring counties, that the Commons ordered a levy of an additional 2000 men\* to be

his greatest weakness to be too solicitous for such adventures; and that untuned tongue and voice easily discovered itself to be supplied and governed by a mind and understanding so excellent, that the wit and weight of all he said carried another kind of lustre and admiration in it, and even another kind of acceptance from the persons present, than any ornament of delivery could reasonably promise itself, or is usually attended with; and his disposition and nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in courtesy, kindness, and generosity, that all mankind could not but admire and love him. . . . In a short time after he had possession of the estate his grandfather had left him, and before he was of age, he committed a fault against his father, in marrying a young lady whom he passionately loved, without any considerable portion. . . . He seemed to have his estate in trust for all worthy persons who stood in want of supplies and encouragement, as Ben Jonson, and many others of that time, whose fortunes required, and whose spirits made them superior to, ordinary obligations; which yet they were contented to receive from him, because his estates were so generously distributed, and so much without vanity and ostentation, that except from those few persons from whom he sometimes received the characters of fit objects for his benefits, or whom he intrusted for the more secret deriving them to them, he did all he could that the persons themselves who received them should not know from what fountain they flowed; and when that could not be concealed, he sustained any acknowledgment from the persons obliged with so much trouble and bashfulness, that they might well perceive that he was even ashamed of the little he had given, and to receive so large a recompense from it." Nor can I conclude this note without other striking and characteristic anecdotes from the history. "He was so ill a dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men, that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptance of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, that the speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks; and then, that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him: the which (though not ordered), when very many did, the Lord Falkland (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person would not have stooped to it for any recompense), instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head, that all men might see how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular. . . . At the league before Gloucester, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger (as he delighted to visit the trenches and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did), as being so much beside the duty of his place that it might be understood against it, he would say merrily, 'that his office could not take away the privileges of his age, and that a secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger'; but withal alleged seriously, 'that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard than any other men, that all might see that his impatience for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own person.'"

\* We find by a journal of the day that this new levy was at once placed under his peculiar discipline: "Now all the Lincolnshire forces are joined with Colonel Cromwell, God grant they manage the business they go about better than it was at Newark in their former action. As for Colonel

placed under his command, and he was joined with Manchester (formerly Lord Kimbolton, but now raised to the peerage by his father's death) in the command of the six associated counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Hertford. The ill-advised separation of Newcastle and the king, among other disastrous effects of the royal cause, of course opened Manchester's passage from London to Lincolnshire, where, with upward of 7000 infantry, he at once joined Cromwell. At the same moment, Newcastle's advance against Hull released Sir Thomas Fairfax and his horse—of no service in a beleaguered town—and Cromwell was also joined in Lincolnshire by that already famous as modest soldier. It was now verging to the close of the fighting season of 1643. On the 9th of October the junction was effected at Boston, and on the 11th, the command being nominally Manchester's, but in reality Cromwell's, the campaign began.

On marching against Hull, Lord Newcastle, in addition to strong garrisons left in Lincoln and Gainsborough, had committed the royal posts of the county to a brave and veteran officer, Sir John Henderson, who earnestly desired and eagerly watched for an opportunity to measure swords with Cromwell. The opportunity occurred on the 12th, when, by a capital manœuvre, Henderson came up with Fairfax, Cromwell, and their cavalry at Waisby field, near Horncastle, while Manchester was yet with his infantry a long day's march in the rear, and threatened destruction to them with a force almost thrice as numerous as their own. Cromwell paused for a moment, drew up his men, and resolved to give battle. "Come," said the gallant Fairfax, with inspiration scarcely second to his own, "let us fall on! I never prospered better than when I fought against the enemy three or four to one."\*

Then was seen the secret of Cromwell's extraordinary influence over his determined Ironsides. In an instant he circulated through their ranks the watchword—TRUTH and PEACE—gave out a psalm, which the officers and men at once, as the Greek soldiers took up their song of freedom, uplifted with united voices, and then rushed, on Cromwell's word to charge in the name of the MOST HIGH, on the astonished enemy. A volley struck them in mid-charge, but did little execution: they clapped spurs to their horses with more furious zeal, and receiving another volley as they fell upon the advancing Royalist column, it struck down the horse of Cromwell. His rider was in fright-

Cromwell, he hath 3000 more brave men, well disciplined. No man swears but he pays his twelve pence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other Roundhead, he is cashiered: insomuch that the countries where they come leap for joy of them, and come in and join with them. How happy were it if all the forces were thus disciplined. Some say that the Lord Gray and Sir John Gell will join with them: they could not do a better work than to go and relieve that thrice noble and valiant Lord Fairfax, whose condition in Leeds is such as it wants relief."—Spec. Pas., May 9-16, 1643.

\* The Scottish Dove, Oct. 12-20, 1643. The same journal closes its account thus: "There were slain in the pursuit (which was full six miles) about 600; and many drowned in the chase: 114 were found dead in the water and mire the next day: there was also about 700 or 800 taken prisoners, and 18 colours at the least; these were brought in the first night: also their wagons: many more colours, it is like, were lost in the chase; the horse and arms that were taken were more than the men doubled."

ful danger for a while, and as he rose from the ground was again struck down by the hand (as it was thought) of Sir Ingram Hopton. For some moments he lay unconscious among the slain. Again recovering, he seized a "sorry horse" from one of his troopers, and joined the hand to hand *mêlée* with terrible fierceness. The Royalists, broken, astonished, and dismayed, had never recovered the first shock. They now gave way in all directions, and did not stop their flight till, after suffering terrible slaughter, they had reached the gates of Lincoln.\*

This engagement had a striking effect. It closed the disastrous campaign of 1643 with a gleam of brightest hope for the Parliamentary cause. It so startled Charles that he is reported to have exclaimed to his friends, "I would that some would do me the good fortune to bring Cromwell to me, alive or dead!" It moved Newcastle from his position, for, as soon as he heard of it, having also, just before, suffered from a gallant sortie out of Hull, conducted by Fairfax's father, he raised the siege and disposed his forces into winter-quarters.

Not so Cromwell and Manchester. They had yet some work to do. Castles and fortified towns were taken by them, money raised, Royalists kept in check, garrisons strengthened, and the entire borders of the eastern association placed in a state of security. Not till all this had been completely done, and the increasing severity of the weather left no opportunity for such exertions farther, were their forces disposed for the winter.

Yet not even this put a stop, however temporary, to the exertions of Cromwell. Under a commission from the Parliament, he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Ely ("with the like power of levying money there for his forces as the Earl of Manchester had in the associated counties"), and he chiefly employed the winter in raising funds, by means allowable or otherwise, from the colleges in Cambridge and the cathedrals of Peterborough and Ely, for the purposes of the ensuing campaign.

\* Ludlow's account will be found to bear out this description. "At the words 'Truth and Peace,' Cromwell's 'thirty-seven troops of horse and dragoons,' he observes, 'himself at their head, advanced, singing psalms; reserving their charge, however, until Sir John Henderson's 'eighty-seven,' who were seen coming down upon them, had fired; for these latter," says Ludlow, "hearing that Col. Cromwell was drawn out with the horse, made haste to engage him before the foot could march up."

† The Royalist Mercurius Aulicus tells us that in "Cambridge the Lord Grey of Warke and Master Cromwell did the last week deal very earnestly with the heads of colleges to lend £6000 for the public use, and that the motion not being hearkened to, they kept them all in custody till midnight, except Dr. Brownrigge, the bishop of Exeter, and Dr. Love; that the said heads being advised to assemble the next day about it, and refusing to do so, were called to the Lord Grey's lodging, and being asked the reason of their refusal, made answer by the Bishop of Exeter, whom they had chosen for their speaker, that they had before consulted the whole University, who had resolved that they could not comply with their desires in that particular, as being directly against their consciences; that Cromwell, when he found them stick to their resolution, said to a friend of his who was then in the place, they would have been content with a £1000 or less for the present turn: not that so little money could have done them good, but that the people might have thought that one of the two universities had been on their side. And it was also certified, that when they failed to get money by that means, in a fair and voluntary way, they took by violence from the bursars of diverse colleges such moneys as were already brought in unto them, and from the tenants of such colleges as dwelt near at hand,

His exertions in Cambridge, however, had another and more important object in addition to this. The tendencies of both universities, it is almost needless to say, were of the strongest possible kind towards the cause of Charles, since the cause of the Church was supposed to be identified with his person. Their means of disseminating those opinions were also great, and their influence, in proportion, of a kind and degree which it was most necessary, if possible, to reduce. Oxford was in the power of the Royalists, and therefore out of the question, but Cambridge was happily in that part of the kingdom where the military strength of the Parliament lay. Cromwell accordingly, to prepare the way for the changes contemplated, garrisoned the town, and when, some short time after, Manchester visited the University with the Parliament's commission for effecting its reform, Cromwell was his chief adviser and agent in all that was done. Matters had changed a little now since the wild days of his studentship there!

The reform may be briefly described. It began by a recognition and confirmation of the foundation and revenues of the University, in the shape of an order issued by the two Houses, and declaring that—whereas doubts had been suggested, upon the ordinance for the sequestration of the estates of delinquents, whether the estates of the different bodies in that University came within the operation of the ordinance—the meaning of Parliament was, that these estates and revenues should be in no wise sequestrable, but that the sequestration should fall merely upon the individual who had been pronounced delinquent, and that no longer than during the time that he would otherwise have received or enjoyed those revenues. Another ordinance was then passed, empowering the Earl of Manchester to appoint committees, who were entitled to call before them all provosts, masters, fellows, and students of the University, and to hear complaints against such as were scandalous in their lives, ill affected to the Parliament, fomenters of the present unnatural war, or who had deserted the ordinary places of their residence, and to examine witnesses in support of these complaints. The committees were to make their report to the sergeant-major-general, who had power to eject such as he should judge unfit for their offices, and to put in their places persons whom he should nominate, and who should be approved by the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster.

Accordingly, immediately on Manchester's arrival, he issued his warrants to the different colleges and halls in the University forthwith to send to him their statutes, with the names

such moneys as they had in readiness to pay their rents; and well we know what they were counted in the former times, when law and justice were in fashion, who, when a man refused to deliver his purse, used to take it from him. . . . It was advertised," says a subsequent number of the journal quoted above, "this day from Peterborough that Colonel Cromwell had bestowed a visit upon that little city, and put them to the charge of his entertainment, plundering a great part thereof to discharge the reckoning: and further, that in pursuance of the thorough reformation, he did most miserably deface the Cathedral Church, break down the organs, and destroy the glass windows, committing many outrages on the house of God, which were not acted by the Goths in the sack of Rome, and are most commonly borne by the Turks when they possess themselves by force of a Christian city."

of their members, and to certify to him who were present and who absent, with the express time of their discontinuance. Two days later, he sent to the officers of the different colleges, requiring them to appear before him within a certain limited time, to answer such inquiries as he or his commissioners might judge fit to make. Three days after this stipulated period the great reform took place, and is thus described by Mr. Godwin: "The number of the colleges was sixteen, and of these, the heads of six were allowed, and gave their consent, to retain their former stations. Ten new heads of colleges were appointed, and these appear to have been selected with great propriety and judgment. Two of them were Benjamin Whichcote and Ralph Cudworth, men of unquestionable literary eminence, but particularly the latter, qualified to do honour to any seminary for education in the world. Another was Thomas Young, the preceptor and friend of Milton. The remainder, though their names are not so familiar to our ears, were men of great learning, high respectability, and unblemished life. A few days later, sixty-five fellows were ejected from the different colleges, and their places filled by others, nominated by Manchester, and approved by the Assembly of Divines. The ordinance of Parliament empowered the sergeant-major-general to dispose of a fifth part of all the estates or revenues he should sequester for the benefit of the relatives of the persons ejected."

The tremendous campaign of 1644 now began. On the 19th of January, 1644, 20,000 Scotchmen, for the most part veteran soldiers and under the guidance of experienced officers, crossed the Tweed to co-operate with the Parliamentary forces. Such was the opportune fruit borne by that solemn League and Covenant which the genius of Vane had achieved. Charles, meanwhile, had made truce with the rebels in Ireland, and thousands at this time joining the royal standard from that ill-fated country, enlarged and exasperated the now incurable and deadly division between Charles and his more determined subjects.

The forces of the Parliament were at the opening of this campaign distributed in four great divisions. Essex and Waller had each 10,000 men for the midland counties and the west: under Manchester and Cromwell (who now held the superior commission of lieutenant-general), 14,000 men, chiefly of Cromwell's invincible model, were enrolled for the associated counties of the east; and Fairfax and his father were ordered to co-operate with the Scots.

\* See Life of Vane, p. 283-286.

† Mr. Godwin has selected, from Wood, an anecdote of the king singularly illustrative of his feelings on the subject of Ireland. It appears that a manuscript copy was found, after the battle of Naseby, of Sir Edward Walker's Discourses of the events of the civil war, in which, among several corrections in the king's own handwriting, it was observed that in one place, where the writer had occasion to speak of these insurgents, and had styled them "rebels," the king had drawn his pen through the word "rebels," and had substituted the term "Irish" in its stead. In reality, Charles felt an unconquerable repugnance to the classing the Catholics of Ireland with the men who in England and Scotland had sought to curtail his prerogatives. The Catholics, however he might disapprove of much of their conduct, he still regarded as his friends, and still expected (which was realized at last) that they would furnish an army to support his claims against his rebel subjects in England.

Charles, on the other hand, held a force of 10,000 at Oxford, and in the north, under Newcastle, a force of 14,000. Ireland poured him forth auxiliaries also as from an inexhaustible hive, and in various quarters of the land garrisons and flying hands supplied him at his need. With the obstinate weakness of his character, however, while the rising genius of such men as Cromwell and Fairfax threatened an opposition in which even numbers should be as nothing, he named for his commander-in-chief, in the teeth of much remonstrance, Ruthven, a Scot, now created Earl of Brentford, of whom Lord Clarendon says, "he was much decayed in his parts, which had never been vigorous, being now dozed with the custom of immoderate drinking. He was illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined, and very deaf; a man of few words, but who usually delivered that as his opinion which he forebore would be grateful to the king." Herein was the secret of his appointment.

Fairfax made the first movement of the campaign in marching from Lincolnshire, through the depths of a terrible winter, against Lord Byron, who, with an army of Irish, was then besieging Nantwich in Cheshire. Here Byron was routed with severe loss; of the 3000 foot he commanded, only 1000 having escaped death or capture. Fairfax was deficient in horse, and thereby the enemy's horse escaped. The notorious George Monk was taken prisoner in this action, and after some imprisonment in the Tower, entered the Parliament's service, became an active and influential general, and in the end the vile and appropriate instrument of the Restoration.

Answering the orders of the Parliament, Fairfax now marched back to Yorkshire, joined his father Lord Fairfax, with whom he defeated at Selby the Royalist governor of York, Colonel Bellasis, who had striven to interpose between the junction, and, once more master of the midland Yorkshire districts, prepared to march to the relief of the army of the Covenant. The latter, under the command of Lord Leven, were at this time much distressed in Northumberland by the force of the Marquis of Newcastle; they had crossed the Tyne, vainly threatened the town of Newcastle, and, as much harassed by want of provisions and forage as by the enemy's constant skirmishes and the weather, continued in face of the marquis's army without venturing to advance against him.

At this critical moment, when some resolution on the part of the Royalist chief might have put a sudden and premature period to our old friends of the Covenant, Fairfax's victory at Selby created a panic at York, and the Marquis of Newcastle, at the earnest entreaty of his friends in that city (now so fearfully exposed), fell back on York, and opened for his enemies their most desired position. Fairfax and Leven met with their forces at Wetherby on the 20th of April, and at once proceeded to invest York, into which the marquis had retired with his Cavaliers. And now, by a most opportune movement, Manchester and Cromwell (young Vane at this time travelled with them) joined their splendid forces to those of the besiegers, broke off at once an armistice into which Newcastle, seriously alarmed for his

safety, had contrived to inveigle Fairfax, and pushed their combined batteries against York with all necessary vigour. The attack of a town in those days, however, was not the matter of science it has since become; the forces, combined as they were, were yet insufficient for any regular investment of such a wide extent of walls divided by a river; and the siege of York was nothing more than an irregular blockade, diversified with furious sorties, and now and then some desperate assaults on the outworks.

Meanwhile the movements of the midland and western forces claim our attention. Essex and Waller, with their 20,000 men, had marched against Charles in two divisions, with the intention of shutting him up in Oxford. His situation became even more critical than that of Newcastle at York. The Isis was crossed by Waller, the Charwell by Essex, and the two armies seemed to hold in the forces of Charles, to be driven at will within the walls of the city.

In this extremity it was that one of the very ablest manœuvres of the whole war was accomplished by this unfortunate prince. A body of foot, with cannon, was ordered out at the south entrance of the city, as if for Abingdon, for the purpose of drawing Waller's attention on that side; and then the king, with all the cavalry, and 2500 chosen foot, quitted Oxford in silence at the north gate as soon as night set in on the 3d of June, and, marching between the two armies of the enemy, arrived at Hanborough by daybreak of the 4th, and in the afternoon halted for a short time at Burford. By quick and secret marches thus he arrived at Worcester, and from Worcester at Bewdley.

While at Tickenhall (then called Ticknill), near Bewdley, news reached him from York of the dangerous position of the Marquis of Newcastle, who had written that he could not hold out more than six weeks or two months without being relieved. The fate of the city and its besieged then at once struck Charles to be the imminent crisis of his cause, since, supposing York surrendered, or the army of Newcastle were beaten or dispersed, Essex and Waller, already strong enough for him in the south and west, would become altogether irresistible by the accession of the northern armies. Flinging aside, therefore, his first project of effecting an ultimate and speedy junction in the south with Rupert (whose impetuosity had just effected some daring successes and diversions in Cheshire and Lancashire), and thus, at least, securing the probable safety of the midland counties, he at once sat down and wrote the following letter (dated Ticknill, 14 June, 1644) to his nephew. I copy it from the original, among the papers with which the kindness of Lord Nugent has intrusted me.\* The writing is shaken and unsteady. The hand of the writer, almost always unusually firm and beautiful, had been unable to hold its precision in that anxious and fatiguing moment. The letter presents a singular contrast in this respect to a short note to Rupert in the same collection, written from Newport, with extreme beauty

and most exquisite firmness, within a few months of his execution.\*

"NEPHEW,—First I must congratulate with you for your good successes, assuring you that the things themselves are now more welcome to me than that you are the means: I know the importance of the supplying you with powder, for which I have taken all possible ways, having sent both to Ireland & Bristow; as from Oxford, this bearer is well satisfied that it is impossible to have at present; but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leave you to judge, having but 36 left; but what I can get from Bristow (of which there is not much certainty, it being threatened to be besieged) you shall have. . . . But now I must give you the true state of my affairs, which, if their condition be such as enforces me to give you more peremptory commands than I would willingly do, you must not take it ill. If Yorke be lost, I shall esteem my Crown little less, unless supported by your sudden March to me, & a Miraculous Conquest in the South, before the effects of the Northern power can be found here; but if Yorke be relieved, & you beat the Rebelles Armies of both Kingdomes which are before it, then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (upon the defensive) to spin out time until you come to assist me: Wherefor I command & conjure you, by the duty & affection which I know you bear me, that (all new enterprizes laid aside) you immediately march (according to your first intention) with all your force to the relief of Yorke; but if that be either lost, or have freed themselves from the besiegers, or that, for want of powder, you cannot undertake that work, that you immediately march, with your whole strength, directly to Woster, to assist me & my Army, without which, or your having relieved Yorke by beating the Scots, all the Successes you can afterwards have most infallibly will be useless unto me. You may believe that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus unto you; wherefor, in this case, I can no way doubt of your punctual compliance with your loving Uncle & most faithful friend, CHARLES R. . . . I commanded this bearer to speak to you concerning Vavisor."

This letter, no doubt, completely vindicates Rupert in the course he adopted on receiving it, though it does not excuse his haughty pride in concealing the fact of his having received such a letter.\* But I am anticipating. When

\* The mere style and manner of writing to his nephew in this note is also very touching. It is written on small note paper, and looks as if it had undergone much trouble and many adventures before it reached its destination:

"Newport, Saturday: 28 of Oct., 1648. DEAREST NEPHEW,—For want of a cypher, I have chosen this most trusty messenger, Will. Lyle, to acquaint you with a business which is of great importance for my service; for which I have commanded him to desire, in my name, both your advice & assistance; of which knowing your affection to me, I am so confident, that I will say no more, but only to desire you to give full credit to this bearer; & to give him a quick dispatch for his sake who is your loving Uncle and most faithful friend, CHARLES R."

† In the absence of this evidence of his own complete culpation, he has been made the subject of attack by almost every Royalist historian, for the unfortunate result of Marston Moor. Clarendon thus alludes to him and Newcastle: "The times afterward grew so bad, and the king's affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no opportunity to call either of those two great persons to account for what they had done or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the ground of their proceeding, or the causes of their misadventure."

\* It was, however, in a slightly incorrect state, printed from some copy taken at the time (and preserved among Sir Edward Nicholas's manuscripts) in the Evelyn Memoirs a few years ago.

his uncle's commands reached him, he made at once for York. Some time before, he had relieved Newark, taken Stockport, Bolton, and Liverpool, and raised the siege of Latham House, after its gallant defence by the famous Countess of Derby. He was therefore moved with the elation of a victor, added to his natural rashness. He took with him some newly-arrived Irish regiments, picked up Newcastle's cavalry by the way, captured several posts as he went along, and penetrated into Yorkshire.

During the progress of this march the king was executing another admirable movement. Essex and Waller took for granted that his previous forced march must be for Liverpool to join Rupert, and therefore Waller threw himself at once between Charles and Shrewsbury to intercept his passage. Essex, in the mean time, having the greater ordnance and the heavier carriages, felt these quick marches to be too much for his men, and, setting out for the west, left Waller to harass Charles. This was the very object the king had sought to accomplish—the two armies were separated. He at once hastened back to Oxford by marches as quick as those of his masterly egress from it; and Waller, smarting with the additional deceit thus practised on him, again returned to the banks of the Charwell, and, somewhat hotly and indiscreetly offering battle there, was defeated with considerable loss.

Rupert was now within sight of York with an army of 20,000 men. The besiegers broke up on his approach, and after an attempt to intercept him, which was well conducted by Fairfax, but which Rupert evaded by fetching a masterly compass with his army, they withdrew to Hessey Moor. Here, in a council of war, a difference of opinion arose—the Scots were for retreating, the English for fighting—and by some considerations that do not appear, the council for retreat prevailed for a time (amid jealousies which already shook the confederacy to the centre, and warned Cromwell and Fairfax of what they had next to do!), and they fell back on Tadcaster.

A discussion as painful, but with results more fatal, was at the same instant going on within the walls of York. What the chivalrous and somewhat fantastic\* marquis had dreaded, was now at hand. The young, rough, proud,

overbearing, fiery Rupert was in contact with the ceremonious, courteous, refined, and high-minded Newcastle; and a quarrel directly followed. Newcastle had wisely counselled delay; pointed out the advantage already gained by the prince's arrival alone; described the differences which he had reason to suspect already distracted the councils of the enemy, and the enormous benefit of merely leaving their dissensions to ripen; and closed with an earnest entreaty to Rupert, that, having thrown merely a fresh supply of men and provisions into York, he would at once march back to the king's assistance at Oxford. Rupert, in answer, pleaded orders from the king, which (being too haughty to produce them) Newcastle is supposed to have disbelieved; but, more strongly than on these orders, the prince stood out on his own conviction of the necessity of some daring achievement that should "disperse and annihilate" the enemy. Newcastle smiled in scorn, but submitted. Some of his friends implored him not to take part in the battle, since it seemed his command was taken from him; to which he answered that, happen what would, he would not shun fight, for he had no other ambition than to live and die a loyal subject.\*

On Marston Moor the rival armies met. The Parliamentarians were in retreat on the Tadcaster Road, when a cloud of Rupert's horse threatened their rear. Orders ran along the line at once to countermand the march; the troops of the van were recalled, and a position taken up for battle as favourable as the time allowed. So many contradictory statements have been published of the memorable fight which followed, that it requires no little care to present it fairly and intelligibly to the reader.

Across a portion of the Parliamentary front ran a broad and deep drain. To the right the ground was broken, and intrenched, as it were, with natural fences and lanes, though far beyond the flank was the open moor. To the left the ground was entirely barren, unencumbered, and unprotected, terminating also in the moor. In the centre Lords Fairfax and Leven formed, with a reserve of horse for the second line of infantry: on either wing (an advantageous position, it will be at once observed) the cavalry was brought up and planted. Sir Thomas Fairfax held the right, Cromwell and Manchester the left.

Rupert gazed at a distance while these thick and dark masses were forming before him. His customary haste had far outstripped his own glittering thousands behind, but they now came rapidly up and formed at his command. At the drain he planted four infantry brigades, supporting them with Goring's horse against the enemy's left; he disposed with great skill large masses of troops against the right of the combined armies, and took up a position there with his own cavalry opposite the horse of Fairfax.

And now, on the 2d of July, 1643, gazing with silent and inveterate determination at each other, these 46,000 subjects of one king stood upon Marston Moor, eight miles from a city wherein every boom of the distant cannon would strike upon the inhabitants as the death-knell of a friend or brother. The lines of the

by way of excuse to the king, or for their own vindication. Prince Rupert, only to his friends, and after the murder of the king, produced a letter in the king's own hand, which he received when he was upon his march from Lancashire towards York, in which his majesty said 'that his affairs were in so very ill a state, that it would not be enough, though his highness raised the siege from York, if he had not likewise beaten the Scotch army;' which he understood to amount to no less than a peremptory order to fight, 'upon what disadvantage soever;' and added, 'that the disadvantage was so great, the enemy being so much superior in number, it was no wonder he lost the day.' But as the king's letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the battle as soon as the enemy drew off, and without consulting at all with the Marquis of Newcastle and his officers, who must needs know more of the enemy, and, consequently, how they were best to be dealt with, than his highness could do." The noble historian had evidently neither seen the letter in the text, nor been correctly informed of its contents.

\* Somewhat fantastic in some things, certainly, but not deserving of Warburton's nickname, "the fantastic virtuoso on horseback." See what a lovely character his noble-hearted duchess (Charles Lamb's favourite!) left of him in one of her pleasant folios.

\* The Life of Newcastle, p. 47.

Parliamentarians had begun to form as early as ten in the morning; the Royalist preparations were complete at five o'clock in the afternoon: it was now within a quarter of seven, yet there still stood those formidable armies, each awaiting from the other, with a silent and awful suspense, the signal of battle.

A stir was seen at last in the dark quarter of Manchester's and Cromwell's Independents, and a part of their infantry moved upon the drain. Secure from behind the ditch, Rupert's musketeers at once poured out upon this advancing column a heavy and murderous fire, and it was in vain the Parliamentarians attempted to form under the plunging batteries directed against them simultaneously from the rear. At that moment was seen the genius of Cromwell. With a passionate exclamation to his Ironsides, he ordered them to sweep round the ditch to their right, clear the broken ground, and fall in with himself upon the cavalry of the dissolute Goring. The movement occupied some time, and fearful slaughter was meanwhile suffered by Manchester's infantry; but, having once emerged, these inveterate Republicans stood, for an instant, to receive, like a rock, the onset of Goring's horse, and then, "like a rock tumbled from its basis by an earthquake," rolled back upon them. Nothing could withstand that astonishing charge. The Cavaliers who survived offered no farther resistance, but wheeled off to join the horse of Rupert. Cromwell and his men next struck the guns and sabred the artillerymen beside them, and then, with as much leisurely order as at parade, rode towards the drain. Every place was deserted as they advanced. One spot of ground only still held upon it, for an instant, the Marquis of Newcastle's unflinching regiment of old tenants and retainers, and was covered the instant after with an "unbroken line" of honourable dead. Their victory was complete, and the right wing of the Royalists irrecoverably broken.

Rupert and his cavalry had meanwhile obtained as great a victory on the left. The encumbered ground on which Fairfax stood was most unfavourable to an advancing movement. Rupert accordingly stood keenly by till he saw the Parliamentary forces stagger under the heavy charges poured upon them as they emerged in narrow columns through ditches and lanes, and then, with his characteristic impetuosity, charged, overthrew, routed, and dispersed both foot and cavalry, with tremendous slaughter.

The after meeting of the two victors decided the day. While the centres were unsteadily engaged, Cromwell, who had held his triumphant Ironsides steadily in hand, and checked their pursuit in the very nick of time, ordered them suddenly to face round and wheel upon their centre to the left. Rupert had given a similar order to his conquering cavalry to wheel round on their centre to the right; and now, with a shock more terrible than any of this terrible day, these desperate leaders, each supposing himself the victor, dashed each in front of a victorious foe! Cromwell received a wound in the neck, and the alarm for his safety gave a slight appearance of momentary unsteadiness even to his gallant Ironsides; but they rallied

with redoubled fury, and in conjunction with Lesly, an accomplished Scotch officer, who led up at the moment a brilliant attack, fairly swept Rupert off the field.\*

It was now ten o'clock, and by the melancholy dusk which enveloped the moor might be seen

\* This description is founded on a careful perusal of the various accounts of the time. I subjoin a few points in illustration or addition, from the gazettes of the day: "There was a great ditch between the enemy and us, which ran along the front of the battle, only between the Earl of Manchester's foot and the enemy there was a plain. In this ditch the enemy had placed four brigades of their best foot, which, upon the advance of our battle, were forced to give ground. The right wing of our foot had several misfortunes, for betwixt them and the enemy there was no passage but at a narrow lane, where they could not march above three or four in front; upon the one side of the lane was a ditch, and on the other a hedge, both whereof were lined with musketeers, notwithstanding Sir Thomas Fairfax charged gallantly, but the enemy keeping themselves in a body, and receiving them by threes and fours, as they marched out of the lane; and (by what mistake I know not) Sir Thomas Fairfax, his new-raised regiments being in the van, they wheeled about, and being hotly pursued by the enemy, came back upon the Lord Fairfax's foot and the reserve of the Scottish foot, broke them wholly, and trod the most part of them under foot. . . . Lieut.-gen. Cromwell charged Prince Rupert's horse with exceeding great resolution, and maintained his charge with no less valour. Gen.-major Lesly charged the Earl of Newcastle's brigade of White Coats, and cut them wholly off, forty excepted, who were taken prisoners; and after them charged a brigade of Green Coats, whereof they cut off a great number, and put the rest to the rout; which service being performed, he charged the enemy's horse (with whom Lieut.-general Cromwell was engaged) upon the flank, and in a very short space the enemy's whole cavalry was routed, on whom our five troops did execution to the walls of York, but our body of horse kept their ground. Lieut.-gen. Cromwell and Major-gen. Lesly being joined, and receiving advertisement that our foot were engaged with the enemy's horse and foot, marched to their assistance, and met with the enemy's horse (being retreated upon the regular they had from the Scottish foot) at the same place of disadvantage where they had routed our horse formerly; and, indeed, their service was answerable, if not much worse, for we routed them wholly, killed and took their chief officers, and most part of their standards. After which we set upon the rear of their foot, and with the assistance of our main battle, which all this time stood firm, we put them wholly to the rout, killed many, and took their officers and colours, and by this time we had no enemy in the field. We took all their ordnance, being in number 25, near 130 barrels of powder, besides what was blown up by the common soldiers, above a hundred colours, and 10,000 arms, besides two wagons of carbines and pistols of spare arms. There were killed upon the place 3000, whereof, upon a judicious view of the dead bodies, two parts appeared to be gentlemen and officers. There were 1500 prisoners taken, whereof Sir Charles Lucas, lieut.-gen. of the Earl of Newcastle's horse, Major-gen. Porter, and Major-gen. Tillier, besides divers colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors. The loss upon our part, blessed be God, is not great, being only one lieutenant-colonel, some few captains, and not 300 common soldiers."—(*M. &c. Brit.*, 8 July, 1644.) . . . "The battle being begun, at the first some of our horse were put into disorder, but rallying again, we fell on with our whole body, killed and took their chief officers, and took most part of their standards and colours, 25 pieces of ordnance, near 130 barrels of powder, 10,000 arms, two wagons of carbines and pistols, killed 3000, and 1500 prisoners taken."—(*Perf. Diar.*, 9 July, 1644.) . . . "It will not be amiss, therefore, to insert something which came not before now to our knowledge, which is, that there were slain of the enemy's side the Lord Carre, son to the Earl of Monmouth, Sir William Lampton, Daveston the poet, and many others also; that the counsellors of the prince and others desigued the most valiant of the popish party to encounter the wing commanded by Lieut.-gen. Cromwell; and, in particular, Prince Rupert had desigued certain troops of horse, all Irish and all papists, to give the first charge to that brigade or party in which Col. Cromwell was; and that they did confidently believe there was not a man of them but would die rather than fly; but they moved their expectations, for many of them being slain in the plain, the rest fled."—(*Perf. Scout*, 18 July, 1644.) . . . "Col. Cromwell finding the passages strait, and musketeers beat the hedges, thought it not fit to advance any further after the prince, but is returned to York with his horse, not worn to skin and bone, but only breathed a little."—(*Perf. Scout*, 19 July, 1644.)

a fearful sight. Five thousand dead bodies of Englishmen lay heaped upon that fatal ground. The distinctions which separated in life these sons of a common country seemed trifling now! The plumed helmet embraced the strong steel cap as they rolled on the heath together, and the loose love-lock of the careless Cavalier lay drenched in the dark blood of the enthusiastic Republican.

But it is not with such thoughts the victors trouble themselves now. They have achieved the greatest conquest of the war, and the whole of the northern counties of England are open to the Parliament's sway. The headstrong Rupert has received a memorable lesson, and retreats in calamity and disgrace towards Chester. The Marquis of Newcastle, weary of a strife never suited to his taste, but hateful to him now, crosses the sea an exile.\* Fifteen hundred prisoners remain with Manchester, Fairfax, Leven, and Cromwell; the valuable ordnance of the vanquished; artillery, small arms, tents, baggage, and military chest, all has been left in their victorious hands.

Nearly half of his entire kingdom was now hopelessly lost to Charles I. Was it possible he should ever be able to recover it! The question was one which no doubt rose again and again in the breast of Cromwell, as he lay in his tent the night after this memorable battle. By one of two means he might recover

all. The succession of necessary victories to achieve it by force could hardly be hoped for; but there was such a thing as treachery; such a thing as success afraid of the slight shadow it cast before its mighty shape; such a thing as imbecility, worse than treachery—as bigotry, worse than all; and unless these vile forces could be conquered, of what avail had been all other victories—of what avail would be all the sufferings, and sacrifices, and triumphs yet to come! No doubt these thoughts, far more than the fatigues and anxieties of the day, or the wound he had received in the last decisive charge, made that night a sleepless night for Cromwell.

The wound, however, was certainly slight, since it neither prevented his second rally for the final charge, nor withheld him from discharging a sacred office of friendship to one of his brothers-in-law, by communicating, in the following letter (dated July 5, 1644), the melancholy tidings of a son's death. How well it is adapted to its purpose! The exaltation of the victory which opens the letter, and which, in those days of public enthusiasm, might possibly assist in alleviating even such a private sorrow—then the affectionate praise of the dead, which so tenderly embalms his memory. It is strange that such letters as these have not before enriched the records of Cromwell's character or history.

"DEERE SIR,—It's our duty to sympathize in all mercies; that wee praise the Lorde together, in Chastisements or Tryalls, that soe wee may sorrowe together. Truly England, and the Church of God, hath had a great favour from the Lorde in this great Victorie given unto us, such as the like never was since this War begunn. It had all the evidences of an absolute Victorie obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the Godly partie principally. *Wee never charged but wee routed the enimie. The leste Wingo which I commanded, being our owne horse, saving a few Scottes in our reere, beat all the Prince's Horse. God made them as stubble to our Swords. Wee charged their regiments of foote with our horse, and routed all wee charged.* The particulars I cannot relate now; butt I believe of twenty thousand, the Prince hath not four thousand left. Give Glory, all the Glory to God. . . Sir, God hath taken away your eldest Sonn by a Cannon Shott. It brake his legges. Wee were necessitated to have it cutt off, whereof he died. . . Sir, you knowe my tryalls this way, butt the Lorde supported me with this, that the Lorde tooke him into the happiness wee all pant after and live for. There is your precious Child, full of Glory, to knowe sinn nor sorrow any more. *He was a gallant younge man, excedinge gracious.* God give you his comfort. Before his death he was soe full of comfort, that to Frank Russell and myselfe he could not expresse it, it was soe great above his paine. This he sayd to us. Indeed it was admirable. A little after he sayd, one thinge lay upon his spirit; I asked him what that was; he told me that it was that God had not suffered him to be noe more the executioner of his Enimies. At this fall, his horse beinge killed with the bullet, and, as I am informed, three horses more I am told he bid them open to the right and let that he might see the rogues run. Truly he w

\* He remained abroad till the Restoration. I subjoin portions of Clarendon's character of him, which, if not fair in all things, is in all things graphic and amusing: "It was a greater wonder that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of war so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine gentleman, active and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding, in which his delight was. Besides that, he was amorous in poetry and music, in which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the king when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the Church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace. He had a particular reverence for the person of the king, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the prince, as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor. . . . He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a general well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state, and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which in the infancy of a war became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a general, he did not in any degree understand (being utterly unacquainted with war), nor could submit to it, but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his lieutenant-general, King, who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotchman, was in that conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been if the general himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day, when his troops began to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever, inasmuch as he sometimes denied admission to the chiefest officers of the army, even to General King himself, for two days together, from whence many inconveniences fall out."



exceedingly beloved in the Army of all that knew him. Butt few knew him; for he was a precious young man, fitt for God. You have cause to blesse the Lord. He is a glorious Saint in Heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoyce. *Lett this drinke up your sorrowe.* Seeinge these are not fayned words to comfort you; butt the thinge is soe real and undoubted a truth. You may doe all thinges by the strength of Christ. Seeke that, and you shall easily beare your tryall. Lett this publike mercy to the Church of God make you to forgett your private sorrowe. The Lord be your strength; soe prayes Your truly faythfull and Lovinge Brother, OLIVER CROMWELL. . . . My love to your daughter and my Cozen Perceval, sister Desbrowe, and all friends with you."

In the life of Vane, the rise of the Independents, as a great civil power in the state, has been minutely detailed. Its influence in the army is included in the simple fact that its simple, tolerant, and enlarged views of liberty were shared by Cromwell's troops. At this moment its disputes with the Presbyterians were rife in London. The services rendered by the army of Scots had strengthened the Presbyterian claims. The formidable mass of the Assembly of Divines seconded them with Laud-like zeal.\* With appalling vehemence, a bigoted uniformity in Church government was pressed for, and a restriction of what was called the licentiousness of the press in its opening freedom of thought. In vain the immortal voice of Milton was heard in his famous "Areopagitica"—in vain, that is, so far as the assembly to which it was addressed moved to answer the appeal; but not in vain on at least one of the victors of Marston Moor.

Nor were the threatenings from London all that might be considered formidable. In the aristocratic leaders of the army itself, elements of danger existed more fearful still. They had already more than once shown an indisposition to look steadily in the face that triumphant result of the war which the Cromwells, Vanes, and Fairfaxes were now bent upon achieving; and in the tent of almost every officer pitched on that northern moor were jealousies, discussions, and heartburnings, that, even in such an hour of present victory, augured a gloomy close. In the southern and western counties what was meanwhile the condition of affairs?

At Copredy Bridge, we have seen, Waller

\* To recall the reader's attention to the crisis already described in Vane's Memoir, it may be only necessary to remind him that at this time the Presbyterians infinitely outnumbered their opponents in the Assembly: a great majority of the citizens of London were Presbyterian; and the party was now fearfully and formidably re-enforced by the general consent of the Scottish nation. The Scottish Parliament and General Assembly had entered into the recently concluded alliance, solely or principally from their devoted love to Presbyterianism. They had sent up their commissioners (the commissioners of the Scottish Parliament arrived on the 5th of February) to watch that the League should be executed in the strictest construction which their party put upon it, by establishing an entire uniformity of church government. A Scots army of more than twenty thousand men had entered England in the commencement of the year; and one of the Scottish divines sent up on the occasion very frankly acknowledged, "We purpose not to meddle in haste with a point of so high consequence, till it please God to advance our army, which we expect will much assist our arguments."—*Godwin's Commonwealth.*

had sustained defeat by Charles, who afterward, pursuing his successes, turned upon Essex, and, by a series of masterly military manœuvres, cooped him up in Cornwall. That well-intentioned but fretful general had, like a spoiled child, moved into the west in jealousy of Waller. The west was Charles's stronghold. The principle of this has been admirably explained by the Royalist historian, Walker, whose history had the honour to be corrected and interlined by the king. It is a principle which in some sort explains, too, the character of the war. "The gentry of this country," he remarks, "retain their old possessions, their old tenants, and expect from them their ancient reverence and obedience. And, give me leave to say, if many of the nobility and gentry of this unhappy kingdom had not fallen from the lustre, virtue, and honour of their ancestors, and by their luxury been necessitated to manumise their villains, but had paid that awful reverence to the majesty and greatness of their sovereign as they ought, they might have expected the same proportionably from their inferiors and tenants; and, instead of having them their companions, or, rather, masters (as they now are), they might have had them their servants; and then I believe this war, which, under pretence of religion and liberties, is to introduce hereay in doctrine, parity in conditions, and to destroy the king, nobility, and gentry, in probability had not been."

Essex, cooped up in the west, expected relief from Waller, but Waller felt no inclination to move to the relief of Essex. Such was the present condition of the Parliamentary army and its chiefs! The men, meanwhile, burning to fight, could neither fight nor escape. In this state of things, Charles wrote to Essex with his own hand, and told him that the season was now arrived when he had it in his power to redeem his country and the crown, and to confer the highest obligation on his king. He proposed a frank negotiation, and that they should join their two armies without delay. He concluded with engaging that "word of a king" he was fated to engage and break so often, that he would confer unequivocal marks of his esteem on both him and his army, and remain ever their faithful friend. Essex, without a moment's hesitation, rejected the offer. He was weak, but not a traitor. In a former day of triumph he had hesitated, but in his adversity he stood firm. He enclosed Charles's letter to the Parliament, and thus concluded his letter. "If succour comes not speedily, we shall be put to great extremity. If we were in a country where we could force the enemy to fight, it would be some comfort; but this place consists so much of passes, that he who can subsist longest must have the better of it; which is a great grief to me, who have the command of so many gallant men." No succour arrived; but some days after this letter, he managed, by a well-directed movement, to pass his horse between two divisions of the royal army; he himself then took sea for Plymouth; and his main army surrendered on condition of delivering up their arms, and of being passed to the ports of their nearest friends. Thus, as was remarked, "the king obtained what he stood extremely in need of;

and the Parliament, having preserved the men, best what they could easily repair."

The Commons met their unsuccessful general, too, with their usual high-minded policy. They assured him that the Parliament's good affections to his person, and opinion of his fidelity and merit, were no wise lessened by this reverse, and that they resolved not to be wanting in their best endeavours for repairing the loss they had sustained, and placing such a force under his command as might best conduce to the successful termination of the war. To this end they actively moved accordingly. His army was reassembled in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth and Southampton. Waller was directed to co-operate with it, and the conquerors of Marston Moor were summoned to the same service.

York had surrendered, and Manchester, with Cromwell, at once obeyed this summons. The Scots army were in Northumberland, where the town of Newcastle subsequently surrendered. Manchester and Cromwell, Essex and Waller, marched against the king. Cromwell commanded the horse.

The royal position was a strong one—a formidable alignment in and about the town of Newbury, where Falkland had fallen the year before. To this spot the king, whose genius appears to have fitted him for such manoeuvres in war, had conducted his march out of Cornwall with consummate skill, relieving by the way the garrisons of Basing House, Banbury, and Dennington Castle. The River Kennett protected him here on one flank, the guns of Dennington Castle covered him in some sort on the other, and his front was strengthened by throwing up a breastwork, and by occupying in force several villas and gardens "which extended conveniently beyond the town."\* One house in especial, called Doleman's house, stood in good position, notwithstanding its being exposed to a raking fire on all sides, since it was a little in advance of the breastwork and of a row of lesser houses. This house was filled with troops; the gardens attached to it were strengthened by thick embankments; skirmishers swarmed among all the neighbouring hedges and ditches; artillery threatened from every mound about. But, with all these advantages, there was one assailable point, which none better than Cromwell knew how to seize. Within distance of a musket-shot in the enemy's front stood a fatal hill, behind which, secure and undiscovered, columns of attack had every facility to form. The open meadows, again, between the castle and the town, were sadly exposed, and the reserve, which should have supported the scattered infantry, was every way deficient.

The more serious fight began on the 27th of October. During the two previous days a smart cannonading had been kept up, from the hill on one side and the town on the other. Little effect, however, was produced, till towards the evening of the 26th, when the Royalists transported a couple of cannon across the river, and enfiladed the line of the Parliamentarians as far as a bend in the eminence exposed it, doing

dreadful damage to Ludlow's regiment of cavalry. The night passed in awful uncertainty of the morrow. Then, on that morrow of the 27th, the genius of Cromwell poured down the fatal hill. Two heavy columns suddenly appeared upon its summit and descended, while along the whole line one tremendous cannonade distracted attention from the spot where the terrible blow was about to fall. The columns as suddenly divided; one fell upon the open space between Dennington and the town, and with the shattering speed of lightning pierced and routed the line of the Cavaliers, some of whom rushed within the works at Dennington, while the others fell back in precipitate confusion on the town. Cromwell and his Ironsides were here. The other column had paused an instant, but now apparently urged by that astonishing success to venture a desperate action, fell upon the quarter of Doleman's house. In an instant every spot around was covered with dead Republicans. Party after party cleared the hedges and ditches, even the garden wall, nay, to the very lawn of the house; but there—such as escaped so far—the deadly shot of the concealed musketeers struck them down. The contest lasted four hours in this quarter, and the loss was terrible. It would have been annihilation but for the heroic devotion of Ludlow's cavalry, who moved forward and consented to sacrifice themselves to cover the retrogression.

It was a moonlight night which followed, and anxious thoughts occupied both camps of the desperate strife that must decide the morrow. Suddenly the penetrating and sleepless eye of Cromwell saw the Royalists move. It was so. Charles, having utterly lost his left position, had despaired of the poor chance that remained to him in face of such a foe. His army were now busy, in that moonlight, conveying into the castle, by a circuitous route, their guns and heavy stores, while behind, battalion after battalion was noiselessly quitting its ground, and marching off as silently in the direction of Oxford. Over and over again Cromwell entreated Manchester to suffer him to execute a forward movement with his cavalry: at that critical moment he would have prostrated Charles. Manchester refused. A show was made next morning of pursuit, but of course without effect: Charles, with all his materiel and prisoners, had effected a clear escape. Nor was this all. While the castle of Dennington remained unmolested amid the dreadful dissensions which after this event raged through the Parliamentarian camp, the king, having been re-enforced by Rupert, and an excellent troop of horse, returned twelve days after, assumed the offensive in the face of his now inactive conquerors, carried off all his cannon and heavy stores from out of the castle, coolly and uninterruptedly fell back again, and marched unmolested into Oxford.

So disastrously closed that campaign in which the victory of Marston Moor had been won. The army of Essex and Manchester went into winter cantonments in and about Reading. Cromwell, bent upon resolute changes, repaired to London.

All was now lost, he clearly saw, without a rapidly decisive movement, and he

\* See vol. i., p. 245, of *Lives of Eminent Military Commanders* in this series: a work I may be allowed to refer to as a very able one, since I have enjoyed the advantage of many of its suggestions.

counsel and co-operation from the genius of the younger Vane. His faith in the Earl of Manchester had been shaken before the affair of Dennington; even under the walls of York, the intrigues of an extremely paltry person, a Scot and Presbyterian of the name of Crawford, who had been passed from the Scotch host to a major-generalship in Manchester's army,\* had been suffered to prevail against him. Manchester, though on the whole an amiable, generous, and honest man, was in truth a very weak one, and when he found himself on the eve of great results, such as stimulated a man like Cromwell only to deeds of greater daring, was struck with hesitation, fear, irresolution. Hence, in those moments, Crawford offered more agreeable advice than Cromwell, and the end had been, in short, to place even the wretched and fawning major-general in that position of confidence with Manchester which once belonged only to the great and gallant leader of the Ironsides.

But, secure in the hearts of those men no less than in their strength, Cromwell had now resolved to venture a decisive stroke against the Presbyterian councils and their favourers, no matter of what degree, in the Parliamentary army. He had, before the affair of Dennington, suddenly shown himself in London from York, and by a masterly piece of policy, already illustrated in the life of Vane, had, with the help of that statesman, moved and carried a vote in the House of Commons, that the Committee of Lords and Commons appointed to treat with the commissioners from Scotland, and the committee of the Assembly, should *take into consideration the differences in opinion of the members of the Assembly in point of Church government, and endeavour a union if it were possible; and, in case that could not be done, that they should essay to find out some methods by which tender consciences, who could not in all things submit to the common rule which might be established, might be borne with, consistently with Scripture and the public peace, that so the proceedings of the Assembly might not*

\* The name of Crawford is rendered in some degree memorable from the circumstance of his being the true and original authority for fastening on Cromwell the imputation of cowardice! The accusation is given at large in Hollis's Memoirs, and turns on the assertion that Cromwell, with his body of horse, stood still without making any charge, while the battle of Marston Moor was deciding, and that, when they did advance, Cromwell was no longer among them!! The reader has seen, in a faithful account of the battle, what imputation could rest for this monstrous charge. It requires no other notice than a word of scorn. Why, Cromwell's enemies, Royalist and Republican, admit that his astonishing bravery won that battle! Warwick says that he and his Ironsides "mowed down" the enemy "like a meadow;" and Mrs. Hutchinson says in her account that the day had been "lost, but that Cromwell, with five thousand men which he commanded, routed Prince Rupert, restored the other routed Parliamentarians, and gained the most complete victory that had been obtained in the whole warre." Very characteristic of Hollis, and the mean, poor nature of the man, is his notice of the matter. Observe how he seems to have delighted in the recital: "I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth, and I think I shall not be mistaken if I say Cromwell himself has heard it from him, for he once said it aloud in Westminster Hall, when Cromwell passed by him, with a design he might hear him." A corporal or colonel of the name of Dalhier was Crawford's second. The matter is really scarcely worth laughing at. "How," exclaims Horace Walpole, "how a judicatory in the Temple of Fame would laugh at such witnesses as Major general Crawford and a Colonel Dalhier! Cesar and Cromwell are not amenable to a commission of oyer and terminer."

be so much retarded. This was the first startling exhibition of the legislative influence of the Independents.

Cromwell and Vane were now in London together, devising the great scheme by which future victories should not be surrendered as soon as gotten, but made serviceable to some decisive end; by which the summer's triumph should become something more than the mere winter's story, and the lives of gallant men be no longer wasted in vain. They consulted, in a word, how best to rid the army of men who had shown a miserable unfitness for the posts they held; who had, besides, peculiar personal motives for checking its career at some point short of a final victory; and who, thinking liberty a good thing, could not forget that they had privileges of their own, and that monarchy had honours of its own, which were good things also.

Here, it is to be observed, the best friends of freedom had at this time perfect faith in Cromwell. Ireton bore him the most entire affection; young Ludlow looked up to him with implicit zeal and admiration; Marten laughed with him and loved him; Vane was to him as a brother. Yet on all these men not a breath of suspicion in the matter of political sincerity rests—not a stain. Fairfax, again, though a weak man, was the very soul of sincerity and honour; and the honesty of Milton was unimpeachable as his genius. By what means, then, shall we suppose that Cromwell deceived these men! *for he deceived them all.* Was he sincere now, and only tempted from sincerity in after years by the temptation of too large a power suddenly sprung up within his hands! or was he from the first a deliberate and grand impostor! The difficulty which a friend of the principles of freedom and just government (which throughout sincerely actuated such men as Vane) has to encounter in deciding on the character of Cromwell, is this—that up to the victories of Worcester and Dunbar, it would be difficult to say in what respect he had sinned against those very principles, of which, on the sudden, he then declared himself the most deliberate foe. Was he, in truth, that compound he seemed to be of profound policy, and of the most wild and undisciplined rashness! When he went down to Westminster to play the military tyrant over the Assembly which had given him power and assisted even him to greatness, did he really "not think to have done that!" Was his tyranny the deliberate plot of a life—the rash impulse of a repented hour, or the result of sincerely wild and ungovernable fancies, which had rendered him at last, in his own mind, a selected instrument of destiny!

A better opportunity than this to which we have arrived will probably not exist for offering some materials to the reader on which he may revolve these questions. We stand on the eve of the origin of Cromwell's greatness and influence as a politician, and to seek in any way to unfold intelligibly the means by which he henceforward trode steadily on to the Protectorate, it will be necessary to bring events together which, in the ordinary course of narrative, long years would separate, but the combination of which is yet most necessary to a right understanding of each or of all.

"What can be more extraordinary," says the poet Cowley, "than that a person of mean birth, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, which have sometimes, or of mind, which have often, raised men to the highest dignities, should have the courage to attempt, and the happiness to succeed in, so improbable a design as the destruction of one of the most ancient and most solidly-founded monarchies upon earth; that he should have the power or boldness to put his prince and master to an open and infamous death; to banish that numerous and strongly-allied family; to do all this under the name and wages of a Parliament; to trample upon them, too, as he pleased, and spurn them out of doors when he grew weary of them; to raise up a new and unheard-of monster out of their ashes; to stifle that in the very infancy, and to set up himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England; to oppress all his enemies by arms, and all his friends afterward by artifice; *to serve all parties patiently for a while, and to command them victoriously at last*; to overrun each corner of the three nations, and overcome with equal facility both the riches of the south and the poverty of the north; to be pleased and courted by all foreign princes, and adopted a brother to the gods of the earth; to call together Parliaments with a word of his pen, and scatter them again with the breath of his mouth; to be humbly and daily petitioned that he would please to be hired at the rate of two millions a year, to be the master of those that hired him before to be their servant; to have the estates and lives of three kingdoms as much at his disposal as was the little inheritance of his father, and to be as noble and liberal in the spending of them; and, lastly (for there is no end of all the particulars of his glory), to bequeath all these with one word to his posterity; *to die with peace at home and triumph abroad*; to be buried among kings, and with more than regal solemnity; and to leave a name behind him not to be extinguished but with the whole world, which, as it is not too little for his praises, so might have been too for his conquests, if the short line of his human life could have been stretched out to the extent of his immortal designs!"

This is magnificent, but most untrue. The very expression that he served all parties patiently for a while, implies that others, and not himself, laid the most solid foundations of his power. And this was true. What has accumulated round the memory of Cromwell such an image of vastness in the power he wielded, was not simply his own greatness, but the greatness of the men to whose victories of statesmanship he had succeeded. This should never be lost sight of. Cromwell was associated with a band of the most accomplished statesmen the world has known, and to swell those individual glories which were already, for one man, astonishing enough, he appropriated theirs. To say this, it will be alleged, is merely to transfer admiration or praise from one set of characteristics to another: true; but not less should that be done. We may possibly find some diminution in the quality of praise that is due.

The first great point in Cromwell's character and history dates back to Huntingdon and St. Ives. It was there, as we have seen, he began

the organization of that wonderful body of men which was the glorious agent by which he asserted liberty, and the fatal instrument with which he inflicted her mortal wound. He made his soldiers moral and sober; he gave them the elevation of religion, and that nervous strength of mind which a knowledge of the value of freedom teaches; inspired by his lessons, they trampled on all thought of danger in the grander thought of liberty; and then—he created himself their despot. We have scarcely fairly grappled with Cromwell's greatness, before what seems to an honest and generous mind his meanness and his vice intrude themselves forcibly upon us.

In another passage of his "Vision," the poet Cowley thus speaks of Cromwell. "If craft be wisdom, and dissimulation wit (assisted both and improved with hypocrisies and perjuries), I must not deny him to have been singular in both; but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last; neither did any man seem to do it, *but those who thought they gained as much by that dissembling as he did by his*. His very actings of godliness grew at last as ridiculous, as if a player, by putting on a gown, should think he represented excellently a woman, though his beard at the same time were seen by all the spectators. If you ask me why they did not hiss, and explode him off the stage, I can only answer, that they durst not do so, because the actors and doorkeepers were too strong for the company. I must confess that by these arts (how grossly soever managed, *as by hypocritical praying and silly preaching, by unmanly tears and whinings, by falsehoods and perjuries even diabolical*) he had at first the good fortune (as men call it, that is, the ill fortune) to attain his ends, but *it was because his ends were so unreasonable that no human wisdom could foresee them*, which made them who had to do with him believe that he was rather a well-meaning and deluded bigot than a crafty and malicious impostor."

Cowley's division of the men whom Cromwell deceived into two classes is a striking and important consideration. There were men, he says, who suffered themselves to be deceived by him in his latter years, because the deceit at the same time answered their own ends; and there were "wise men," whom he deceived in earlier life, because of their utter ignorance of his objects, and their then belief in his sincerity. The consideration of the craft and dissimulation charged upon him will therefore imply, in relation to this passage, the other and equally important consideration of the possibility of his having been, in many cases of the latter sort of men, really and sincerely himself the victim of the delusion he practised upon them. For the first-named class of dupes, they may be surrendered, without scruple, to whatever imputations rest upon them.

The first thing to be noted in Cromwell as a striking aid towards the belief of his sincerity, was a certain extraordinary fluxional faculty of tears with which his constitution was happily endowed. "Had not his highness," says the author of the terrible pamphlet entitled "Killing no Murder," "had a faculty to be fluent in

his tears and eloquent in his execrations; had he not had spongie eyes and a supple conscience; and besides, to do with people of great faith, but little wit, his courage and the rest of his moral virtues, with the help of his janizaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of justice that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him but that of the hangman. . . . He hath found, indeed, that in godliness there is great gain; and that preaching and praying, well managed, will obtain other kingdoms as well as that of heaven. His, indeed, have been pious arms; for he hath conquered most by those of the Church—*by prayers and tears*. But the truth is, were it not for our honour to be governed by one that can manage both the spiritual and temporal sword, and, Roman like, to have our emperor our high priest, we might have had preaching at a much cheaper rate, and it would have cost us but our tithes, which now costs us all."

One scene will be perhaps enough to show this faculty in action. Bishop Burnet relates it on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimston. It dates at the time of the purge, when he first showed that disregard of the representative privileges which was only excusable in consideration of the quasi rebellion into which the Presbyterians had cast the kingdom; a consideration satisfactory even to Ludlow and Ireton, and which prevented the opposition, though it did not secure the co-operation, of Vane. "When," says Burnet, "the House of Commons and the army were quarrelling, at a meeting of the officers it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that said, he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging (naming the House of Commons), and he thought the army only could do that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to Grimston, who carried them with him to the lobby of the House of Commons, they being resolved to justify it to the House. There was another debate then on foot; but Grimston diverted it, and said he had a matter of privilege of the highest sort to lay before them: it was about the being and freedom of the House. So he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force on the House. He had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined. They were brought to the bar, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the House: he submitted himself to the providence of God, who, it seems, thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he submitted his cause to him. *This he did with great vehemence and with many tears*. After this strange and bold preamble, he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the House, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that, had it been moved, *Grimston thought that both he [Grimston] and they*

*would have been sent to the Tower*. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall, and there was no strength in the other side to carry it farther. To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the House, he resolved to trust himself no more among them, but went to the army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the House." It is strange that such a scene as this should have occurred and left no trace of itself on the journals of the House. It is yet borne out by other events of that period.

This, indeed, is the time from which the extraordinary powers of duplicity in the man were gradually developed, and it is surprising that the means he must have declared with so little scruple to his Republican friends should not have put them on their guard more clearly as to the character, or, at least, possible tendency of his individual designs. But we are to take into consideration, at the same time, that the contest then going on between the Presbyterians and Independents was a matter of life and death, and that the struggle for existence is a question which, during its progress, is apt to exclude every other. Certain it is that there was Cromwell, at this period in the confidence of men the most sincere, acting with an insincerity as desperate as it was subtle; now in the country with the agitators of the army, whose rise and objects have been described in my last volume: now at Westminster on the benches of the House of Commons, he played off with unceasing and wonderful dexterity the power and claims of the one against the influence and position of the other. There is a passage in Hollis's Memoirs which gives us a lively idea of the rapidity of movement required in such a game. The first ground of mutiny with the agitators, it will be recollected, was the announced determination of the Presbyterian majority to reduce the power of the army by draughting off sundry regiments to Ireland. Hollis positively declares that it was Cromwell who upon this set the agitators in motion, though he concealed himself so artfully in the back ground, and employed instruments so singularly and well adapted to his purpose, that, according to other Presbyterian writers, not even Fairfax suspected his second in command of in any way favouring the acts of insubordination which no discipline could now suppress. In his memoirs, indeed, Fairfax afterward declared, with a reference not to be mistaken, that the success of his army in 1646 "was soon clouded with abominable hypocrisy and deceit, even in those men who had been instrumental in bringing the war to a conclusion. Here was the vertical point on which the army's reputation and honour turned into a reproach and scandal. Here the power of the army I once had was usurped by the agitators, the forerunners of confusion and anarchy."

This is the passage from Hollis: "In the mean while disclaiming it [the mutiny], blaming the soldiers at that distance (as Cromwell did openly in the House, protesting, for his part, he would stick to the Parliament), under-hand he sent them encouragements and directions; for nothing was done there but by

advice and countenance from London, where the whole business was so laid, the rebellion resolved upon, and the officers that were in town so deeply engaged, that when the full time was come for putting things in execution, my friend Cromwell, who had been sent down by the Parliament to do good offices, was come up again without doing any; and he who had made those solemn protestations, with some great imprecations on himself if he failed in his performance, did, notwithstanding, privily convey thence his goods (which many of the Independents did likewise, leaving city and Parliament as marked out for destruction), and then, without leave of the House (after some members missing him, and fearing him gone, had moved to have him sent for; whereupon he being, as it seems, not yet gone, and *having notice of it, came and showed himself a little in the House*), did steal away that evening, I may say run away post down to the army, and presently join in the subscription of a rebellious letter."

Nor did any of the difficulties into which such duplicity cast him find him ever unprepared. Between all the suspicions of the Presbyterians, and all the headlong precipitancy of the agitators, Cromwell stood immovable and still triumphant in his stratagems. When Skippon, for instance, who had received the mutinous letter of the agitators,\* suddenly (for he knew nothing of Cromwell's intrigues) produced it in the House, and being asked from whom he received it, answered, from three men of no command in the army, who were, he believed, at the door of the House, their names Edward Sexby, William Allen, and Thomas Shepperd, great excitement instantly followed. Some were for voting the letter seditious, and at once committing the messengers to prison; some were paralyzed by alarm, and threw hesitation on that course. In the midst of much confusion, Cromwell at last arose, and brought forward what has been called his master-piece of dissimulation. He solemnly protested that to his knowledge the army was greatly misunderstood and calumniated. They willingly put themselves into the hands of the national representative, and would conform to anything Parliament should please to ordain. If the House of Commons commanded them to disband, they would obey without a murmur, *and pile up their arms at the door of that assembly*. For himself, he entreated them to accept his assurance of his entire submission and obedience. He supplicated them, therefore, to bear in mind the long services, and the pure and entire loyalty

\* The purport of this letter was to complain of the treatment the army had lately experienced, and in particular, that they had been proclaimed enemies. They said, they knew well how to deal with adversaries with swords in their hands, but that the foes with whom they had now to encounter were far more dangerous, being protected by persons intrusted with the government of the kingdom. They designated them as men who had lately tasted of sovereignty, and, being lifted above their ordinary sphere of servants, sought to become masters, and were degenerating into tyrants. Lastly, they plainly said, that, however cordially otherwise they were disposed to the expedition of Ireland, they must express themselves averse to that service until their desires were granted, and the just rights and liberties of the subject were vindicated and maintained. In particular, they complained of the want of a legal indemnity for what they had done in the prosecution of the war, and that the Irish expedition, in the shape in which it was now proposed, was nothing less than a plan for ruining the army and breaking it to pieces.—*Godwin*.

of that meritorious body, and to do nothing respecting them in anger, or under false and mistaken notions of resentment. The craft succeeded. The wildest of the Presbyterians were disarmed of their suspicions, the most fearful relieved from their alarms. Cromwell was implored to go down and compromise matters with the agitators: he went down and fostered the mutiny.

Clarendon confirms these evidences of the dark power of intrigue in Cromwell. He tells us that he was moved to the highest pitch of grief and anger whenever any intelligence was received from the mutinous regiments. He wept bitterly; he lamented the misfortunes of his country; and he advised the most violent measures for checking the insubordination of the troops. At the same time, he called heaven and earth to witness that his devoted attachment to the Parliament had rendered him so odious to the army, that his life, while among them, was in the utmost danger. The duplicity could not, however, go on continually; it was not Cromwell's purpose that it should. It was discovered, and the Presbyterians arranged a plot they thought as subtle, to have their deceiver moved into the Tower. But his affairs were ripe at last for action. He left London suddenly; was received by the great body of the army with acclamations; suppressed a really dangerous mutiny that threatened for the instant to thwart his plans, by riding up in the face of the mutineers, selecting twelve of the ringleaders, and shooting one on the instant; brought up some regiments afterward within reach of Westminster, purged the Parliament, and seized the king.

The imminent danger threatened by the Presbyterians to all those best interests of liberty for which so much blood had been shed, supplied Cromwell's excuse for even such duplicity as this in the breasts of the friends of liberty. Nor should it be lost sight of, in regard to them, that they may well have supposed the organization of an armed and enthusiastic democracy like this of the agitators, the last thing in the world that could have favoured the ultimate design of a tyrannical usurpation. Is such a consideration sufficient to cast a doubt on even the existence of such a design at this stage of Cromwell's career!

Ludlow would answer in the negative, and offer evidence of the present existence of the design. "Walking one day," he says, about this time, "with Lieutenant-general Cromwell in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly against them (the Commons), saying, *in a familiar way to me*, 'If thy father were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserved;' adding farther, 'that it was a miserable thing to serve a Parliament, to whom, let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off; whereas,' said he, 'when one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all envy and blame.' This text, together with the comment which his after actions put upon it, hath since persuaded me that he had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority and setting up of himself, and that he took that opportunity to feel my pulse, whether I were a fit instru-

ment to be employed by him to those ends. But having replied to his discourse that we ought to perform the duty of our stations, and trust God with our honour, power, and all that is dear to us, not permitting any such considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our duty, I never heard anything more from him upon that point." Again, in reference to Cromwell's affected negotiations with the king, his entertainment of Charles's proposal to give him the garter and the earldom of Essex, and his consequent seeming hostility to the course of bringing him to trial, as proposed by the Commonwealth's army men, Ludlow speaks in a subsequent passage of a dialogue which also occurred about this time: "Lieutenant-general Cromwell, who had made it his usual practice to gratify enemies, even by the oppression of those who were by principle his friends, began again to court the Commonwealth party, inviting some of them to confer with him at his chamber; with which acquainting me, the next time he came to the House of Commons I took the freedom to tell him that *he knew how to cajole and give them good words when he had occasion to make use of them; whereat, breaking out into a rage, he said, they were a proud sort of people, and only considerable in their own conceits.* But when, on tumults attending the petitions from Surrey, Essex, and Kent, the preparations in Scotland and the rising at Pembroke, he perceived the clouds to gather on every side, he complained to me, as we were walking in the Palace Yard, of the unhappiness of his condition, *having made the greatest part of the nation his enemies by adhering to a just cause; but that which he pretended to be his greatest trouble was, that many who were engaged in the same cause with him had entertained a jealousy and suspicion of him, which he assured me was a great discouragement to him, asking my advice what method was best for him to take.* I could not but acknowledge that he had many enemies for the sake of the cause in which he stood engaged, and also that *many who were friends to that cause had conceived suspicions of him; but I observed to him that he could never oblige the former without betraying that cause wherein he was engaged, which if he should do, upon the account of an empty title, riches, or any other advantages, how those contracts would be kept with him was uncertain; but most certain it was, that his name would be abominated by all good men, and his memory abhorred by posterity.* On the other side, if he persisted in the prosecution of our just intentions, it was the most probable way to subdue his enemies, to rectify the mistakes of those who had conceived a jealousy of him; and to convince his friends of his integrity; that if he should fall in the attempt, yet his loss would be lamented by all good men, and his name be transmitted to future ages with honour." If Ludlow's strong indignation after the event had occurred did not deceive him in all this, Cromwell certainly beld his after designs even now, and was even now suspected of holding them.

The meeting which Ludlow alludes to in the latter quotation I have made soon after took place. Before it, however, Cromwell, then on the eve of starting from London to quell the

second civil war, invited to dinner a number of the leading men of the Independents, and such of the Presbyterians as he was yet on terms with, for it was shortly before the purge, and strove hard to ascertain, during a personal conference, the points upon which they differed, and whether there were any common ground whereon they could meet to accomplish a hearty reconciliation. This at least, according to Ludlow, was the pretext under which he called them together; but the real object, he insinuates, was only to obtain such information as might enable him to direct his course with safety and success through the difficulties with which recent events had surrounded him. Whatever the object, however, it signally failed. The differences offered no chance of reconciliation or submission. He next brought about the other conference alluded to by Ludlow, consisting of the grandees, as they were called, of the House and army, on the one hand, and of a deputation of the Republicans on the other. At this conference, Ludlow proceeds to tell us, "the grandees, of whom Lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, *kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government, maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves or for us, according as Providence should direct us.* The Commonwealth's-men declared that monarchy was neither good in itself nor for us: that it was not desirable in itself, they urged from the 8th chapter and 8th verse of the first book of Samuel, with divers more texts of Scripture to the same effect; and that it was no way conducing to the interests of this nation, was endeavoured to be proved by the infinite mischiefs and oppressions we had suffered under it and by it: that, indeed, our ancestors had consented to be governed by a single person, but with this proviso, that he should govern according to the direction of the law, which he always bound himself by oath to perform: that the king had broken this oath, and thereby dissolved our allegiance; protection and obedience being reciprocal: that, having appealed to the sword for the decision of things in dispute, and thereby caused the effusion of a deluge of the people's blood, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon the representatives of the people to call him to an account for the same, more especially since the controversy was determined by the same means which he had chosen, and then to proceed to the establishment of an equal commonwealth, founded upon the consent of the people, and providing for the rights and liberties of all men, that we might have the hearts and hands of the nation to support it, as being most just, and in all respects most conducing to the happiness and prosperity thereof. Notwithstanding what was said, Lieutenant-general Cromwell, not for want of conviction, but in hopes of making a better bargain with another party, professed himself unresolved; and having learned what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, *took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired.* The next day, passing by me in the House, he told me he was convinced of

the desirableness of what was proposed, but not of the feasibility of it; thereby, as I suppose, designing to encourage me to hope that he was willing to join with us, though unwilling to publish his opinion, lest the grandees should be informed of it, to whom, I presume, he professed himself to be of another judgment."

The extraordinary action incidentally mentioned by Ludlow shows better than any of the zealous Republican's suspicions what was going on in the mind of Cromwell. No doubt he flung the cushion at Ludlow's head, either because of something passing at the instant in his own heart which required relief, or of something he might have incautiously uttered that required diversion. It was not mere idle buffoonery here; of that we may be quite sure. Another action, however, which was noted shortly after this, is not so easily explicable. While the conquered and deserted king lay a prisoner at the inhospitable castle of Carisbrooke, Cromwell flung himself upon one of Charles's rich beds at Whitehall, and in that posture so managed a series of conferences with the subtlest lawyers of the day, as to induce them to lend their countenance and co-operation in a great degree to the new plan of government in meditation, although they had hesitated before to attend even their Parliamentary duties. This would seem to have been a piece of mean and low-thoughted ostentation, unless it could be shown it was designed, which is just possible, to strike at a weak point in the learned but commonplace minds of the grave lawyers in council.

Thus practising upon each set of men in turn, and selecting from each new accessions of power and influence—thus waiting, with wily patience, to divert from the favourable current of each man's thoughts something that would serve to swell that ocean of power on which he hoped to sail to sovereignty, is it possible to view in any other light than that of a deliberate usurper the character of Cromwell? Let us not fail to observe and admire the greatness of his genius, and the wonderful advantages which, in his way to usurpation, he no doubt effected for his country. Had he left them in that shape they first assumed, no gratification or affection too largely given could have been bestowed on his immortal name. But is it possible, in the midst of all these evidences, to suppose, with Mr. Godwin, that his purposes were honest still?

Ludlow's evidence, however, is not yet complete. That which I have now to quote is indeed the most important part of it, since it throws some question over his former assertions as to the suspicion with which Cromwell was viewed by the friends of liberty, even before the death of the king. The time of the following extract is on the return of Cromwell from his government, or rather his slaughter, in Ireland, when he was anxious that Ludlow should be despatched into service there, and when Fairfax's suicidal announcement of his resignation of the chief command was just opening the way to a consummation of all the wild hopes or purposes entertained by Cromwell. Nevertheless, that subtle chief affected a desire for the continuance of Fairfax. "Lieuten-

ant-general Cromwell," says Ludlow, "pressed that, notwithstanding the unwillingness of the Lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; professing for himself that *he would rather choose to serve under him in his post, than to command the greatest army in Europe*. But the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the general in order to his satisfaction. This committee was appointed upon the motion of the lieutenant-general, *who acted his part so to the life that I really thought him in earnest*, which obliged me to step to him as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council chamber, and to desire him that *he would not, in compliment and humility, obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal*; but the consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such intention. The committee having spent some time in debate with the Lord Fairfax without any success, returned to the council of state, whereupon they ordered the report of this affair to be made to the Parliament; which being done, and some of the general's friends informing them that, though he had showed some unwillingness to be employed in this expedition himself, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his secretary, who attended at the door, to surrender his commission, if they thought fit to receive it. The secretary was called in, and delivered the commission, which the Parliament having received, they proceeded to settle an annual revenue of £5000 upon the Lord Fairfax, in consideration of his former services, and then voted Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be captain-general of all their land forces, ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the council of state to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition. A little after, as I sat in the House near General Cromwell, he told me that, having observed an alteration in my looks and carriage towards him, *he apprehended that I entertained some suspicions of him*; and that, being persuaded of the tendency of the designs of us both to the advancement of the public service, he desired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein with freedom we might discover the grounds of our mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between us for the future. I answered, *that he discovered in me what I had never perceived in myself*; and that, if I troubled him not so frequently as formerly, it was either because I was conscious of that weight of business that lay upon him, or that I had nothing to importune him withal upon my own or any other account; yet since he was pleased to do me the honour to desire a free conversation with me, I assured him of my readiness therein; whereupon we resolved to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to withdraw to a private room, which we did accordingly in the queen's guard-chamber, where he endeavoured to persuade me of the necessity incumbent upon him to do several things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who, in opposition to him, took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publi



cause, affirming his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice his life in their service. I freely acknowledged my former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army when they were in treaty with the king, whom I looked upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation, and with their actions at the rendezvous at Ware, where they shot a soldier to death, and imprisoned divers others upon the account of that treaty, which I conceived to have been done without authority and for sinister ends; yet, since they had manifested themselves convinced of those errors, and declared their adherence to the commonwealth, though too partial a hand was carried both by the Parliament and themselves in the distribution of preferments and gratuities, and too much severity exercised against some who had formerly been their friends, and, as I hoped, would be so still, with other things that I could not entirely approve, I was contented patiently to wait for the accomplishment of those good things which I expected, till they had overcome the difficulties they now laboured under, and suppressed their enemies that appeared both abroad and at home against them, hoping that then their principles and interest should lead them to do what was most agreeable to the constitution of a commonwealth and the good of mankind. He owned my dissatisfaction with the army while they were in treaty with the king to be founded upon good reasons, and excused the execution done upon the soldier at the rendezvous as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into confusion, which must have ensued upon that division if it had not been timely prevented. He professed to *desire nothing more than that the government of the nation might be settled in a free and equal commonwealth*, acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon us; declaring that he looked upon the design of the Lord in this day to be the freeing of his people from every burden, and that he was now accomplishing what was prophesied in the 110th Psalm; from the consideration of which, he was often encouraged to attend the effecting those ends, *spending at least an hour in the exposition of that psalm.*"

And so Ludlow, satisfied, or at least unable to express distrust of the honesty of Cromwell, went off to Ireland. It will not do to judge those friends of freedom too hastily who still held to the side of this man! Then, having completed the conquests of the Commonwealth—having freed himself of Ludlow's presence, and Ireton being removed by death, nothing stood in the way of the daring adventurer save the enthusiastic democracy of the army and its fiercely Republican officers. Yet this would have sufficed to check no ordinary man! Cromwell knew, however, that if he could propitiate the officers up to a certain point, he was sure of the great body of the army, and with this he could effect all. The army was now the first power of the state. It had become the result of their masterly discipline, as it must be in every army, being, in fact, the very condition of military existence to acknowledge and look up to a great controlling chief. To place himself,

therefore, in the position of receiving this, in a political sense, from the first power of the state, was to become himself the first man of the state. The transition was easy to a throne; that is, he thought so. The circle of his reasoning was now wellnigh complete: the work begun at St. Ives promised a successful issue.

But then those Republican enthusiasts! A different mode was necessary here from that which had succeeded hitherto with Ludlow, and in part with Vane. His own enthusiasm must be called into play: an enthusiasm he possessed to such an extent as to qualify it fairly for all the effects of a real inspiration. Upon this, then, the question may occur, as to whether he had ever laboured in fact, in matters of religion, under a sincere self-delusion. "Though now," says our honest and zealous Ludlow, "he eagerly coveted his own advancement, he thought it not convenient yet to unmask himself, but rather to make higher pretences to honesty than ever he had done before, thereby to engage Major-general Harrison, Colonel Rich, and their party to himself. To this end, he took all occasions in their presence to asperse the Parliament, as not designing to do those good things they pretended to, but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers; and though he was convinced they were hastening with all expedition to put a period to their sitting, having passed a vote that they would do it within the space of a year, and that they were making all possible preparations in order to it, yet did he industriously publish that they were so in love with their seats that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves. These and other calumnies he had with so much art insinuated into the belief of many honest and well-meaning people, that they began to wish him prosperity in his undertaking. Divers of the clergy, from their pulpits, began to prophesy the destruction of the Parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable; insomuch that the general, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to Quartermaster Vernon, that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end. One of these, said he, is headed by Major-general Lambert, who, in revenge of that injury the Parliament did him in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and conditions suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution; of the other, Major-general Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet, from the impatience of his spirit, will not wait the Lord's leisure, but hurries me on to do that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent. Thus," adds Ludlow, "did he craftily feel the pulse of men towards this work, endeavouring to cast the infamy of it on others, reserving to himself the appearance of tenderness to civil and religious liberty, and of screening the nation from the fury of the parties before mentioned."

The mention of Harrison subsequently draws from the Republican memorialist the following singular statement: "I went afterward (during Cromwell's usurpation) to make him a visit; and having told him that I was very desirous to be informed by him of the reasons that moved

him to join with Cromwell in the interruption of the civil authority, he answered that he had done it *because he was fully persuaded they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people*. Then, said I, are you not now convinced of your error in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power? To which he replied, upon their heads be the guilt who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part, my heart was upright and sincere in the thing. . . . His second reason for joining with Cromwell was because he pretended to love and favour a sort of men *who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty*. I replied, that I thought him mistaken in that also, since it had not appeared that he ever approved of any persons or things farther than he might make them subservient to his own ambitious designs. . . . The major-general then cited a passage of the Prophet Daniel, where it is said *that the saints shall take the kingdom and possess it*. To which he added another to the same effect, *that the kingdom shall not be left to another people*. I answered, that the same prophet says in another place, *that the kingdom shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High*; and that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given, they would, at the best, be guilty of doing evil that good might come from it."

The reign of the saints, then, was the ground Cromwell took with these men. And did he believe a word of it? It is worth considering.

"I had much discourse on this head," says Bishop Burnet, "with one who knew Cromwell well and all that set of men, and asked him how they could excuse all the prevarications and other ill things of which they were visibly guilty in the conduct of their affairs. He told me they believed there were *great occasions in which some men were called to great services, and in the doing of which they were excused from the common rules of morality*: such were the practices of Ehud and Jael, Samson and David; and by this they fancied they had a privilege from observing the standing rules. It is very obvious how far this principle may be carried, and how all justice and mercy may be laid aside on this pretence by every bold enthusiast." True: and it does not seem that Cromwell is unfairly charged in this, or his dupes unfairly represented. Some, indeed, suspected him; and it is related, that on the eve of this great scheme, from which the present illustrations of his character are derived—his project of thrusting out the Long Parliament by the soldiery, and so flinging down the final obstacle to usurpation—Major Streater declared openly that he was sure "the general designed to set up for himself." To this the enthusiastic Harrison rejoined, that he did not believe it, but that "the general's aim was only to make way for the kingdom of Jesus." "Unless Jesus comes very suddenly, then," replied Streater, "he will come too late."

For even the Streater party, however, Cromwell had his resources. It would seem that up to the very time when he was driving out the members, and the council of officers sat in suspense at Whitehall, several of them had, in reality, no notion of what was going on, until

Cromwell suddenly reappeared among them—flushed and agitated with an extreme excitement, the keys of the House of Commons in his pocket, the "bawble" of its authority carelessly flung into an anteroom, Vane's celebrated act as carefully concealed—told them all that he had done; and added, that he did not think to have done it, but, "*perceiving the Spirit of God so strong upon me, I could no longer consult flesh and blood*." It would be within the bounds of probability that Cromwell had for an instant—for an instant only—actually experienced this emotion. While on the point of being tempted to believe it, the sequel of the scene checks every such temptation. Some of the recusant officers, having recovered their first wonder and uncertainty, went with a strong and decisive remonstrance to Cromwell, required an explanation of his extraordinary proceedings, and told him he was apparently providing ruin and confusion for the best interests of all. Upon this, we are informed, he stilled their murmurs with an assurance that he would do much more good to the country than could ever be expected from the Parliament; and made so many professions of patriotic feeling, that they resolved to wait the course of events rather than come to a downright quarrel with him, *before his intentions could be fully known*. Colonel Okey, however, suspecting that the end would be bad, as the means were so hypocritical, asked Desborough what could be passing in the mind of Cromwell *when he praised the Parliament so highly* to the council of officers, and yet proceeded almost immediately afterward to eject them with so much scorn and contempt. The other replied, "*That if ever the general drolled in his life, he had drolled then*."

Yet are there considerations still, connected with Cromwell's claims to be considered in many points a sincere enthusiast, which cannot be omitted in an inquiry of this kind. Do not let the character and tendency of the great age in which he lived be forgotten or treated lightly. It was, indeed, an age of wonders, in which majesty had been thrown prostrate and poverty exalted—in which wonderful declarations had seemed to issue from Heaven itself in favour of the cause he had engaged in. It is by supposing some such assurance as this pervading himself and his army that their singular mixture of real pride and apparent self-abasement meets with its best solution. What was a king in the presence of the King of kings? What was temporary suffering in the hope of eternal bliss? What even the *form* of a despotism over the disordered land, if it was merely to open out a passage to immortal freedom for God's own people?

In a very striking letter to the governor of the Castle of Edinburgh, dated September the 9th, 1650, Cromwell thus wrote: "We have said in our papers with what hearts and upon what account we came [into Scotland]; and the Lord hath heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel. And although they [the Scots] seem to comfort themselves with being the sons of Jacob, from whom (they say) God hath hid his face for a time, yet it's no wonder, when the Lord hath lift up his hand so eminently against a family, as he hath done so often

against this [the Stuart], and men will not see his hand, if the Lord hide his face from such, putting them to shame; both for it and their hatred at his people, as it is this day. When they purely trust to the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God; which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself; *which alone is able to square and fit the stones for the new Jerusalem*, then, and not before, and by that means and no other, shall Jerusalem (which is to be the praise of the whole earth), the city of the Lord, be built, the Sion of the Holy One of Israel." In reply to this, the governor wrote to the English chief that the Scotch ministers directed him to say "that they had not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of their cause upon events." Cromwell at once answered, "In answer to the witness of God upon our solemn appeal, you say you have not so learned Christ to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish blindness hath not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think with fear and trembling of the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his? *But can you slightly call it an event?* Were not both yours and our expectations renewed from time to time, while we waited upon God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we, after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemn appeals, call these *bare events?* The Lord pity you. Surely we fear, because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers that you may find it out, for yet (if we know our hearts at all) our bowels do in Christ Jesus yearn after the godly in Scotland."

This looks like earnestness and sincerity. In the very same correspondence, however, there is something that contradicts it a little. Cromwell having invited, with an air of noble tolerance, the Presbyterian ministers, who had taken refuge in the castle, to resume their duties in the various chapels of the city, the governor intimates, in answer, that those reverend gentlemen have not been able to conquer some alarm of the preaching cuirassiers of the English army, and that "they are ready to be spent in their Master's service, and to refuse no suffering," yet, "finding nothing exprest in yours whereupon to build any security for their persons," they "are resolved to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon Him who hath hidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob." To this, with something of an inconsiderate plainness, the impetuous English general, deserting his Bible phraseology, at once rejoins: "The kindness offered to the ministers with you was done with ingenuity, thinking it might have met with the like; but I am satisfied to tell those with you, that *if their Master's service (as they call it)* were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering would not have caused such a return, much less the practice by our party (as they are pleased to say), upon the ministers of Christ in England, have

been an argument of personal prosecution. The ministers in England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel, *though not to rail, nor under pretence thereof to overtop the civil power, or debase it as they please.*" This certainly looks amazingly like a sudden burst of laughter at the mutual affectation of phrase kept up by our biblical professors. It calls to mind the merry meeting of the brother-augurs in the streets of Rome.

But now let us observe, from other sources, what sort of style was adopted towards Cromwell by indifferent persons whom he had obliged, or who hoped for favours from him. They may suggest the sort of deliberate plan or system which his enthusiasm and religious repots served to or assumed. A Mr. Walter Cradock thus writes to the lord-general: "My heart is readie to burst oft in the weeke, not with jealousies, swellings, suspicions, or querulousness, as perhaps you may be tempted to think, but with a flood of affections, a conjunction of love, joy, delight, and *earnest desire to salute you with a few unfeigned lines*; all which, by three or four considerations—or, it may be, temptations—are damm'd up, as having no vent but in prayer and praises, *which sometimes I make my businesse in a ditch, wood, or under a hay-mow, in your behalfe.* I pray believe not any that shall say that you are lesse beloved, honoured, or remembered by the Welsh saints than ever you were, or any man is. Let not, I beseech you, your *catholique projects* (though otherwise fundamentally good) seem to excuse your conscience for letting slip any particular present opportunity to *serve the least saint.* That renowned auncient saint, Mr. Rice Williams, of Newport, being one who hath served the state in many places, but not gained a penny therefrom, is pitched upon by the saints here a year agoe for *that place of registering deeds*; your favourable assistance is much desired therein by the godly of this country, in whose names I salute you in the Lord." And in another letter, a female friend of Mr. Cradock, Mrs. Mary Netheway, thus opens a budget of prayers and praises to the great lord-general. "Dere and honnoured sur in the Lord,—Having travelled with the pepel of God in spretual labore, and haveing now bine a letel refreshed with God's renewed power and presents amongs the golden candelsticks, I have med bould to writ this few lynes to you, wherin I desier to bless God *for his marry to your poore soule, that was so much compast about with gret temptations.* This is one thing I desier of you, *to demolish thos monstres wich arr set up as ornaments in Priuy-garden.* Truly, sur, we stand on the sea of glase: O that we may have the harps of God in our hands, and may be in readiness when our Lord shall appear, for his appearing is near. Blessed is he that is sealed, and hath oyle in his vessel. *Remember me to dere Mr. Cradock.*"

In such letters as these we may behold Cromwell in his intercourse with the humblest. They are all his equals. He shares their temptations, and humiliates himself to their own vilest condition. The imagination pictures him passing from tent to tent among his soldiers, with a prayer for one, a jest for another, equality and brotherhood for all.

And having thus exhibited what some may

consider the meaner uses of his enthusiasm, observe it next on a grander theatre. Bishop Burnet, speaking of the straits to which he was reduced on the eve of the battle of Dunbar, proceeds thus: "The Scots drew near Cromwell, who, being pressed by them, retired towards Dunbar, where his ships and provisions lay. The Scots followed him, and were posted on a hill about a mile from thence, where there was no attacking them. *Cromwell was then in great distress, and looked on himself as undone.* There was no marching towards Berwick, the ground was too narrow; nor could he come back into the country without being separated from his ships and starving his army. The least evil seemed to be to kill his horses, and put his army on board, and sail back to Newcastle, which, in the disposition that England was in at that time, would have been all their destruction, for it would have occasioned a universal insurrection for the king. They had not above three days' forage for their horses: so Cromwell called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord, in their style. *He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterward: he said he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them.* After prayer, they walked in the Earl of Roxburgh's gardens, that lay under the hill, and by prospective glasses discerned a great motion in the Scottish camp: upon which Cromwell suddenly said, '*God is delivering them into our hands; they are coming down to us.*'" That battle will be described hereafter, and another act of sudden enthusiasm noted, which had, even more than this, the aspect of real inspiration.

Nor was it on great public occasions, or to public persons, or to the common soldiers of his army, or to the mere private tools of his intrigues, that this remarkable intercourse of enthusiasm restricted itself in Cromwell. I shall hereafter show it, the same in kind, though in a less degree, among the most intimate members of his family; and to the officers with whom his daily life was passed, and to whom he could have scarcely written aught with which that daily life corresponded not, he held the same enthusiastic tone. Some of these letters I am able to produce. To the mild and sensible Fairfax, shortly after an illness which had moved the sympathy and concern of the latter, he thus writes on the 7th of March, 1647:

"SIR,—It hath pleased God to raise me out of a dangerous sickness; and I doe most willingly acknowledge that the Lord hath (in this Visitation) exercised the bowells of a Father towards me. I received in myself the sentence of death, that I might learn to trust in Him that rayseth from the dead, and have noe confidence in the flesh. It's a blessed thing to dye daylie: for what is there in this Worlde to be accounted of the best Men according to the flesh, and things are lighter than vanitie. I finde this onely good: to love the Lorde, and his poore despised people; to doe for them, and to be ready to suffer with them; and he that is found worthy of this hath obteyned great favour from the Lorde; and he that is established in this shall (beinge conformed to Christ and the reste of the bodie) participate in the

Glorie of a resurrection which will answeare all. . . . Sir, I must thankfully confesse your favour in your last letter. I see I am not forgotten; and truly, to be kept in your remembrance is very great satisfaction to me, for I can say in the simplicitie of my harte, I putt a high and true valew upon your love, *which when I forgett, I shall cease to be a gratefull and an honest man.* I most humbly begg my service may be presented to your Ladie, to whome I wish all happiness and establishment in the truth. Sir, my prayers are for you, as becomes your excellencie's most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL. . . . Sir, Mr. Rushworth will write to you about the quarteringe and the letter lately sent you, and therefore I forbear."

To the Lord Wharton, a year after the foregoing date, we find him writing, less sensibly, indeed, than to the sensible Fairfax, but in a tone of still more striking humility and even passionate self-abasement. "MY LORD,—You knowe how untoward I am at this businesse of writinge; yett a word. . . . I beseeche the Lorde make us sensible of this great mercie heere, which surelie was much more than . . . the House expresseth. I trust ( . . . the goodnesse of our God) time and oportunitie to speak of it with you face to face. When wee thinke of our God, what are wee! Oh! his mercie to the whole societie of Saints, despised, jeered saints! Lett them mocke on. Would wee were all saints; the best of us are (God knowes) poore weake saints, yett saints; if not sheepe, yett lambes, and must be fedd. Wee have daylie bread, and shall have it, in despite of all enemies. There's enough in our Father's house, and he disparteth it as our eyes . . . behinde, then wee can . . . wee for him. I thinke thorough these outward mercies (as we call them), sayth, patience, love, hope, all are exercised and perfected, yea, Christ formed, and growes to a perfect man within us. I knowe not how well to distinguish; the difference is only in the subject: to a worldly man they are outward; to a Saint, Christian; but I dispute not, my lorde, I rejoyce in your perticular mercie. I hope that is soe to you; if soe, it shall not hurt you, not make you plott or shift for the younge baron to make him great. You will say, he is God's to dispose of, and guide for, and there you will leave him. My love to the deare little ladie, better than the child. The Lorde blesse you both. My love and service to all friends high and low; if you will, my Lorde and Ladie—Moulgrave and Will. Hill. I am truly your saythfull friend and humblest servant, O. CROMWELL."

Three years afterward, when he had conquered at Worcester, and was on the very eve of his usurpation, he thus, in preparation for the latter event, writes to his "esteemed friend Mr. Cotton, pastor at Boston," one of the early and famous ministers of New-England. This letter offers the most striking illustration that could be found of certain eminent peculiarities which lay at the very root of all the strength and all the weakness of his character. "WORTHY SIR AND MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND,—I received yours a few days sithence; it was welcom to me, because signed by you, whome I love and honour in the Lorde; butt more to seee of the same grounds of our actinges at this time."

in you, that have in us to quiet us in our worke, and support us therein, which hath had greatest difficultie in our engagement with Scotland, by reason wee have had to doe with some whoe were (I verilie thinke) godly, butt through weaknesse and the subtiltie of Sathan, involved in interest against the Lord and his people. With what tendernessee wee have proceeded with such, and that in sinceritie, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest, and I give you some comfortable . . . . . assurance of. The Lorde hath marvelously appeared *even against them*. And now againe, when all the power was devolved into the Scottish Kinge and the malignant partie, they invadinge England, the Lorde rayned upon them such snares as the enclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie when the narrative was framed, not five of their whole armie returned. Surely, Sr, the Lorde is greatly to be feared, as to be praised. Wee need your prayers in this as much as ever: how shall wee behave ourselves after such mercies? *What is the Lord a doeing? What prophesies are now fulfilling?* Who is a God like ours? To knowe his will, to doe his will, are both of him. . . . I tooke this libertie from businesse to salute you thus in a word. Truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of our brethren and the churches with you. I am a poore weake creature, and not worthy the name of a worrne, yett accepted to serve the Lord and his people. *Indeed, my dear friend, between you and me, you knowe not me; my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulnesse, and every way unfitness to my worke; yett, yett, the Lord, whoe will have mercie on whome he will, does as you see.* Pray for me: salute all Christian friends, though unknown. I rest your affectionate friend to serve you, O. CROMWELL."

In the year 1646, after his mere military exertions had for a time been closed by the victory of Naseby, and his thoughts were busied with the important question of the person of the king, and all the strange and even fearful considerations it may well be supposed to have involved, we find him writing in a somewhat similar strain to his eldest daughter, whose Republican tendencies, cherished and strengthened by her husband Ireton, had even thus early declared themselves. The letter (which is dated the 25th of October, and addressed to "hys beloved daughter Bridget Ireton, at Cornbury, the General's quarters") contains several characteristic points, and not least among them is that sort of appeal to her from the defection of his younger daughter Elizabeth, who had Royalist tastes and predilections, and whose very weakness in that point seems, by a process of love not difficult to follow, to have endeared her even more than her other sisters to this always affectionate father. "DEERE DAUGHTER, —I write not to thy husband, partly to avoid trouble, *for one line of mine begitts many of his, which I doubt makes him sitt up too late*; partly because I am myselve indisposed at this tyme, havinge some other considerations. Your friends at Ely are well: your sister Claypole is (I trust in mercie) exercised with some perplexed thoughts. *She sees her owne vanitie and carnal minde.* Bewaillinge it, she seekes after (as I hope alsoe) that w<sup>ch</sup> will satisfie. And thus

to be a seeker is to be of the best sect next a finder, and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker be at the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Whoe ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of self-vanitie and badnesse? Whoe ever tasted that graciousnesse of his, and could goe lesse in deaire, and lesse than pressinge after full enjoyment? Deere harte, presse on; lett not husband, lett not anythinge, coole thy affections after Christ. I hope he will be an occasion to enflame them. That w<sup>ch</sup> is best worthy of love in thy husband is that of the image of Christ he beares. Lookes on that, and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for thee and him; doe so for me. My service and deere affections to the Generall and Generalllesse. *I heare she is very kind to thee; it adds to all other obligations.* My love to all. I am thy deere Father,

"O. CROMWELL."

The view which these letters present to us will be completed by two extracts from the letters of two very influential men of the time, unlike each other in all things save this, that both were zealous Republicans. They bear date at the commencement of the Worcester campaign. Even so late as this Cromwell had sustained appearances with the stern and inflexible Bradshaw; even in his present glory and power he had chiefly impressed the enthusiastic Harrison with the sense of his humility, and his desire to bear the burden of his greatness only by help of that comfort and grace which the meanest might share along with him. "My dear lord," exhorts Harrison, "lett waiting upon Jehovah bee the greatest and most considerable business yow have every daie; reckon itt soe more than to eate, sleepe, or counsell together. *Run aside sometimes from your companie, and gett a word with the Lord.* Why should not yow have three or four precious soules allowaies standing att your elbow, with whom yow might now and then turne into a corner. I have found refreshment and mercie in such a waie. Ah, the Lord of compassion owne, pittie your burdens, care for yow, stand by and refresh your harte each moment. *I would I could in anie kind doe you good; my harte is with you, and my poore prayers to my God for you.* The Allmightie Father carrie yow in his very bosome, and deliver yow (if itt bee his will) from touching a very haire of anie for whom Jesus hath bled. I expect a very gracious returne in this particular."

The more sober and manly tone of Bradshaw's letter yet intimates the strongest faith in the sincerity of Cromwell, and his just claim to assistance in his great work from the very hand of God: "MY LORD, —By the hands of this trustie bearer, accept, I pray you, of this paper remembrance and salutation from him who both upon the publike and his owne private account is verie much your debtor, and with other your poore friends here prays for and adores the manifestation of God's gracious presence with you in all your weyghty affaires; which, as they are undertaken in zeale to God's glory and his people's good, will, through continuance of the same dyvine presence and mercie, be crowned with answerable successe; and whosoever belongs to God in the nation where you are, will in the close of all have cause to say

*perissemus nisi perissemus.* In the mean tyme, God can and will tame those stubborn spirits, and convince them of their hypocrysy who create you all this trouble, and give a mercifull testimony to the sinceritie of his poore servants' hearts who have appealed unto him. . . . My Lord, I forbear particularizing things here: only this, God is gracious to us in dyscovery of many of our enemies' desygnes (which thereby have proved abortive), and delyvering their counsell in a good measure into our hands; and in watching over the common safetie, there is much acknowledgement due to the indefatigable industry of M. Generall Harrison, your faithfull servant and substitute in that worke here. Your Lordship will shortly heare of some numbers of godly persons in a regimentall forme here in London, whose example will be followed by others of like good mynd in Norwich, Kent, and other places, who have sent for Commissions to us for that purpose, and our resolution is they shall not want encouragement. . . . My Lord, I will trespasse no further upon your tyme. The Lord of Hosts be with you; the God of Jacob be your refuge. The humblest of your wellwillers, fryends, and servants,  
"JO. BRADSHAWE."

Is it possible, however, the reader will ask, to penetrate into the habits of Cromwell, such as they were, apart from the restraint imposed on them by letters, over which, however free or familiar the object to which they were addressed, the character of the age could not but cast, as it were insensibly and as a matter of course, its own air of elevation and enthusiasm! Can we view Cromwell in his own home, or the homes of his friends, in the freedom and the abandonment of social intercourse? If we might see him there, perhaps these strange discordances would in some sort vanish, and expose to view the natural man beneath them. The reader shall see him there, in so far as those private scenes or familiar habits have been happily handed down to us.

Whitelocke, in his "Memorials," relates the following anecdote. "From the council of state Cromwell and his son Ireton went home with me to supper, where they were very cheerful, and seemed extremely well pleased. We discoursed together till twelve o'clock at night, and they told me wonderful observations of God's providence in the affairs of the war, and in the business of the army's coming to London, and seizing the members of the House, in all which were miraculous passages." We find an air of reality and sincerity, at last, about this little supper. Here was the cheerful spirit of the men, unclouded by strange delusions or fanatic professions, and yet, slyly, though perhaps sincerely, lurking beneath it the materials for both.

In the next anecdote the picture is not so favourable, yet natural withal, and not, on the whole, unpleasing. I take it from the Life of Waller, written by the poet's intimate friend. "Mr. Waller," he says, speaking of his intimacy with Cromwell, who was, as formerly stated, his kinsman by marriage, "often took notice, that in the midst of their discourse a servant has come in to tell them such and such attended, upon which Cromwell would rise and stop them, talking at the door, where he could overhear them say, *The Lord will reveal, The Lord*

*will help*, and several such expressions; which, when he returned to Mr. Waller, he excused, saying, Cousin Waller, *I must talk to these men after their own way*; and would then go on where they left off. This created in Mr. Waller an opinion that he secretly despised those whom he seemed to court." The opinion was surely a *non sequitur*. We may respect a man sincerely, whose style of speaking or of thinking we may yet as sincerely differ from. Were this anecdote unaccompanied with other evidence to show an unworthy condescension in Cromwell to the use of a like style of speaking for wicked and unworthy ends, it might stand merely as an excellent and sufficing proof of the courtesy and gentility of his spirit. The worst imputation in the anecdote, however, has been confirmed, on the authority of a friend of Oliver St. John, by an anonymous writer of repute. "The enthusiasm of Cromwell," says the author of a "Political History of the Age," "was entirely assumed and politic. Oliver St. John declared that Cromwell, being one day at table with his friends, and looking for the cork of a bottle of Champagne which he had opened, on being informed that some person attended for admittance to see him, 'Tell him,' says Cromwell, 'we are in search of the holy spirit.'"

If this was really said, it must have been in an incautious moment indeed, or for some hysterical relief from irritating or painful thought as the cushion supplied which he flung at Ludlow. In the general affairs of his household, in so far as religion and religious observances were concerned, he was strict, and even, in some cases, exacting. An unimpeachable witness, Calamy, in his Life of Howe, has the following statement. "I had heard from several (and it had been confirmed to me by Mr. Jeremy White, who lived at Whitehall at the very same time with Mr. Howe) that the notion of a particular faith in prayer prevailed much in Cromwell's court, and that it was a common opinion among them, that such as were in a special manner favoured of God, when they offered up prayers and supplications to him for his mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made on their minds and spirits by a divine hand, as signified to them, not only in the general, that their prayers would be heard and graciously answered, but that the particular mercies that were sought for would be certainly bestowed, nay, and sometimes also intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded; and pointed out to them future events beforehand, which in reality is the same as inspiration. Having heard of mischief done by the prevalence of this notion, I took the opportunity that offered, when there was nothing to hinder the utmost freedom, to inquire of Mr. Howe what he had known about this matter, and what were his apprehensions concerning it. He told me the prevalence of the notion that I mentioned at Whitehall, at the time when he lived there, was too notorious to be called in question, and that not a little pains was taken to cultivate and support it; and that he once heard a sermon there (from a person of note) the avowed design of which was to maintain and defend it. He said he was so fully convinced of the ill tendency of such a principle that after the hearing this sermon, he thought

himself bound in conscience, *when it came next to his turn to preach before Cromwell, to set himself industriously to oppose it, and to beat down that spiritual pride and confidence which such fancied impulses and impressions were apt to produce and cherish.* He told me he observed, that while he was in the pulpit, *Cromwell heard him with great attention, but would sometimes knit his brows and discover great uneasiness.* When the sermon was over, he told me a person of distinction came to him, and asked him if he knew what he had done, and signified it to him as his apprehension that Cromwell would be so incensed upon that discourse, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future. Mr. Howe replied that he had but discharged his conscience, and could leave the event with God. He told me he afterward observed *Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before, and sometimes thought he would have spoken to him of the matter, but he never did, and rather chose to forbear.*"

The wilderness of doubt which every inquirer into the life or character of this extraordinary man (however deeply his researches enable him, as he supposes, to penetrate beneath the surface) must yet find himself in, at the last, in regard to many of his motives and his aims, does not seem to receive any clew even from this striking and well-authenticated detail. Cromwell still appears in it rather as the politic than the fanatic person.

The very selection of his chaplains seems to countenance the notion that with him religion was rather a matter of policy than persuasion, and a matter, therefore, over which he preferred to have such placed in authority as he could himself in turn influence or rule. Thus he was ill at ease with Howe. His favourites were Hugh Peters, who savoured much of a madman; \* Sterry, who appears to have been half madman and half fool; John Goodwin, who looked forward to the millennium; Thomas Goodwin, who raved about the five points; and Jeremy White—but a little anecdote connected with Cromwell will show what Jeremy White was.

Oldmixon relates it, and if, with others that need not be repeated here, it is received with belief, there can be little doubt that Cromwell, in engaging White as his chaplain, secured in him also a buffoon gratis. The Lady Frances, one of the parties to the anecdote, was the youngest and most beautiful of Cromwell's daughters, and had been set apart by the gossip of Europe for the queen of Charles II., being thus destined, it was said, to serve as the bond of union between the decaying Commonwealth and the renewing royalty of England. Charles II. had found a rival, however, in Mr. Jeremy White. "One of the Protector's domestic chaplains," says the historian of the Stuarts, "Mr. Jeremy White, a sprightly man, and a top wit of his court, was so ambitious as to make

his addresses to Lady Frances, the Protector's youngest daughter. The young lady did not discourage him; and this piece of innocent gallantry, in such a court, cou'd not be carried on without spies. Oliver was told of it, and he was much concerned at it, obliging the person who told him to be on the watch; and if he could give him any substantial proof, he should be well rewarded, and White severely punish'd. The spy follow'd the matter so close, that he hunted Jerry White, as he was generally termed, to the lady's chamber, and ran immediately to the Protector with this news. Oliver, in a rage, hasten'd thither himself, and going in hastily, found Jerry on his knees, kissing the lady's hand, or having just kiss'd it. Cromwell, in a fury, ask'd what was the meaning of that posture before his daughter Frank White, with a great deal of presence of mind, said, 'May it please your highness, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me.' The Protector, turning to the young woman, cry'd, 'What's the meaning of this, hussy! Why do you refuse the honour Mr. White wou'd do you? He is my friend, and I expect you shou'd treat him as such.' My lady's woman, who desired nothing more, with a very low courtesy reply'd, 'If Mr. White intends me that honour, I shall not be against him.' 'Say'st thou so, my lass!' cry'd Cromwell; 'call Goodwyn; this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room.' Mr. White was gone too far to go back. The parson came. Jerry and my lady's woman were marry'd in presence of the Protector, who gave her £500 for her portion; and that, with the money she had sav'd before, made Mr. White easy in his circumstances, except in one thing, which was, that he never lov'd his wife, nor she him, tho' they liv'd together near fifty years afterward. *I knew them both, and heard this story told when Mrs. White was present, who did not contradict it, but own'd there was something in it.*"

Supposing the religious pretensions to have been very much a matter of assumption with Cromwell, it would seem at once to explain the source of his remarkable fondness for buffoonery. It had become a necessary relief from the pain of so much insincerity, to fling himself, when he could, headlong into the other extreme. He kept four buffoons at Whitehall, and generally, when inclined to sport, made himself, a fifth. Here was the reality of his nature vindicating itself somehow! Dr. Hutton has preserved the record\* of a very remarkable scene of this sort. "At the marriage of the Lady Frances Cromwell," he says, "to Mr. Rich, the grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick, the Protector, whose mind at that moment was far from being at ease, amused himself by throwing about the sack-posset among the ladies to spoil their clothes, which they took as a favour, as also wet sweetmeats; and daubed all the stools where they were to sit with wet sweetmeats; and put off Rich's wig, and would have thrown it into the fire, but did not, yet he sat upon it. An old formal courtier, Sir Thomas Billingsley, that was gentleman usher to the Queen of Bohemia

\* This reverend person sent a huge dog to Sweden with Whitelocke, by way of a present to Queen Christina. See Appendix F.: an article to which the reader's attention is asked, as it introduces, from a rare work by Lord Whitelocke, a series of dialogues illustrative of striking points in Cromwell's character, and of the interest or opinion inspired by the various scenes of his history, as well as of the English civil wars, in the greatest foreign minister of the time.

\* Harleian Miscellany.

ania, was entertained amongst them, and he danced before them with his cloak and sword, and one of the four of the Protector's buffoons made his lip black like a beard, whereat the knight drew his knife, missing very little of killing the fellow."

A scene not unlike this—the merriment of a mind "ill at ease" plunging recklessly into a thoughtless coarseness—is described in a Royalist pamphlet, entitled "The Court and Kitchen of Mrs. Joan Cromwell." The reader will make allowance, however, for the scurrilous tone of the writer. "His feasts were none of the liberallest, and far from magnificence; even those two he gave the French ambassador and the Parliament in 1656, upon their gratulation of his Syndercombe deliverance, which last amounted not to above £1000, and she [the Protectress] saved £200 of it in the banquet. For a big-bellied woman, a spectator near Cromwell's table, upon the serving thereof with sweetmeats, desiring a few dry candies of apricocks, Colonel Pride, sitting at the same, instantly threw into her apron a conserve of wet, with both his hands, and stained it all over; when, as if that had been the sign, *Oliver catches up his napkin, and throws it at Pride, he at him again*, while all the table were engaged in the scuffle, the noise whereof made the members rise before the sweetmeats were set down, and, believing dinner was done, *go to this pastime of gambols, and be spectators of his highness's frolics*. Were it worth a description, I could give the reader a just and particular account of that Ahab festival, as it was solemnized in the banquetting-house of Whitehall."

The story of Ludlow and the cushion has been told; that of Marten and Cromwell, on the eve of the king's execution, is given in the life of that statesman. It is also on record, that when Hugh Peters urged the execution of Charles from the pulpit, Cromwell suddenly burst into a loud laugh, to the scandal of all present, and was only excused on the score of an "infirmary." Waller's friend, whom I have before quoted, tells us: "Mr. Waller lived mostly at Beaconsfield, where his mother dwelt in her widowhood, and often entertained Oliver Cromwell there during his usurpation, he being related to her. But, notwithstanding her relation to the usurper and Colonel Hampden, she was a Royalist in her principles; and when Oliver visited her at Beaconsfield, she would frankly tell him how his pretensions would end. The usurper used merrily to throw a napkin at her in return, and said he would not enter into further disputes with his aunt—for so he used to call her, though not quite so nearly related." Cowley, in his "Vision," too, speaks of his "flinging of cushions and playing at snowballs with his servants" as a thing of familiar report.\*

\* The entire passage in the "Vision," where these words occur, is well worth subjoining: "This man was wanton and merry, unwittingly and ungracefully merry, with our sufferings; he loved to say and do senseless and fantastical things, only to show his power of doing or saying anything. It would ill beseem mine, or any civil mouth, to repeat those words which he spoke concerning the most sacred of our English laws—the Petition of Right, and Magna Charta. [Clarendon mentions the same coarse jest.] To-day you should see him ranting so wildly that nobody durst come near him; the morrow, flinging of cushions and playing at snowballs with his servants. This month he assembles a Parliament, and professes himself, with humble tears, to be

But the most extraordinary evidence that exists of the extent to which these propensities were occasionally carried, is given by the learned Doctor Bates. "Minores ductores," says that writer, who was Cromwell's physician, "congiariis frequentius devincire, nonnunquam in media cibatione, fame nondum pacatâ gregarios milites pulsatis tympanis intromittere ut semesas raptarent reliquias. Robustos ac vere militares nocivis & validis exercitiis tractare, veluti prunâ candente nonnunquam ocreis injectâ, vel culcitris hinc inde in capita vibratis. Semel autem præludiis hujusmodi probe lassos & risu laxatos præfectos ad cordis apertionem provocavit; eoque modo ab incautis elicit arcanâ quædam, quæ perpetuis tenebris optabant postmodum involuta; dum ipse, sententias omnium scrutatus, celaret suam." "He would order (that is) great feasts for the inferior officers, and whilst they were feeding, and before they had satisfied their hunger, cause the drums to beat, and let in the private soldiers to fall on, and snatch away the half-eaten dishes. The robust and sturdy soldiers he loved to divert with violent and hazardous exercises, as by making them sometimes throw a burning coal into one another's boots, or cushions at one another's heads. When the officers had sufficiently laughed, and tired themselves with these preludes, he would wheedle them to open their hearts freely, and by that means he drew some secrets from the unwary which afterward they wished might have been wrapped up in everlasting darkness, while he, in the mean time, pumping the opinion of all others, concealed his own."

I close these notices of Cromwell's more familiar habits with two anecdotes of a pleasanter kind, related in Whitelocke's Memorials. The first refers to Cromwell and Ireton. "As they," says the lord-commissioner, "went home from my house, their coach was stopped and they examined by the guards, to whom they told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threatened to carry these two great officers to the court of guard. Ireton grew a little angry, but Cromwell was cheerful with the soldiers, gave them twenty shillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty." Again Whitelocke tells us: "The

only their servant and their minister; the next month he swears by the living God that he will turn them out of doors, and he does so, in his princely way of threatening, bidding them turn the buckles of their girdles behind them. The representative of a whole—nay, of three whole nations, was in his esteem so contemptible a meeting, that he thought the affronting and expelling of them to be a thing of so little consequence as not to deserve that he should advise with any mortal man about it. What shall we call this—boldness or brutishness, rashness or phrensy? There is no name can come up to it, and therefore we must leave it without one. Now a Parliament must be chosen in the new manner, next time in the old form, but all cashiered still after the newest mode. Now he will govern by major-generals, now by one House, now by another House, now by no House; now the freak takes him, and he makes seventy peers of the land at one clap (extempore, and stans pede in uno); and, to manifest the absolute power of the potter, he chose not only the worst clay he could find, but picks up even the dirt and mire, to form out of it his vessels of honour. It was said anciently of Fortune, that when she had a mind to be merry and to divert herself, she was wont to raise up such kind of people to the highest dignities. This son of Fortune, Cromwell, who was himself one of the primest of her jests, found out the true haughtiness of this pleasure, and rejoiced in the extravagance of his ways as the fullest demonstration of his uncontrollable sovereignty. Good God! what have we seen? and what have we suffered!"



Protector often advised about this [the Petition and Advice] and other great businesses with the Lord Broghill, Pierrepont, myself, Sir Charles Wolseley, and Thurloe, and would be shut up three or four hours together in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him; he would sometimes be very cheerful with us, and laying aside his greatness, he would be exceeding familiar with us, and by way of diversion, *would make verses with us*, and every one must try his fancy; *he commonly call'd for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself; then he would fall again to his serious and great business*, and advise with us in those affairs; and this he did often with us, and our counsel was accepted and followed by him in most of his greatest affairs."

The writer of these pages has no favourite theory to establish out of his records of the life of Cromwell: it is simply his aim to attempt to arrive at as fair and impartial a ground for judgment as the circumstances will enable him to attain. Therefore, standing at the threshold of that astonishing person's political greatness, he has thought it advisable to present to the reader thus, from every various quarter, the possible means and resources by the use of which he achieved it in the end. Out of these the reader will possibly have already formed his own judgment; yet let it for the present be suspended, till the progress of Cromwell's life has advanced some years with the light of these researches and inquiries cast upon it. Thus much, meanwhile, the writer may be allowed to say, in vindication of the somewhat unusual course he has taken, that the notion which seems to be held by many eminent writers, that Cromwell was, after all, perhaps, only the instrument of Fate, working its own wild will in the wild and changing humours of the army, is one which, however feasible in the main, could only have been arrived at by the course hitherto taken in the multitudinous accounts that exist of him, of judging by itself each separate incident of his extraordinary career in its single shape as it arose. This seemed to be productive of much error. He was too great a man, intellectually, to have worked without a plan, and yet was deficient in the element of moral greatness, which would, in itself, have withheld him from the plan he assumed. Viewed in his separate qualities, a greater man has probably never lived; a man with more eminent abilities for statesmanship; a more masterly soldier, judging him by the age in which he lived, and the objects he accomplished; a person more wonderfully gifted in all the attributes of subtlest thought, and of an intellect the most piercing and profound. The moral elevation, too, of his *courage* should be admitted by all, since in the days of his greatest danger, when assassins beset him round his bed and at his board, he gave way to no base thought of mere personal fear. His eminent and thoughtful sagacity has never been disputed, nor the vastness of his comprehension, nor the marvellous intrepidity of his purposes, nor the inexhaustible expedients and powers of his mind. Is it possible to suppose, then, that all these amazing faculties failed in their mission on earth—for they did fail—without some rooted

curse that lay in his nature deeper than them all, and, when they sought to identify themselves with settled and lasting projects, that at once dispersed them to the winds?

That curse was his WANT OF TRUTH, and could only have been implanted in such a nature by some early scheme of the fatal ambition which he realized in later life. "Explica atque excute intelligentiam tuam," says the great Roman philosopher; "ut videas, quæ sit in ea species, forma, et notio viri boni. Cadit ergo in virum bonum mentiri emolumenti sui causæ, criminari præripere, fallere? Nihil profecto minus. Est ergo ulla res tanti, aut commodum ullum tam expetendum, ut viri boni et splendorem et nomen amittas! Quid est, quod afferat tantum utilitas ista, quæ dicitur, possit, quantum auferre, si boni viri nomen eripuerit, fidem justitiamque detraxerit?" Oh no, nothing can supply its place; "utility" or profit without it have never yet made out their case in this world. The discovery of its absence here was fatal at once. The parties who had in turn trusted, and been in turn betrayed, fled all from Cromwell's side at last, and left him alone; and the vast designs he had hoped to leave permanently impressed upon the genius of the English people and the character of the English Constitution, sunk with him into his grave. But not these alone. He dragged there, too, in so far as it was possible for him to do so—for a good as well as great thought, once born in the world, can never wholly die—the more virtuous and more able designs of the yet immortal statesmen he supplanted, and left the path altogether clear for the base, the wicked, the licentious slavery of the restored monarch who succeeded him.

Still must some portion of the reality of that enthusiasm with which he wrought his unworthiest aims be permitted to remain with him. On his death-bed, we shall see, it shone suddenly forth, when all the insincerity and the *trick* of life and its designs had passed forever. Then broke forth that almost fierce sincerity and belief of inspiration with which his first exertions in the Republican cause began, and which, if grosser objects had not crossed it, would probably have realized the greatest career for Cromwell that had ever been flung open to mortal man. It is by leaving with him a portion of this true enthusiasm, even in his works of greatest insincerity; it is by supposing that one so accomplished in deluding others, might also, and that most deeply, have deluded himself, that the extraordinary inconsistencies which have been noted in him will find their sole solution at the last. With this, these suggestions towards his character may now be left, for the resumption of the story of his fortunes. The difficulties that stood in the way of a direct and simple narration of the latter, as they shaped their course from the opening of his political influence in the matter of the self-denying ordinance, have now been in a measure dispersed, and the reader may follow on the great points of their track clearly and uninterruptedly.

At the pause in our narrative Cromwell was left in consultation with Vane. Shortly afterwards, namely, on the 23d of November, the

House of Commons professed itself greatly discontented with the affair of Dennington Castle, and made an order that on the following Monday, Waller and Cromwell, two of the principal officers who were members of that House, should declare their whole knowledge and information respecting the late proceedings of the conjoined armies. What was the sum of Waller's declaration does not appear; but Cromwell at once seized the occasion to bring all matters in dispute between himself and the Earl of Manchester to a decision, in which other matters, not less important, would not less be involved.

He at once rose from his place, therefore, and alleged, according to Rushworth, that Manchester had always been backward to engagements in battle, and against ending the war with the sword, and had been the advocate of *such a peace to which a victory in the field would have been an obstacle*; that, since the taking of York (as if he thought the king was *now low enough*, and the Parliament too high), he had declined and shifted off whatever tended to further advantage upon the enemy, and especially at Dennington Castle; "for here," pursued Cromwell, "I showed him evidently how this success might be obtained, and *only desired leave, with my own brigade of horse, to charge the king's army in their retreat, leaving it in the earl's choice, if he thought proper, to remain neutral with the rest of his forces*; but, notwithstanding my importunity, he positively refused his consent, and gave no other reason but that, if we met with a defeat, there was an end of our pretensions: we should all be rebels and traitors, and be executed and forfeited by law." In continuation of his charges, Cromwell then added, that, before his conjunction with the other armies, he had drawn his army into, and detained it in, such situations as were favourable to the enemy's designs, against many commands of the committee of both kingdoms, and with contempt and vilifying of those commands; and since, sometimes against the council of war, and sometimes deluding the council, had neglected one opportunity with pretence of another, and that again of a third, and at last persuading them that it was better not to fight at all. In the details of his statement, Whitelocke observes, Cromwell seemed (but cautiously enough) to lay more blame upon the officers of Essex's army than upon any other. He adds, that Cromwell's narrative "gave great satisfaction to the assembly to which it was addressed."

Lord Manchester himself rose in the House of Lords the day after, and observed to their lordships that he had lately been in employment in the armies, and that certain proceedings of those armies had elsewhere been made a subject of censure: he therefore begged the House would appoint a day on which he might give an account of those transactions. The House at once acceded, and fixed the next day but one.

Manchester's narrative, delivered on the latter day, is said to have been fabricated by the united (and ever most worthily united) pens of Skeldon Crawford and Denzil Hollis. No doubt, however, there was a foundation of truth in it, or the earl would not have been prevailed upon to sign it. In some moment of greater

faith in Manchester's political creed than the result warranted, Cromwell had spoken out rather too plainly; and in after annoyance with his generals after intrigues, had as inconsiderately given way to rage. Perhaps there was no inconsiderateness, however, either in the one or the other, for the charge, involving both, did no harm to Cromwell in the English army or with the English people!

It was to this effect. He first accused Cromwell, by his tardiness and disaffection, of being more than any other person the cause that the king had carried off his ordnance from Dennington Castle without molestation. "This was tantamount to saying that Cromwell's services not having been taken when they could avail, they were, when utterly useless, only tardily offered. Not contented, however, with thus defending himself, Manchester added a separate statement of certain speeches of Cromwell, of deep concern to the peerage of England, and to the good understanding subsisting between England and Scotland. The sum of these speeches appears to have been, that it would never be well with England till the Earl of Manchester *was made plain Mr. Montague*;\* that the Scots had crossed the Tweed for no other purpose than to establish Presbyterianism, and that in that cause he would as soon draw his sword against them as against the king; and lastly, that it was his purpose to form an army of sectaries, which might dictate to both king and Parliament such conditions as they should think proper.† Manchester delivered both these narratives in writing to the House on the 2d of December, and a formidable party appeared to be getting up to defend them. Essex suddenly arrived in London after his Cornish exploits, and attended several days to his "duty" in the House of Lords.

Meanwhile, measures of a stronger kind were in contemplation against Cromwell, in other places than in the House of Lords. These are graphically related by Whitelocke: "One evening very late," he tells us, "Maynard and I were sent for by the lord-general to Essex House, and there was no excuse to be admitted, nor did we know beforehand the occasion of our being sent for: when we came to Essex House, we were brought to the lord-general, and with him were the Scots commissioners, Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Meyrick, and divers others of his special friends. After compliments, and that all were set down in council, the lord-general, in general terms having mentioned his having sent for them on important business, desired the lord-chancellor of Scotland to enter into the detail, which he did in the following manner: 'Master Maynard and Master Whitlocke, I can assure you of the great opinion both my brethren and myself have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have desired this meeting with you; and since it is his excellency's pleasure

\* These are the earl's words: "I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of very deep designs; and he has even ventured to tell me, that it never would be well with England till I were Mr. Montague, and there were ne'er a lord or peer in the kingdom."

† That advice was given thus: "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall soon find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law to both king and Parliament."

that I should acquaint you with the matter upon whilke your counsel is desired, I shall obey his commands, and briefly recite the business to you. You ken very weel that Lieutenant-general Cromwell is no friend of ours, and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take off from our honour and merit in this kingdom: an evil requital of all our hazards and services; but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the gude people of this nation in the general. It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the twa kingdoms, *that this obstacle or remora may be removed out of the way*, whom we foresee will otherwise be no small impediment to us, and the gude design we have undertaken. *He not only is no friend to us and the government of our Church, but he is also no well-willer to his excellency*, whom you and we all have cause to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on in his ways, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of that mischief. You ken very weel the accord 'twixt the twa kingdoms, and the union by the Solemn League and Covenant, and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how is he to be proceeded against? now the matter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of this word incendiary to be, and whether Lieutenant-general Cromwell be not sicke an incendiary as is meant thereby, and whilke way wud be best to take to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sicke an incendiary, and that will clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause. Now you may ken that by our law in Scotland we clepe him an incendiary wha kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state to the publick damage, and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ*; whether your law be the same or not, you ken best who are mickle learned therein, and therefore, with the favour of his excellency, we desire your judgments in these points.' Whitelocke, in answer, having been also desired by Essex to deliver his opinion, observed, 'that the sense of the word incendiary was the same in both nations; but whether Cromwell was one, depended on proofs; if proofs were wanting, he was none; if such were at hand, he might be proceeded against in Parliament.' After farther advice on the necessity of having solid grounds for going upon any such charge, the cautious lawyer added: "Next, as to the person of him who is to be accused as an incendiary, it will be fit, in my humble opinion, to consider his present condition, and parts, and interest in the Parliament (wherein Mr. Maynard and myself, by our constant attendance in the House of Commons, are the more capable to give an account to your lordships), and for his interest in the army, some honourable persons here present, his excellency's officers, are best able to inform your lordships. I take Lieutenant-general Cromwell to be a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and one who hath, especially of late, gained no small interest in the House of Commons, nor is wanting of friends in the House of Peers, nor of abilities in himself to manage his own part, or defence, to the best advantage. If this be so,

my lords, it will be more requisite to be well prepared against him before he be brought upon the stage, lest the issue of the business be not answerable to your expectations." Maynard having concurred in this opinion, the affair was brought to a stand, and nothing came of it, "though Mr. Hollis, and Sir Philip Stapylton, and some others, spake smartly to the business, and mentioned some particular passages, and words of Cromwell's, tending to prove him to be an incendiary; and they did not apprehend his interest in the House of Commons to be so much as was supposed; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him. . . I had some cause to believe," Whitelocke concludes, "that at this debate, some who were present were false brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that passed among us, and after that Cromwell, though he took no notice of any particular passages at that time, yet he seemed more kind to me and Mr. Maynard than he had been formerly, and carried on his design more actively of making way for his own advancement."

Such was the perilous condition of affairs among the principal leaders of the Parliamentary armies at the close of the year 1644, when, to the amazement and dismay of the Presbyterians, the project of the Self-denying Ordinance was, on the 9th of December, suddenly brought forward in the House of Commons. The circumstances attending this have been minutely detailed in the life of Vane, and it only remains to exhibit Cromwell as he appeared in public connexion with them.

The House having resolved itself into a committee to consider of the sad condition of the kingdom, in reference to the intolerable burdens of the war, and the little prospect there was of its being speedily brought to a conclusion, there was "a general silence for a good space of time," when Cromwell rose to address them. His speech, even in the faint records now alone preserved of it, appears to have been masterly in the extreme. He began by observing that "it was now a time to speak, or forever to hold the tongue; the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into; so that, without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, like soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament. For what," continued Cromwell, "do the enemy say! Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of the Parliament! Even this, that the members of both Houses have got places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and, what by interest in Parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. *This I speak here to our own faces, it is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs.* I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience, without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army

be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this," added Cromwell, with consummate wisdom, "I would recommend to your prudence, *not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief, upon any occasion whatsoever*; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs; therefore, waving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother-country, as no members of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their own private interests for the public good, nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter." Subsequently, on the same question, Cromwell took an occasion to enforce his views, and reply to the difficulties urged against them yet more strongly. "The Parliament had," he said, "done very wisely, in the entrance into the war, to engage many members of their own in the most dangerous parts of it, that the nation might see that they did not intend to embark them in perils of war, while themselves sat securely at home out of gunshot, but would march with them where the danger most threatened; and those honourable persons, who had exposed themselves this way, had merited so much of their country, that their memories should be held in perpetual veneration; and whatsoever should be well done after them, would be always imputed to their example; but God had so blessed their army, that there had grown up with it, and under it, very many excellent officers, who were fit for much greater charges than they were now possessed of; and he desired them not to be terrified with an imagination, that if the highest offices were vacant, they would not be able to put as fit men into them; for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust in any arm of flesh as to think such a cause as this depended upon any one man, he did take upon him to assure them that they had officers in their army who were fit to be generals in any enterprise in Christendom." For himself, he added, he was quite ready to lay down his commission of command in the army, since there was nothing he so anxiously desired as that "an ordinance might be prepared, by which it might be made unlawful for any member of either House of Parliament to hold any office or command in the army, or any place or employment of profit in the state." He concluded with an enlargement upon "the vices and corruptions which were gotten into the army; the profaneness, and impiety, and absence of all religion; the drinking and gaming, and all manner of license and laziness;" and said plainly, "*that till the whole army were new modelled, and governed under a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable success in anything they went about.*"

The progress of this measure—its defeat by the Lords—and the introduction of a second measure with a similar object, but a less exten-

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sive range, has been described in Vane's memoir. The first ordinance forbade any member of either House of Parliament from bearing any office, civil or military, during the war. The second did not carry its prospect into the future, but contented itself with merely discharging members of Parliament from the offices they now held. This variation has been supposed to have had reference to Cromwell, as the law thus modified did not expressly forbid the reappointment of officers so discharged. It subsequently admitted into the House a body of able and determined Republicans—the Ludlows, Iretons, Sidneys, and Blakes, even before the effect of the purge had required an infusion of new blood into that quarter on the formation of the Commonwealth. Exceptions were also voted, as in the first Self-denying Ordinance, in favour of the commissioners of the great seal, the commissioners of the admiralty and navy, and of the revenue. This ordinance passed into a law on the 3d of April; and the day before its introduction into the Upper House, Essex, Manchester, and Denbigh presented themselves in their places, and resigned their commissions.

The "new model" had meanwhile passed the Lower House. It proposed that the military force should consist of 7600 horse and 14,400 infantry, and be placed under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax as lord-general, assisted by Skippon in the quality of major-general. Its arrangements had not been completed without much difficulty. Three armies of 10,000 men each were reduced to one army of 22,000. This could not be done without considerable derangements of detail; a number of officers were withdrawn from the service, because they were members of Parliament; a number, probably greater, were dismissed, because one army did not require so many as three before had required. The men dismissed were selected chiefly as dissolute or least deserving men. The soldiers were draughted out of old regiments into new; every thing, in a manner, was changed. This could not be without exciting singular discontents, and the dismissed officers got up a party called Reformados.

One circumstance, however, in the project of the new model, provoked remark beyond every other. The lord-general was named,\* and a man better qualified than Fairfax, not less by his singular military talents than by the circumstance (which even in the new model had its weight, since it propitiated the prejudices of some, and offended the feelings of none) of his immediate connexion with an old aristocratic family, could not be found. A major-general was named also—Skippon, an excellent and faithful soldier. Twenty-four colonels were also specified, in the charge of as many regiments. But a blank was left for

\* I may add, that under this new model Sir Thomas Fairfax was not only appointed commander-in-chief, but also invested with the power of nominating all the officers under him, and with the execution of martial law. No mention is made of the king's authority, nor is any clause for the preservation of his person inserted in the ordinance; but the general is directed to "lead his armies against all and singular enemies, rebels, traitors, and other like offenders, and every of their adherents, and with them to fight; and them to invade, resist, repress, subdue, pursue, slay, kill, and put in execution of death, by all ways and means."

held the Bible, the other the sword. For them death had ceased his terrors, and by one overpowering emotion, the sense of pain, of suffering, or fatigue had been in them completely subdued. Not one of them but was a "vessel of glory," set apart for the purposes of heaven. And these soul-elevating thoughts, which gave them a common hope of glory, gave them, too, the united resolution to achieve it. No differences or jealousies struck between them on the eve of a day of battle. Each man's voice rose to heaven with that of his comrade in the same words of hymn and praise: their united swords were as one sword, "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon."

Charles at this time was master of nearly the whole of the west of England, had a preponderance in the midland counties, held power even in the north, and was complete master of Wales. In a few short weeks he knew not where to turn!

On the failure of the treaty of Uxbridge the campaign of 1645 had commenced in earnest, and Cromwell had already, in virtue of his first dispensation from the House of Commons, and before he received his commission under Fairfax, performed some important services in it. The first was his interception of a body of troops at Islip Bridge, proceeding from the west towards Oxford, with the intention, it was thought, of re-enforcing the king, and of enabling him to march with his artillery against some of the garrisons held by the Parliamentary forces on the banks of the Severn. Having received secret intelligence of this, Cromwell at once put himself at the head of a few chosen squadrons, attacked and defeated the Royalists with great slaughter, took several prisoners, and made himself master of a standard which the queen had recently presented to her own regiment. Happening, too, at this time, to be in the neighbourhood of Blessington House, then a fortified place commanded by Colonel Windebank, Cromwell suddenly made an assault upon it while a number of ladies were within its walls on a visit to the governor's young wife. The terror of the women compelled the colonel to listen to terms, and finally to surrender the garrison, for which imbecility he was soon afterward tried by a court-martial at Oxford, and condemned to be shot. Nor was the energetic soldier less successful in a skirmish with Sir William Vaughan in the same vicinity, whom, with the greater part of his infantry, he is reported to have taken prisoner. In truth, wherever he led the way, victory followed. A reverse his regiment met with about this time was suffered in his absence. He had temporarily left his command on a mission of some importance, when Goring, ordered to that service by the king, executed a sudden and masterly movement against a portion of his troops, fell upon them while crossing the Isis, near Woodstock, and routed them with some loss and much confusion. This enabled the king and Rupert to join their forces; and having done so, they marched in a northerly direction.

Cromwell suspected his design, and communicated with the House of Commons. Orders were at once transmitted to the Scottish army, then before Carlisle. They raised the siege,

advanced to the south, intercepted Charles, and foiled his plan. The policy resolved on at the constitution of the new model, and openly declared by Cromwell, was to strike at the king, and keep him constantly in pursuit. Fairfax, in the mean while, had sat down before Oxford. Charles suddenly turned back, with great vigour and resolution surprised and assaulted Leicester, and carried it the very same day he sat down before it. The garrison, to the amount of 1500 men, immediately surrendered themselves prisoners, and the town was given up to all the horrors of a place taken by storm, aggravated by the extreme licentiousness that then prevailed among the royal troops, who, as if in daring defiance and scorn of the men of the new model, had now become infinitely more reckless and dissolute than before.\*

Fairfax, never accustomed to rely solely upon himself, began now to feel serious alarm for the safety of the eastern counties, mingled with a responsibility too heavy for himself to bear. He wrote to the House of Commons, as we have seen, to solicit the appointment and co-operation of Cromwell; then, having raised the siege of Oxford, he directed a pursuit against Charles, who had moved from Leicester, fixed his headquarters at Daventry, and there, while his soldiers ravaged and plundered the adjoining country, betaken himself to the pleasures of the chase. As Fairfax pursued his silent march, he received from London the welcome vote for which he had written, and without an instant's delay, thus wrote to Cromwell: "SIR,—You will find, by the enclosed vote of the House of Commons, a liberty given me to appoint you lieutenant-general of the horse of this army, during such time as that House shall be pleased to dispense with your attendance. You cannot expect but that I should make use of so good an advantage, as I apprehend this to be, to the public good, and therefore I desire you to make speedy repair to this army, and give order that the troops of horse you had from hence, and what other horse or dragoons can be spared from the attendance of your foot in their coming up, march hither with convenient speed; and as for any other forces you have there, I shall not need to desire you to dispose of them as you shall find most for the public advantage, which we here apprehend to be, that they march towards us by the way of Bedford. We are now quartered at Wilton, two miles from Northampton, the enemy still at Daventry. Our intelligence is, that they intend to move on Friday, but which way we cannot yet tell. There are, as we hear, more horse than foot, and make their horse their confidence: ours shall be in God. I pray all possible haste towards your affectionate friend to serve you, THOMAS FAIRFAX." This letter bore the date of the 11th of June. With astonishing promptitude, Cromwell, who had evidently not been taken unawares by his commission, drew together about 6000 chosen horse, marched after Fairfax, and on the evening of the 13th of June, came up with him at

\* Charles was evidently much elated by these successes. In a letter of June the 9th, he writes to the queen: "I may (without being much too sanguine) affirm that, since this rebellion, my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way"—*King Charles's Works, Letters, No. 37.*

But, with total rout upon the left wing, and fearful uncertainty in the centre, Cromwell and his Ironsides now singly decided the battle. Langdale had charged after Rupert's example, but might as well have charged against a rock. Recoiling from the steady shock of that iron wall, Cromwell charged him in his turn, first with a heavy fire of carbines, next at the sword's point, routed the whole of his cavalry, sent three squadrons after them to prevent their rallying, and with the remaining four, which he had held steadily in hand, wheeled furiously round, and with loosened rein and spur in his horse's flanks, led them on with overpowering shock against the weary infantry engaged with Fairfax. Not for an instant could the Royalists resist that fell attack. They wavered, gave way, were cut through and through, and fled in all directions. One regiment alone preserved its ground, and scarcely a man of it survived to tell his courageous story.

Charles behaved with the bravery which never deserted him in war. At the head of the cavalry that remained—joined in the instant by Rupert's weary stragglers—he implored them to follow their king, and stand the coming shock. A terrible conviction of his hopeless ruin no doubt then flashed upon him. "One charge more," he exclaimed, "and we recover the day." It was too late; Rupert's cavalry were already worn out by their chase, and the rest had been panic-struck by the charge of the Ironsides. Never was rout so triumphantly complete. Two thousand men were left dead upon the field. The Royalists who were made prisoners were five thousand foot and three thousand horse. There were also captured the whole of Charles's artillery, eight thousand stand of arms, above one hundred pair of colours, the royal standard, the king's cabinet of letters, his coaches, and the whole spoil of his camp.\*

against Cromwell. "A commander of the king's," says that ingenuous writer, "knowing Cromwell, advanced smartly from the head of his troops to exchange a bullet singly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their pistols being discharged, the cavalier, with a slanting back-blow of a broadsword, luckily cut the riband which tied his surcoat, and with a draw threw it off his head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, his party came in and rescued him, and one of them slighting, threw up his headpiece into his saddle, which Oliver hastily catching, as being affrighted with the chance, clapped it the wrong way on his head, and so fought with it the rest of the day."

\* It may interest the reader to give the first account of this memorable battle, which was published in the journals of the time. The supplementary notices, too, from other journals, are curious and interesting: "It hath pleased God to engage our men with the enemy in a pitched battle (as was then expected). We marched from Naseby early on Saturday morning, June the 14th, and hearing the king's army was near, we drew up into a body a mile or two from Naseby, expecting to be engaged with the king, whose horse suddenly after faced us till their foot drew up into battalions. There never was such rejoicing and courageous expressions used by soldiers as was then on both sides, both seeming willing to put an end to these differences. After we had recommended ourselves to the Almighty's protection, and gave the word (*which was, on our side, God is our strength; on the king's side, Queen Mary*), our warning piece shot off, upon which Prince Rupert, who then commanded the right wing of the king's horse, rode with a full career up towards our men, but went back. Our forlorn hope and theirs in the mean time met, and played very hot one upon the other, each seeking to gain the hill and wind, which was, at length, equally divided betwixt both parties. One of the Dutch princes (which we all suppose to be Rupert) led up their right wing, and put our left to a shameful retreat, though I confess two things may somewhat ex-

The first civil war was decided by this victory; and so, it is evident, Cromwell at once perceived, for nothing could equal his excitement after the day was won. He led the pursuit for upward of twelve miles, returned to Harborough (Haverbrowe it was then called), and, before taking rest or refreshment after toils that would have worn down the strength of a score of ordinary men, took up his pen and wrote news of the victory to the speaker of the House of Commons. The letter of the second officer in command reached Parliament a day before the letter of the lord-general. The circumstance created some sensation, and no doubt Cromwell intended that it should. The news which was to dismay the Presbyterians more than intelligence of a defeat would have dismayed them, the victory which was to elevate Vane and the Independents into enthusiastic strength and joy, should fitly issue first from him. And how the letter is written—with what an ill-subdued effort from exultation—in what curt regal sentences—with what resolute purpose against his political adversaries in the House! It is addressed to the speaker, and bears date from "Haverbrowe, June the 14th, 1645.

"SIR,—Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquainte you with the good hand of God towards you and us. Wee marched yesterday after the kinge, whoe went before us from Daventre to Haverbroue, and quartered about six miles from him.

cause them: First, the king's men had some marks to know each other by in the fight, and so they knew them not till they were upon them; secondly, in that they were new raised men out of the associated counties, better armed than hearted. Prince Rupert charged on them with such gallantry (as few in the army ever saw the like), and beat them down the hill to the very train, where Col. Bartlett's regiment and the firelocks that guarded the train beat them from it, and won the ground our horse had lost with as much resolution as the enemy gained it. In the mean while, the general who commanded the body of foot behaved himself very courageously in the front of the army; and Major-general Skippon, who is wounded in the side, but hopes of recovery, fell upon the enemy's foot; Lieut.-gen. Cromwell charging before them, with his horse broke into the king's body, routed them, seized upon all their train and cannon, took 4000 foot and horse prisoners, their standard, ensigne, 70 carriages, 12 pieces of ordnance, two of them being demy-cannon, took the king's own wagons, and in one of them a cabinet of letters, supposed to be of great consequence. Four hundred of their men slain in the field, besides many others, which were found dead in the way, and 7000 arms. Lieut.-gen. Cromwell pursued them to Leicester-towns-end, and still remains near it. On our side, we lost at most not above 100 men, whereof one Col. Francis, and two captains; all which, as near as I can guess, was done in the space of an hour and a half."—*Extract from a Letter, signed Henry Maud, Harborough, June 15. Weekly Account, June 11 to 18, 1645.* . . . "A list of the prisoners, ordnance, ammunition, &c., taken by Sir Thomas Fairfax, near Naseby, the 14th of June, 1645. 4000 prisoners, 600 slain, 4 colonels, 7 lieutenant-colonels, 19 majors, 60 captains, 8000 arms, 40 barrels of powder, 12 pieces of ordnance, 200 carriages, 4 coaches, 2 sumpters, one of the king's, the other Prince Rupert's; all the king's plate, and good store of money. Ordered, that the messenger that brought the first intelligence from the general shall have £40; that a messenger from Lieut.-gen. Cromwell shall have £20."—*Weekly Account, June 11 to 18, 1645.* . . . "Ordered, that Lieut.-general Cromwell continue with the army three months after the 30 days assigned him are expired. I cannot believe that any will repine at so necessary an order."—*Merc. Brit., June 16 to 23, 1645.* . . . "We hear Cromwell's sometime regiment are grown wiser, if it may be so called, for having helped to beat the enemy out of the field; they did not, as at Marston Moor, leave them that fought least to get most, but fell upon the good booty as well as others: some had jewels, others diamond rings, others gold, some were content with silver, good apparel, harness, and what else they could get."—*Med. Intel., 19 to 26, 1645.*

accept them, and spare them. When wee came neer, they refused his offer, and lett flie at him; killed about two of his men, and at least foure horses. The passage, not to be for above three abreast, kept them out, whereupon Major Deburgh wheeled about, got in the rear of them, beat them from the work, and did some small execution upon them—I believe, killed not twelve of them, butt cutt very many—and have taken about 300, many of which are *poor sillie creatures, whom if you please to lett me send home, they promise to be very dutifull for time to come, and will be hanged before they come out againe.* The ringleaders which we have I intend to bring to you: they had taken divers of the Parliament Souldiers Prisoners, besides Col. Fines his Men, and used them most barbarouslie, bragging they hoped to see my Lord Hoptons that he is to command them. They expected from Wilts great store, and gave out they meant to raise the siege at Sherburne when they were all mett. Wee have gotten great store of their armes, and they carried few or none home. Wee quarter about ten miles off, and purpose to draw our quarters neer to you to-morrow. Your most humble servant, OLIVER CROMWELL."

After this Sherburne Castle surrendered, and before we have time to admire the bravery and rapidity of the movement which effected it, the lieutenant-general has sat down before Bristol, in company with Fairfax, whom he advises to storm a place of such importance, if other methods are not of speedy avail. Prince Rupert, who held it with about 5000 horse and foot, had declared that nothing should induce him to surrender, unless, as he had reason to fear, the inhabitants proved disaffected. Cromwell's counsel having been suddenly taken, however, by Fairfax, the attack was made with so much fury, that, though Rupert repelled it for a while, he feared to run the hazard of a second assault, and delivered up the city, and with it a large proportion of the king's magazines and warlike stores.\*

\* Cromwell's graphic account of this siege is given in the journals of the time: "A letter from Lieut.-gen. Cromwell to the Parliament, dated at Bristol, the 14th of September, was to this effect: That about one of the clock in the morning, Thursday, the 11th instant, Sir Thomas Fairfax stormed the city. The general's signal when to fall on was the burning straw, upon which the men went on with great resolution, and very presently recovered the line, making way for the horse to enter. Col. Montague and Col. Pickering, who stormed at Lawford's Gate, where was a double work well filled with men and cannon, presently entered, and with great resolution beat the enemy from their works, and possessed their cannon without any considerable loss, and laid down the bridges for the horse to enter. Major Desborough commanded the horse, who very gallantly seconded the foot; then our foot advanced to the city walls; there they possessed the great gate against the Castle Street, wherein were put 100 men, who made it good. Sir Hardress Waller, with his and the general's regiment, with no less resolution, entered on the other side of Lawford's Gate towards Avon River, and put themselves into an immediate conjunction with the rest of the brigade. During this, Col. Rainsborough and Col. Hammond attempted Prior's Hill Fort and the line downward towards Froome, Col. Birch and the major-general's regiment being to storm towards Froome River. Col. Hammond possessed the line immediately, and beat the enemy from it, and made way for our horse to enter. Col. Rainsborough, who had the hardest task of all at Prior Fort, attempted it, and fought very near three hours for it; and, indeed, there was great despair of carrying the place, it being exceeding high, a ladder of thirty rounds scarce reaching to the top thereof; but his resolution was such that he would not give it over. The enemy had four pieces of cannon upon it, which they played with round and case shot upon our men. His Lieut.-col. Bowen and others were two hours at push of pike,

Here, during the parley which preceded the capitulation, Cromwell, with Fairfax, again had a marvellous escape from the enemy. They were sitting together on the top of Prior's Hill Fort (which had been taken in the storming attempt), when a piece of ordnance in the castle being directed against that point, the ball grazed the fort within two hands' breadth of them, without doing the slightest injury to either. These were incidents Cromwell well knew how to turn to account, and the word therefore soon ran along the camp of the besiegers that none but an atheist could doubt that such a capture, attended with circumstances so remarkable, must have been the work of the Lord. So also he wrote to the speaker: "It may be thought that some praises are due to these gallant men, of whose valour so much mention is made. Their humble suit to you, and all that have an interest in this blessing, is, that in the remembrances of God's praises they may be forgotten. It is their joy that they are instruments of God's glory and their country's good; it is their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that *faith and prayer obtained this city for you*; I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you, and *all England over*, who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are, that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith, by which we ask all our sufficiency, and having received it, it's meet that he have all the praise."\*

Round every portion of this country, like a tempest, he now swept with his victorious army. Passing from Bristol to Devizes, he summoned that town to surrender. "Win it and wear it," was the answer of Sir Charles Lloyd, the governor. Cromwell did both. The place was carried by assault, and the greatest moderation shown towards its gallant defenders. After this he stormed Berkeley Castle, and threw himself before Winchester, which surrendered by capitulation.† And now, so severely strict

standing upon the pallisadoes, but nevertheless they could not enter. Col. Hammond being entered the line, Capt. Ireton, with a forlorn of Col. Birch's regiment, interposed with his horse between the enemy's horse, and Col. Hammond received a shot with two pistol bullets, which broke his arm, but the entrance of Col. Hammond did storm the fort on that part which was inward; by which means Col. Rainsborough and Col. Hammond's men entered the fort, and immediately put to the sword almost all in it. And as this was the place of most difficulty, so of most loss to us on that side, and of very great honour to the undertaker. Being thus far possessed of the enemy's works, the town was fired in three places by the enemy, which we could not put out, which began to be a great trouble to the general and all his officers, that so famous a city should be wasted; but, whilst they were viewing that sad spectacle, the prince sent a trumpet to the general, desiring a treaty for the surrender, and so the fire was quenched, and articles agreed on, as you have formerly heard."—*Merc. Virid.*, Sept. 17-20, 1645.

\* In the Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer we find the following, which strikingly illustrates the use and value of such letters as this: "On the Lord's day, Sept. 21, according to order of Parliament, Lieut.-gen. Cromwell's letter of the taking of Bristol was read in several congregations about London, and thanks returned to Almighty God for the admirable and wonderful reducing of that city. The letter of that renowned commander is well worth observation, and especially these pious and self-denying expressions therein are very remarkable."

† A characteristic incident of this surrender is thus noticed in one of the journals: "We this day received intelligence that Lieut.-gen. Cromwell was come before Winchester with a resolution not to depart from it until he had reduced both town and castle to the obedience of the Parliament. The city made some opposition, contrary to his

of the House for preparing an ordinance for a goodly house and other landes in Hampshire, of the Marquise of Winchester's. *Wee had thought to have had them in the ordinance already passed, but by absence of some, when I brought in the other, that fayled.* Perhaps it is better as it is, and that the addition might have stayed this. You know to whome the marquise hath relation;\* and in regard that our commission for the seale ends with this month, I desyred rather for the presente to passe this, than to hazard the delay. Mr. Lisle was ordered to bring in the other ordinance: it is not yet done. *Sir, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Lisle, Sir Thomas Germaine, have been real friends to you in this businessse, and heartilie desire to have you seated, if possible, in their countrie.* Remember by the next to take notice hereof by letter unto them." The patent alluded to in this letter by St. John is no doubt explained by a previous resolution of the House, dated the 1st of December, 1645, and to be found in these words on the journals: "Resolved, that the title and dignity of a baron of the kingdom of England, with all rights, privileges, pre-eminencies, and precedencies to the said title and dignity belonging or appertaining, be conferred and settled on Lieutenant-general Oliver Cromwell, and the heirs male of his body; and that his majesty be desired in these propositions (for a piece) to grant and confer the said title and dignity upon him, and the heirs male of his body accordingly; and that it be referred to the former committee to consider of a fit way and manner for the perfecting thereof."

It does not fall within my purpose here to describe the long, the intricate, and not very interesting struggles which now took place between the Presbyterians and Independents for the custody of the person of the king, after the Scots had delivered him up once more into the power of the English commissioners. The civil strength of the Independents increased by the elections of Ireton, Ludlow, Sidney, Skippon, Hutchinson, and Blake—the wily advantage taken by Cromwell in the organization of the agitators—the scenes at Ware, and the seizure of the king by force, have already received incidental notice in the discussion of Cromwell's character and resources.

It will be sufficient to observe that, while Cromwell and Fairfax held Charles at Hampton Court, a vast variety of negotiations were opened with Cromwell by the king, and in the management of all he acted with the close counsel and assistance of his son-in-law Ireton. That a treaty was entered into by Charles with these generals—having for its basis his reinstatement on the throne, his surrender of his chief friends, his concession of every popular right, his wide and universal toleration in all matters of conscience, with, among other incidental conditions, the earldom of Essex, the garter, and the government of Ireland for Cromwell—is not disputed by any one; whether with any sincere purpose on the part of Cromwell, admits of most serious question; whether with any on the part of Charles, certainly admits of none. Here, as in all matters where what he supposed the prerogatives of his crown came in ques-

tion, Charles was hopelessly insincere. Mrs. Hutchinson would have us suppose that Cromwell and Ireton acted throughout in good faith, and were only turned against the king at last by the discovery of bad faith in him. "To speak the truth," she says, "of all, Cromwell was at this period so uncorruptly faithful to his trust and to the people's interest, that he could not be drawn into the practice of his own usual and natural dissimulations in this occasion. His son-in-law Ireton, that was as faithful as he, was not so fully of the opinion (till he found the contrary) but that the king might be managed to comply with the public good of his people after he could no longer uphold his own violent will; but upon some discourses, the king uttering these words to him, 'I shall play my game as well as I can,' Ireton replied, 'If your majesty have a game to play, you must give us also the liberty to play ours.'" This would lead us to conclude, however, that Cromwell had never very favourably listened to the proposed treaty.

Ominous symptoms of distrust in both Cromwell and Ireton were speedily detected by the king's attendants. "Being commanded," says Ashburnham, "by his majesty to desire from Cromwell and Ireton that hee might remove Stoaake to one of his owne houses, they told mee (with verie severe countenances) hee should go if hee pleased to Oatlands; but that they had mett with sufficient proof that the king had not only abetted and fomented the differences betweene them and their enemies, by commanding all his partie to take conditions under the (then) Parliament and citty, but that likewise hee had (at that instant) a treatie with the Scots, when hee made greatest profession to close with them; for the justification of which, they affirmed that they had both his and the queene's letters to make it good, which were greate allayes to their thoughts of serving him, and did verie much justifie the generall misfortune hee lived under of having the reputation of little faith in his dealings." And again, Ashburnham (whose intercourse with both Cromwell and the king was more free and unreserved than that of the other royal attendant Berkeley) tells us, that Cromwell, after the rejection of the proposals, professed himself still favourable to the king's restoration, but became more reserved and private, and that "he and Ireton withdrew themselves by degrees from the freedom of their wonted discourses of his majesty's recovery."

Those proposals\*—noble, and literal, and tolerant as they were—have been amply described and illustrated in the memoir of Mar-

\* I may mention, that during the negotiation of the "proposals," Fairfax obtained, with difficulty, the consent of the Parliament that the king should be allowed to see his children. The Dukes of York and Gloucester, aged respectively fourteen and seven, and the Princess Elizabeth, twelve years, met their father at Maidstone, and passed two days with him at Caversham. "The interview was so affecting that Cromwell, who was present, is said to have shed tears in describing it, and to have declared his commensurate to the most implicit faith in the goodness of the king." Cromwell's tears, as we have seen, were on every occasion ready and serviceable, and it is not possible to suppose real emotion here. Our masterly painter, Maclean, has hit the true thought in his noble expression, upon the face of Cromwell, of bold and resolute sagacity, touched with a forecast of the future, in his recent fine treatment of this extraordinary scene.

\* Winchester had married the half-sister of the Earl of Essex.



ten. After their rejection, no doubt Cromwell and Ireton felt the pressure of the army. From the memoirs of Berkeley, indeed, we distinctly learn that now the lieutenant-general absolutely affected to consider himself in danger, and requested that Berkely and Ashburnham would not repair so frequently and with so little disguise to his quarters. He still, indeed, declared his undiminished anxiety for an adjustment of all differences, imprecating on himself and his posterity the vengeance of heaven if he were not sincere in his endeavours to serve the king in that particular, but, at the same time, did not conceal his apprehensions in regard to the inconstancy of the army. Our former remarks on the character of the future lord-protector may possibly, in some sort, explain these apparent crafts and subtleties.

But now a decisive movement approached, which is thus curiously accounted for in the memoir prefixed to the State Letters of Orrery, better known by the name of Lord Broghill. It is a truly remarkable piece of secret history. "One time, particularly," says the writer, "in the year 1649, when Lord Broghill was riding, with Cromwell on one side of him, and Ireton on the other, at the head of their army, they fell into discourse about the late king's death. Cromwell declared, that if the king had followed his own mind, and had had trusty servants about him, he had fooled them all. And further said, that once they had a mind to have closed with him; but, upon something that happened, they fell off from their design again. My lord, finding Cromwell and Ireton in good humour, and no other person being within hearing, asked them if he might be so bold as to desire an account, 1st. Why they once would have closed with the king? and, 2dly. Why they did not? Cromwell very freely told him he would satisfy him in both his queries. The reason, says he, why we would once have closed with the king, was this: we found that the Scots and the Presbyterians began to be more powerful than we; and if they had made up matters with the king, we should have been left in the lurch; therefore, we thought it best to prevent them, by offering first to come in upon any reasonable conditions. But while we were busied with these thoughts, there came a letter from one of our spies, who was of the king's bedchamber, which acquainted us that on that day our doom was decreed; that he could not possibly tell what it was, but we might find it out if we could intercept a letter from the king to the queen, wherein he declared what he would do. The letter, he said, was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle, and the bearer of it would come with the saddle upon his head, about ten o'clock that night, to the Blue Boar inn in Holborn, for there he was to take horse and go to Dover with it. This messenger knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some persons in Dover did. We were at Windsor when we received the letter; and immediately upon the receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one trusty fellow with us, and with troopers' habits to go to the inn in Holborn, which accordingly we did, and set our man at the gate of the inn, where the wicket only was open, to let people in and out. Our man was to give us notice when a person came

there with a saddle, while we, in the disguise of common troopers, called for cans of beer, and continued drinking till about ten o'clock: the sentinel at the gate then gave notice that the man with the saddle was come in. Upon this we immediately rose, and, as the man was leading out his horse saddled, came up to him with drawn swords, and told him we were there to search all that went in and out; but as he looked like an honest man, we would only search his saddle, and so dismiss him. Upon that we ungirt the saddle, and carried it into the stall where we had been drinking, and left the horseman with our sentinel; then, ripping up one of the skirts of the saddle, we there found the letter of which we had been informed; and having got it into our hands, we delivered the saddle again to the man, telling him he was an honest man, and bidding him go about his business. The man, not knowing what had been done, went away to Dover. As soon as we had the letter we opened it, in which we found the king had acquainted the queen that he was now courted by both factions, the Scotch Presbyterians and the army, and which bid fairest for him should have him; but he thought he should close with the Scots sooner than the other, &c. Upon this, added Cromwell, we took horse and went to Windsor; and, finding we were not likely to have any tolerable terms from the king, we immediately, from that time forward, resolved his ruin."

This fatal letter, which, if this account is believed, may be said to have decided Charles's fate, is thus curiously described to us by the author of a work called Richardsoniana. "Lord Bolingbroke," he says, "told us [Mr. Pope, Lord Marchmont, and himself] that Lord Oxford had often told him that he had seen, and had in his hands, an original letter that King Charles I. wrote to the queen, in answer to one of hers that had been intercepted, and then forwarded to him, wherein she had reproached him for having made those villains too great concessions (viz., that Cromwell should be lord-lieutenant of Ireland for life without account; that that kingdom should be in the hands of the party, with an army there kept which should know no head but the lieutenant; that Cromwell should have a garter, &c.). That in this letter of the king's it was said that she should leave him to manage, who was better informed of all circumstances than she could be; but she might be entirely easy as to whatever concessions he should make them, for that he should know in due time how to deal with the rogues, who, instead of a silken garter, should be fitted with a hempen cord. So the letter ended: which answer, as they waited for, so they intercepted accordingly; and it determined his fate. This letter Lord Oxford said he had offered £500 for."

Whatever the actuating motives may have been—and perhaps, after all that has been said, the reader will have little difficulty in forming his conclusions of them—it is certain that affairs now took a gloomy turn for the king. Influenced by their own despair of Charles, or by the formidable attitude of the agitators (encouraged secretly, however, in their commencement by Cromwell), the great lieutenant-general and his son-in-law embarked with the extreme

Republicanism of the army. Ashburnham has noted it down as a memorable circumstance, that at this time it was that Cromwell discoursed earnestly and elaborately with Colonel Rich of the happiness which would be the lot of the people of England with such a government as the Netherland States-General—and no doubt with such a protector, or Prince of Orange, as Lieutenant-general Cromwell himself could have furnished!

Charles's last fatal step was his flight to Carisbrooke. But let him not be censured too harshly for this, since there is strong ground for supposing that Cromwell secretly instigated him to a movement of some kind. There is no doubt the flight was made in consequence of a letter he received, hinting that his life was in danger from the army agitators; and that Cromwell had written to the officer in command at Hampton Court, is manifest from what transpired during the examination of the latter at the bar of the House of Commons. Addressing the speaker, Colonel Whaley says, "You demand of me what that letter was that I showed the king the day he went away. The letter I shall show you; but, with your leave, I shall first acquaint you with the author, and the ground of my showing it to the king. The author is Lieutenant-general Cromwell; the ground of my showing it was this: the letter intimates some murderous design, or at least some fear of it, against his majesty. When I read the letter, I was much astonished, abhorring that such a thing should be done, or so much as thought of by any that bear the name of Christians. When I had shown the letter to his majesty, I told him I was sent to safeguard him, and not to murder him; I wished him to be confident no such thing should be done; I would first die at his feet in his defence; and therefore I showed it to him, that he might be assured, though menacing speeches came frequently to his ear, our general officers abhorred so bloody and so villanous an act."

While this is admitted, however, let us add, that there is no reason for supposing Hammond in any way suborned by Cromwell or Ireton to the part he played with his royal prisoner, though when they found their kinsman in possession of such a prize, it seems certain they resolved to make the best of it. Ashburnham has given a very curious letter from Cromwell to "Colonel Robert Hammond," evidently designed to overweigh some objections entertained by the latter to the justice of any resistance on the part of the army to the power of the majority in Parliament. The wily lieutenant-general resorts to his stronghold of providence and the providential, and justifies such a resistance in a particular case. "Was there not," he asks, "a little of this [the providential] when Robert Hammond, through dissatisfaction too, desired retirement from the army, and thought of quiet in the Isle of Wight?" He proceeds: "You say 'God had appointed authorities among the nations, to which active or passive obedience is to be yielded. This resides in England in the Parliament. Therefore, active or passive, &c.' Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God. This or that species is of human institution, and limited, some with larger, others with stricter bonds, each one ac-

cording to its constitution. I do not, therefore, think the authorities may do any thing, and yet such obedience due; but all agree, there are cases in which it is lawful to resist. If so, your ground fails, and so likewise the inference. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is, whether ours be such a case! This ingenuously is the true question. To this I shall say nothing, though I could say very much; but only desire thee to see what thou findest in thy own heart as to two or three plain considerations: 1st, Whether *salus populi* be a sound position? 2dly, Whether, in the way in hand, really and before the Lord, before whom conscience must stand, this be provided for; or the whole fruit of the war like to be frustrated, and all most like to turn to what it was, and worse! And this contrary to engagements, declarations, implicit covenants with those who ventured their lives upon those covenants and engagements, without whom, perhaps, in equity, relaxation ought not to be. 3dly, Whether this army be not a lawful power, called by God to oppose and fight *against the king* upon some *stated grounds*; and being in power to such ends; may not oppose *one name* of authority *for those ends as well as another*, the outward authority that called them not by their power making the quarrel lawful, *but it being so in itself*? If so, it may be, acting will be justified in *foro humano*."

Dear Robin's scruples, however, were likely to be better satisfied by a succeeding letter, announcing glorious news, and every way most characteristic of the writer. "DEAREST ROBIN, —Now (blessed be God) I can write, and thou receive freely. I never in my life sawe more deepe sense, and less will to shewe it unchristianly, than in that w<sup>ch</sup> thou diddest write to us at Windsor, and though in the midst of thy tentation, w<sup>ch</sup> indeed (by what wee understood of it) was a great one, and occasioned the greater by the letter the generall sent thee, of w<sup>ch</sup> thou wast not mistaken when *thou diddest challenge me to be the penner*. How good has God beene to dispose all to mercie; and although it was trouble for the present, yett Glorie is come out of it, for w<sup>ch</sup> wee praise the Lorde with thee and for thee; and truly the carriage has beene such as occasions much honour to the name of God and to religion. Goe on in the strength of the Lord, and the Lorde be still with thee. But (deere Robin) this businesse hath been (I trust) a mightie providence to this poore Kingdome, and to us all. The House of Comons is very sensible of the K<sup>e</sup> dealing, and of our Brethrens, in this late transaction. You should doe well (if you have anythings that may discover *juglinge*) to search it out and lett us knowe it; *it may be of admirable use at this time*, because wee shall (I hope) instantly goe upon businesses in relation to them, tendinge to prevent danger. The House of Comons has this day voted as follows: First, that they will make noe more addresses to the K. 2dly. None shall applie to him w<sup>thout</sup> leave of the two Houses, upon paine of beinge guiltie of high treason. 3dly. They will receive nothings from the Kinge, nor shall any other bringe anythings to them from him, nor receive anythings from the Kinge. Lastly, the Members of both Houses, who were of the Committee of both Kingdomes, are established

in all that power in themselves for England and Ireland w<sup>ch</sup> they had to act with both Kingdome, and Sr. John Evelin of Wilts is added in the roome of Mr. Recorder, and Rath. F. Fiennis in the roome of Sir Phillip Stapleton, and my Lorde of Kent in the roome of the Earl of Essex. *I think it good you take notice of this, the sooner the better. . . . Lett us knowe how it's with you in point of strength, and what you seeede from us: some of us thinke the Kinge well with you, and that it concerns us to keep that Island in great securitie, because of the French, &c. And if soe, where can the kinge be better? If you have more force, you will suer of full provision for them. The Lorde blesse thee: pray for thy deere friend and servant,*

"O. CROMWELL."

The debate referred to here had been a momentous one indeed, declaring openly the purpose of a republic, and the fate that impended over the king. Ireton spoke with a calm and deadly resolution. He said, "The king had denied the protection to the people which was the condition of obedience to him; that, after long patience, they should now, at last, show themselves resolute; that they should not desert the brave men—the many thousand godly men—who had fought for them beyond all possibility of retreat or forgiveness, and who would never forsake the Parliament, unless the Parliament first forsook them." "After some farther debate," says the author who has recorded these speeches, "Cromwell brought up the rear. 'It was time,' he said, 'to answer the public expectation, that *they were able and resolved to govern and defend the kingdom by their own power, and teach the people they had nothing to hope from a man whose heart God hardened in obduracy.*' 'Do not,' said he, after giving a flattering character of the army, whose valour and godliness he extolled in the highest degree, 'let the army think themselves betrayed to the rage and malice of an irreconcilable enemy, whom they have subdued for your sake, from whom they should meet revenge and justice; do not drive them to despair, lest they seek safety by other means than adhering to you, who will not stick to yourselves; and (*laying his hand on his sword*) how destructive such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge.'"

The resolutions for holding no more treaties with the king—in other words, for establishing a republic in England—passed by a majority of 141 to 92.

The immediate effect of this outside the House was startling, and considerable agitation appeared in various quarters. An alarming tumult in the city, in which the apprentices forced the guard, and ventured to engage the military under the command of the general, was quickly followed by similar disturbances in Norwich, Canterbury, Exeter, and several other places. At the same time, petitions from different public bodies poured into the two Houses, all concurring in the same prayer, that the army should be disbanded, and the king brought back. Even now some project of a despotism seemed dreaded. Cromwell and his friends, aware that it would not be in their power to control the city while their forces were employed in the field, withdrew their opposition

in the lower chamber so far as to permit the Presbyterian party to carry a vote that no change should be made in the fundamental government of the realm by king, Lords, and Commons; and on this ground the citizens declared themselves engaged to live and to die with the Parliament.\*

The "men of Kent," under Hales and Goring, had, meanwhile, encouraged by these city tumults, flown to arms, and engaged the troops commanded by Fairfax and Major-general Skippon. They were defeated, but the resolution with which they fought at Maidstone startled Cromwell into personal exertion once again on the field of battle. The Welsh had, at the same time, assembled under the banners of their chiefs; and Colonel Poyer, the governor of Pembroke Castle, an officer in the service of the Parliament, joined by Colonels Langhorne and Powell, had proclaimed Charles, and defied his enemies.

Several towns followed the example with which they were thus supplied, and in some skirmishes which followed, the advantage was on the side of the Royalists; but the approach of Cromwell at the head of a few regiments of veterans crushed the hopes of the insurgents. Having driven them within their walls, the lieutenant-general immediately invested Pembroke, resolved to carry the fortress in his usual manner by a spirited assault. His men, cheered by the presence of their invincible leader, and inflamed by the fanatical discourses of Hugh Peters, "dashed into the ditch, ascended the ramparts, and were about to throw themselves upon the garrison," whom they had hoped to find unprepared, when, on a sudden, they were attacked with the utmost fury, and, after a sanguinary conflict amid the darkness and confusion of night, compelled to return to their camp considerably diminished in number. For two months the castle held out, and then surrendered under circumstances which left no hope of mercy. Yet Cromwell was not unmerciful. Langhorne, Poyer, and Powell were condemned to death as traitors. After several months' imprisonment, it was ordered that one only, to be determined by lot, should suffer. The lot fell upon Poyer, and he was executed.

Cromwell's amazingly watchful activity at this time may be well illustrated by a letter of his (in the British Museum), addressed to some officers in the Welsh counties. It tells its own story: "I send," he says, "this enclosed by itself, because it's of greater moment. The other you may communicate to Mr. Rumsey as far as you thinke fitt, and I have written. I would not have him or other honest men be discouraged that I thinke it not fitt at present to enter into contests; it will be good to yeeld a little for publike advantage, and truly that is my end, wherein I desire you to satisfie them. . . . I have sent, as my letter mentions, to have you remove out of Brecknoksheire, indeed into that part of Glamorgansheire w<sup>ch</sup> lyeth next Munmouthsheire, for this end. . . . Wee have plaine discoveries that Sir Trevor Williams, of Langevie, about two miles from Uske, in the countie of Munmouth, was

\* Lingard, vol. x.

very deepe in the plott of betrayinge Chepstowe Castle, soe that wee are out of doubt of his guiltinesse thereof. . . I doe hereby authorize you to seize him, as also the high sheriffe of Munmouth, Mr. Morgan, whoe was in the same plott. . . But because Sir Trevor Williams is the more dangerous man by farr, I would have you to seize him first, and the other will easilie be had. To the end you may not be frustrated, and that you be not deceived, I thinke fitt to give you some characters of the man, and some intimations how thinges stand. He is a man (as I am informed) full of craft and subtiltie, very boult and resolute, hath a house at Langevie well stored with armes, and very stronge, his neighbours about him very malignant and much for him, whoe are apt to rescue him if apprehended, much more to discover anythinge wh<sup>ch</sup> may prevent it. He is full of iealosie, partly out of guilt, butt much more because he doubts some that were in the businesse have discovered him, which indeed they have, and alsoe because he knowes that his servant is brought hither, and a minister to be examined here, whoe are able to discover the whole plott. If you should march directly into that countie and neer him, it's odds he either fortifies his house, or gives you the slip, soe alsoe if you should goe to his house and not finde him there, or if you attempt to take him and misse to effect it, or if you make any known enquirie after him, it will be discovered. . . Wherefore to the first you have a faire pretence of goinge out of Brecknokshire to quarter about Newport and Carleon, which is not above 4 or 5 miles from his house. You may send to Col. Herbert, whose house lyeth in Munmouthshire, whoe will certaintie acquainte you where he is. You are alsoe to send to Capt. Nicolas, whoe is at Chepstowe, to require him to assiste you if he should gett into his house, and stand upon his guard. Sam. Jones, whoe is quarterm<sup>r</sup> to Col. Herbert's troupe, will be very assistinge to you if you send to him to meete you at your quarters, both by lettinge you knowe where he is, and alsoe in all matters of intelligence. If their shall be neede, Capt. Burge his troupe, now quarteringe in Glamorgansheire, shall be directed to receive orders from you. You perceive by all this that wee are (it may be) a little too much sollicitous in this businesse; it's our fault; and, indeed, such a temper causeth us often to overact businesse, wherefore without more adoe wee leave it to you, and you to the guidance of God herein, and rest yours, O CROMWELL. . . If you seize him, bring & lett him be brought with a strong guard to me. If Capt. Nicolas should light on him at Chepstowe, doe you strengthen him with a good guard to bring him. . . If you seize his person, disarme his house, butt lett not his armes be imbeziled. . . If you need Capt. Burge his troupe, it quarters betweene Newport and Cardiffe."

Then followed the Presbyterian invasion by the Covenanters' army of the Scots, and the regular commencement of the second civil war. Cromwell, advised of this, at once put his forces in motion to join Lambert in the north, and give the Covenanters battle. He did this, it may be supposed, with especial zeal, and the

battle of Preston, fought August 17th. 1648, threw both kingdoms into the hands of the Republicans. The Scots, who found some difficulty in comprehending that Cromwell was not still in Wales" (with such rapacity had he approached), even by this their decursive overthrow in Lancashire, were commanded by Duke Hamilton; the English, who aided with them, by the same Sir Marmaduke Langdale whom Cromwell had beaten at Naseby. Their armies together numbered 21,000; the force under Cromwell, including Lambert's, which had effected a junction with him on his approach, did not in all, according to Whitelocke, exceed 8600. Nothing but the event could have justified the instant assault of the Royalists with this vast disparity of force. But the bigotry of the Scots gave Cromwell an advantage which he had no doubt well calculated on: "their sectarian hatred of the Cavalier army, notwithstanding their engagement in the same cause, leading them to withhold their support from their English allies, when the latter were separately attacked;"\* and their own perfect overthrow justly and most retributively followed. As to the north countrymen under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Cromwell confessed that never had he seen foot fight so desperately as they. But nothing could withstand the furious charges of Cromwell and his old gallant Ironsides. Two thousand men were slain in the battle, and as many prisoners taken by the Republicans (including the Duke of Hamilton himself, the leader of the confederates) as exceeded in number their own entire army.

On the 20th of August, Cromwell wrote to the speaker of the House of Commons a most striking despatch of this battle. "After the conjunction of that party," he begins, "which I brought with me out of Wales with the northern forces about Knareborough and Wetherby, hearing that the enemy was advanced with their army into Lancashire, we came the 6th instant to Hodder Bridge, over Ribble, where we had a council of war, and upon advertisement the enemy intended southward, and since

\* This is alleged in various authorities. The rage of the Cavaliers knew no bounds, as may be seen in the following extract from the Parliament Porter: "Nothing is heard now among the brethren but triumph and joy, singing and mirth, for their happy success (thanks to the devil first, and next to Nell Cromwell's nose) against the Scots, whom they vaunt they have beaten to dust. The truth is, even Duke Hamilton himself was corrupted with money: why else did he deliver 5000 foot and 3000 horse unto the command of Major-gen. Baile, a sworn servant of the Kirkmen of Scotland, who surrendered them all up into the hands of Cromwell, without striking one stroke? The truth is, the Scots army is totally routed (so great are our sins, and so fierce is the wrath of the Almighty against us). Duke Hamilton being besieged in the town of Uttoxeter, was forced to yield himself and the small handful with him; and as if the devil had got to himself the sole sway of mundane affairs, the most valiant and heroic knight, Sir Marmaduke, was unluckily surprised, with some other worthy Loyalists, as they were sitting in a blind alehouse, where they enjoyed themselves secure, and carried prisoners to Nottingham Castle. But Monro, one of the best soldiers in Christendom, is coming on with a powerful army, to give Nell Cromwell another field fight. He hath sent to the estates of Scotland, imploring them for a recruit both of men and money, which they have ordered him; the renowned Earl of Callender, with some troops of horse, is escaped to him, with whom he hath united his remnant: if Cromwell can shatter this army also, he will prove himself one of the most fortunate villains that ever acted mischief. He will find hard play here, for these will not be laughed out of their loyalty, nor frightened out of themselves with the blarney of his beacon nose."—*Parl. Port.*, Aug. 28 to Sept. 4, 1648

confirmed that they resolved for London itself, and information that the Irish forces, under Monro, lately come out of Ireland, which consisted of 1200 horse and 1500 foot, were on their march towards Lancaster, to join with them, it was thought that to engage the enemy to fight was our business, and accordingly we marched over the bridge that night, and quartered the whole army in the fields. Next morning we marched towards Preston, having intelligence that the enemy was drawing together thereabouts from all his out-quarters. *We drew out a forlorn of about 200 horse and 400 foot: these gallantly engaged the enemy's scouts and outguards until we had opportunity to bring up our whole army.* So soon as our foot and horse were come up, we resolved that night to engage them if we could, and therefore advancing with our forlorns, and putting the rest of the army into as good a posture as the ground would bear (which was totally inconvenient for our horse, being all enclosure, and miry ground), *we pressed upon them through a lane, forced them from their ground after four hours' dispute, until we came to the town, into which four troops of my regiment first entered, and being well seconded by Col. Harrison's regiment, charged the enemy in the town, and cleared the streets.* At the last the enemy was put into disorder, many men slain, many prisoners taken; the duke, with most of the Scots horse and foot, retreated over the bridge, where, after a very hot dispute betwixt the Lancashire regiments, *part of my lord-general's and them being at push of pike,* they were beaten from the bridge, and our horse and foot following them, killed many, and took divers prisoners, and we possessed the bridge over Darwent, and a few houses there; the enemy being drawn up within musket shot of us, where we lay that night, we not being able to attempt further upon the enemy, the night preventing us. In this posture did the enemy and we lie the most part of that night. Upon our entering the town, many of the enemy's horse fled towards Lancaster, in the chase of whom went divers of our horse, who pursued them near ten miles, and had execution of them, and took about 500 horse, and many prisoners. We possessed in the fight very much of the enemy's ammunition. I believe they lost 4 or 5000 arms; the number of slain we judge to be about 1000; the prisoners we took were about 4000. In the night they marched away 7 or 8000 foot, and about 4000 horse; we followed them with about 3000 foot, and about 2500 horse and dragoons; and in this prosecution, that worthy gentleman, Col. Thornhaugh, pressing too boldly, was slain, being run into the body, and thigh, and head by the enemy's lancers. Our horse still prosecuted the enemy, killing and taking divers all the way; but by that time our army was come up, they recovered Wiggon, before we could attempt anything upon them. We lay that night in the field, close by the enemy, *being very dirty and weary,* where we had some skirmishing, &c. We took Major-general Van Druske, Col. Hurrey, and Lieut.-col. Ennis. The next morning the enemy marched towards Warrington, made a stand at a pass near Winwick; we held them in some dispute until our army was come up, they maintaining the pass with great

resolution for many hours, but our men, by the blessing of God, *charged very home upon them,* beat them from their standing, where we killed about 1000 of them, and took (as we believe) about 2000 prisoners, and prosecuted them home to Warrington town, where they possessed the bridge. As soon as we came thither, I received a message from Lieut.-gen. Bailly, desiring some capitulation, to which I yielded; gave him these terms: That he should surrender himself, and all his officers, and prisoners of war, with all his arms, and ammunition, and horses, upon quarter for life, which accordingly is done. Here we took about 4000 complete arms, and as many prisoners, and thus you have their infantry ruined. The duke is marched with his remaining horse, which are about 3000, towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the country have taken about 500 of them; the country will scarce suffer any of my men to pass, but bring them in and kill divers, as they light upon them. I have sent post to my Lord Grey, to Sir Henry Cholmeley, and Sir Edward Roads, to gather all together with speed for their prosecution. Monro is about Cumberland, with the horse that ran away, and his Irish horse and foot, but I have left a considerable strength I hope to make resistance till we can come up to them. Thus you have the narrative of the particulars of the success. *I could hardly tell how to say less, there being so much of God, and I was not willing to say more, lest there should seem to be anything of man.* Only give me leave to add one word, showing the disparity of the forces on both sides, that so you may see, and all the world acknowledge, the great hand of God in this business. The Scots army could not be less than 12,000 foot, well armed, and 5000 horse; Langdale not less than 2500 foot and 1500 horse; in all, 21,000. Ours, in all, about 8600. And by computation, about 2000 of the enemy slain, betwixt 8000 and 9000 prisoners, besides what are lurking in hedges and private places, which the country daily bring in or destroy.<sup>1</sup> The force, precision, and graphic beauty of this description could not possibly be excelled.

And now Cromwell, following up his blow, marched on for Scotland\* to extinguish all tra-

\* On the eve of marching from Berwick, he wrote again to the House: "A letter was this day read in the House from Lieut.-gen. Cromwell, out of Scotland, the most material part we will give you as followeth: 'Upon Friday, Sept. 29, came an order from the Earl of Lanerock, and divers Lords of his party, requiring the Governour of Berwick to marche out of the Town, which accordingly he did on Saturday, Sept. 30, at which time I entered, having placed a garrison there for your use. The Governour would faine have capitulated for the English, but wee having this advantage upon him, would not hear of it, soe that they are submitted to your mercie, and are under the consideration of Sir Arthur Haslerigge, whose (I believe) will give you a good account of them, and whose hath already turned out the malignant Major, and putt an honest man in his room. I have also received an Order for Carlisle, and have sent Col. Bright, with Horse and Foot, to receive it; Sir Andrew Car and Col. Scot being gone with him to require an observance of the Order, there havinge beene a treaty and an agreement betwixt the two parties in Scotland to disband all forces, except fifteen hundred horse and foot, under the Earl of Leven, which are to be kept to see all remaininge forces disbanded: and havinge some other things to desire from the Committee of estates at Edinburgh for your service, I am myselfe going thitherward this day, and soe soon as I shall be able to give you a further Account thereof, I shall doe it. In the mean time, I make it my care that the Garrison of Berwick (into which I have put a Regiment of foot, and shall be attended alone by

ees of Hamilton's party, and on his march preserved such remarkable discipline, that never, according to the Scotch, had they "seen such a civil people in all their days." Better evidence of this, however, will not be asked than what is offered by the following truly admirable proclamation: "Whereas wee are marching with the Parliament's Armie into the Kingdome of Scotland, in pursuance of the remaining part of the Enemy whoe lately invaded the Kingdome of England, and for the recoverie of the Garisons of Berwick and Carlisle, these are to declare, that if any officer or souldier under my Command shall take, or demand any monie, or shall violently take any horses, goods, or victuall without Order, or shall abuse the People in any sort, He shall be tryed by a Councell of War, and the said person so offending shall be punished according to the Articles of War, made for the Government of the Armie in the Kingdome of England, which is death. Each Colonel, or other chiefe Officer in every Regiment, is to transcribe the Copie of this, and to cause the same to be delivered to each Captain of his regiment; and every said Captain of each respective troupe and companie is to publish the same to his Troupe or Companie, and to take a strict course that nothing be done contrary hereunto. Given under my hand, this 20th Sept., 1638. CROMWELL."

Arrived at Edinburgh, the victorious general was received with enthusiasm, and even called "the deliverer of the kirk." He conferred with commissioners, had visits from the provost and Scottish nobles, and received gorgeous entertainments at the public cost. General Leven, the Lord Argyle, and several other noblemen, invited him and his suite to a sumptuous banquet in the castle just before his departure; and, adds Whitelocke, when he left the place, the majestic fortress saluted him with its great guns, and numerous lords convoyed him beyond the city precincts.

Cromwell's return to the capital settled the fate of Charles. Yet he had not returned without one frightful dash of gloom pervading all his glory. In one of the closing skirmishes of the campaign he had lost his eldest son, Oliver,\*

ment of Horse) may be provided for, and that Sir Arthur Haslerigge may receive commands to supply it with guns and ammunition from Newcastle, and be otherwise enabled by you to furnish this Garizon with all other necessaries, accordinge as a place of that importance will require. Desiring that these mercies may begett trust and thankfulness to God, the only Author of them, and an improvement of them to his glorie and the Good of this poor Kingdome. I rest your most humble Servant, O. CROMWELL. Berwick, 2d October, 1648."—*Perf. Diar.*, Oct. 9-16, 1648.

"This young man," says Noble, in his *Memoirs of the Protectoral House*, "was, at the breaking out of the civil war, about nineteen, soon after which, by his father's interest, he procured a commission in the Parliament army; and it is certain that *this* Oliver was a captain so early as April, 1643, for a soldier going to burn a MS. relating to the antiquities of Peterborough, where the soldiers, under his father, were making great devastation, especially in the painted glass in the Cathedral, at which the elder Oliver wept, Mr. Hustin redeemed the MS. for ten shillings, and persuaded the soldier to write the following acknowledgment: 'I pray let this scripture book alone, for he hath paid me for it; and therefore I would desire you to let it alone, by me Henry Topclyffe, souldier under Captain Cromwell, Colonel Cromwell's son, therefore I pray let it alone, Henry Topclyffe, April 22, 1643.' As a further proof of this, Lilburne, the factious, accuses Oliver, his father, in 1647, with having several relations in the army; and among others, two of his own sons, one a captain of the general's life-guard, the other a captain of a troop of horse

who held a commission of captain in the regiment of horse commanded by Harrison. This young man appears to have possessed, with Henry, the greatest share of his father's respect and confidence—all his children had his love—and was remembered by him in his dying hour, when his mind seemed wandering for the Protectorate's successor.

Richard was now Cromwell's eldest son. He was not in the army, though he accepted a nominal commission under the Protectorate. If it is within the limit of probability that the triumphant soldier meditated, even thus early, any seizure of the supreme power, it must have added to his grief in losing the first-born of his children, to reflect that his heir now was an idle youth, given to somewhat dissolute gayeties, suspected, moreover, of Royalist prejudices, and without a particle of vigour or firmness about him.

A negotiation for the marriage of Richard with the daughter of a Mr. Major (the representative of an old and wealthy family of Hampshire, and himself high sheriff of that county in 1640) had been broken off, for some unexplained reason, before the campaign of the second civil war, resumed after its close, again broken off on a question of pecuniary settlement, and again, within a year of the present time, renewed. I have found Cromwell's own letters relating to it, and they exhibit this extraordinary man in so striking and characteristic an attitude among his family, that it is difficult to understand why they should hitherto have been so strangely neglected by his biographers.

The first of these letters is dated on the 26th of February, 1647, and addressed to a friend, "idle Dick Norton," a colonel in his army, and a man evidently endeared to him by many affectionate ties, notwithstanding idleness and apparently reckless habits. "DEAR NORTON,—I have sent my sonn over to thee, beinge willinge to answear Providence, and although I confesse I have had an offer of a very great proposition from a father of his daughter, yett truely I rather encline to this in my thoughts, because, though the other be very farr greater, yett I see different tyes, and not that assurance of godlinesse, yett indeede fairnesse. I confesse that which is tould me concerninge the estate of Mr. M. is more than I can looke for as thinges now stand. . . . If God please to bring it about, the consideration of pietie in the parents, and such hopes of the gentlewoman in that respect, make the businesse to me a great mercie, concerning wch I desier to waite upon God. . . . I am confident of thy love, and desier thinges may be carried with privacie. The Lorde doe his

in Col. Harrison's regiment; both, says Lilburne, raw and unexperienced soldiers. It is well known that Rich., his then second son, was not designed for the sword, but the bar, and had no commission in the army until long after his father had been declared Protector, so that the sons of Oliver then in the army must be this gentleman and Henry his brother; but it is observable that Henry, who certainly was captain of the life-guard, is mentioned first. Scarce any author notices this son Oliver at all, and none, that I know of, has given us any account of what became of him. He was killed in July, 1648, in attempting to repulse the Scotch army that invaded England under the Duke of Hamilton, at which time Col. Harrison was wounded: the latter circumstance clearly evinces that it was him who was killed, as he is just above mentioned as being a captain in Harrison's regiment."

will, that's best, to w<sup>ch</sup> submitting, I rest your humble servant,  
O. CROMWELL."

This refers to the opening of the negotiation. Mr. Major appears to have broken it off, however, for some secret reason of objection. A year after overtures began again, "Mr. Robinson, a preacher at Southampton," having been apparently selected for the purpose, either by the still love-sick Richard, or by the second and wiser thoughts of Mr. Major himself. To Mr. Robinson, Cromwell thus writes on the 1st of February, 1648.

"S<sup>a</sup>,—I thanke you for your kinde letter. As to the businesse you mention, I desire to use this plainnesse with you. When the last overture was betwene me and Mr. Major, by the mediation of Coll. Norton, after the meetinge I had with Mr. Major at Farnham, I desired the Coll. (findinge, as I thought, some scruples and hesitation in Mr. Major) to knowe of him whether his minde was free to the thinge or not. Coll. Norton gave me this accompt, that Mr. Major, by reason of some matters as they then stood, was not very free thereunto, whereupon I did acquiesce, submitting to the providence of God. Upon your revivinge of the businesse to me, & your letter, I thinke fitt to returne you this answer, & to say in plainnesse of spirit to you, That upon your testimonie of the gentlewoman's worth & the common reporte of the pietie of the familie, I shall be willinge to entertaine the renewinge of the motion upon such considerations as may be to mutuall satisfaction, only I thinke that a speedie resolution will be very convenient to both parties. The Lorde direct all to his glory. I desier your prayers therein, and rest your very affectionate friend,  
O. CROMWELL."

And eleven days after, I find the following letter written to Mr. Major himself, describing passages of the interval. "S<sup>a</sup>,—I received some intimations formerly, & by the last returne from Southampton a letter from Mr. Robinson, concerninge the revivinge the last yeare's motion touching my sonn and your daughter. Mr. Robinson was alsoe pleased to send inclosed in his a letter from you to him, bearinge date the 5<sup>th</sup> of this instant February, wherein I finde your willingnesse to entertaine any good meanes for the compleatinge of that businesse. From whence I take encouragement to send my sonn to wayte upon you, & by him to lett you knowe that my desiers are (if Providence soe dispose) very full & free to the thinge, if upon an interviewe they prove alsoe a freedome in the younge persons thereunto. What libertie you will give heerein I wholly submit to you. I thought fitt, in my letter to Mr. Robinson, to mention somewhat of expedition, *because indeed I knowe not how soone I may be called into the feild*, or other occasions may remove me from hence, havinge for the present some libertie of stay in London. The Lorde direct all to his glorie. I rest, S<sup>r</sup>, your very humble servant, O. CROMWELL."

Again, to his "very worthie friend" Mr. Major, on the 26th of February, the lieutenant-general writes yet more characteristically. "S<sup>a</sup>,—I received yours by Mr. Stapleton, together with an account of the kinde reception & the many civilities afforded them, especially to my sonn in the libertie given him to wayte upon your worthie daughter, the report of whose

vertue and godlinesse has soe great a place in my harte that I thinke fitt not to neglect any thinge on my parte which may conduce to consummate a close of the businesse, if God please to dispose the younge ones' hartes thereunto, & other suitable orderinge affaires towards mutuall satisfaction appeare in the dispensation of Providence. For which purpose, and to the end matters may be brought to as neer an issue as they are capable of (not being at libertie, by reason of publique occasions, to wayte upon you, nor, as I understand, your health permitting), I thought fitt to send this gentleman, Mr. Stapleton, instructed with my minde to see how neer wee may come to an understandinge one of another therein; & although I could have wished the consideration of thinges had benee between us two, it beinge of soe neer concernement, yet Providence for the present not allowinge, I desier you to give him credence on my behalfe. S<sup>r</sup>, all thinges which your selfe & I had in conference at Farnham doe not occur to my memorie thorough multiplicitie of businesse interveninge, I hope I shall, with a very free harte, testifie my readinesse to that which may be expected from me. I have noe more at present, butt desiringe the Lorde to order this affair to his glory & the comfort of his servants, I rest, S<sup>r</sup>, your humble servant, O. CROMWELL."

Negotiations thicken, and Cromwell appears somewhat shrewd and calculating, and conveniently forgetful, in his next missive, dated the 8th of March, 1648, to his "worthie friend" Mr. Major.

"S<sup>a</sup>,—Yours I have received, & have given further instructions to this bearer, Mr. Stapleton, to treat with you about the businesse in agitation betwene your daughter and my sonn. I am 'ingag'd to you for all your civilities, & respects already manifested. I trust there will be a right understandinge betwene us and a good conclusion; and though I cannot particularly remember the thinges spoken off at Farnham, to which your letter seemes to referre me, yett I doubt not butt I have sent the offer of such thinges now, which will give mutuall satisfaction to us both. My attendance upon publique affairs will not give me leave to come downe unto you my selfe. I have sent unto you this gentleman with my mind. I salute M<sup>r</sup>. Major, though unknowne, with the rest of your family. I commit you, with the progresse of the businesse, to the Lorde, and rest, S<sup>r</sup>, your assured friend to serve you, O. CROMWELL."

The next letter, after an interval of eight days, is a long one, and shows that the lieutenant-general arranged a marriage for his son as he would have manœuvred a battle for the Commonwealth. It is scrawled over, in what seems to be Mr. Major's handwriting, "L. G. Cromwell's letter of exceptions," and truly very formidable exceptions they are, and put with an air of probably unconscious egotism, as though his conveniences should, as a matter of course, be paramount.

"S<sup>a</sup>,—I received your paper by the bandes of Mr. Stapleton. I desier your leave to returne my dissatisfaction therewith. I shall not neede to premise how much I have desired (I hope upon the best groundes) to match with you; the same desier still continues in me, if Providence see it fitt. Butt I may not be soe much

wantings to myselve nor familie as not to have some equalitie of consideration towards it. *I have two younge daughters to bestowe, if God give them life and oportunitie.\** Accordinge to your offer, I have nothings for them, nothinge at all in hand. If my sonn dye, what consideration is there to me? And yett a jouncture parted with, if she dye there is little, if you have an heire male then butt £3000 without tyme ascertained. Butt for theise thinges, I doubt not butt one interview betweene you and myselve they might be accomodated to mutual satisfaction, and in relation to theise I thinke wee should hardlie part, or have many wordes, soe much doe I desier a closure with you. Butt, to deale freely with you, the settinge of the manor of Hursley, as you propose, it stickes soe much with me, that either I understand you not, or else it much failes my expectation. As you offer it here is £400 per annum charged upon it. For the £150 to your ladie for a life as jouncture I stick not at that, butt the £250 per annum until Mr. Ludlow's lease expires, the tenure wherof I knowe not, and soe much of the £250 per annum as exceeds that lease in annual valew for some time alsoe after the expiration of the 4<sup>th</sup> lease, gives such a maim to the manor of Hursley as indeed renders the rest of the manor very inconsiderable. Sr, if I concur to denie myselve in point of present monies, as alsoe in the other thinges mentioned as aforesaid, I may and I doe expect the manor of Hursley to be settled without any charge upon it after your decease, savinge your ladie's jouncture of £150 per annum, which if you should thinke fitt to increase I should not stand upon it. Your own estate is best known to you; but surelie your personall estate beinge free for you to dispose, will, with some small matter of addition, begett a neernesse of equalitie, if I heare well from others; and if the difference in that were not very considerable, I should not insist upon it. What you demand of me is very high in all pointes. I am willinge to settle as you desier in everythinge, savinge for present maintenance £400 per annum. £300 per annum I would have somewhat free to be thanked by them for. The £300 per annum of my ould land, for a jouncture after my wife's decease, I shall settle, and in the mean time, out of other landes at your election, and truely, Sr, if that be not good, nor will any landes I doubt. I doe not much distrust your principles in other thinges have acted you towards confidence. You demand, in case my sonn have none issue male, butt only daughters, then the lands in Hantsheire, Munmouth, and Gloucestersheire to descend to the daughters, or £3000 apeice. The first would be most unequal, the latter is too high. They will be well provided for by beinge inheritrixes to their mother, and I am willinge to £2000 apeice to be charged upon those landes. Sr, I cannot butt with very many thankes acknowledge your good opinion of me and of my sonn, as alsoe your great civilities towards him, and your daughter's good respects (whose goodnesse, though known to me only at such a distance by the report of others) I much valew, and, indeed, that causeth me soe cheerfully to denie

\* His second daughter, Elizabeth, had recently married Claypole, a man of Royalist propensities.

myselve as I doe in the point of monies, and soe willinglie to complie in other thinges. Butt if I should not insist as before, I should in a greater measure denie both my owne reason and the advise of my friends than were meete; which I may not doe. Indeed, Sr, *I have not closed with a farr greater offer of estate, butt rather chose to fix heere.* I hope I have not beene wanting to Providence in this. I have made myselve plaine to you, desiringe you will make my sonn the messenger of your pleasure and resolution herein as speedilie as with conveniency you may. I take leave, and rest, your affectionate servant, O. CROWWELL. I desier my service may be presented to your ladie and daughters."

The interview followed, Mr. Major no doubt supposing that anything would be preferable to letters of this sort. The interview seems to have been only partially satisfactory, however, and in the next letter of the series, to his friend Norton, there is a curious allusion to some personal objections to himself which Mr. Major would appear to have urged. The date of this is the 28th of March, 1648.

"DEERE DICK,—It had beene a favour indeed to have mett you heere at Farnham, butt I heare you are a man of great businesse!... Therefore I say noe more. If it be a favour to the House of Comons to enjoy you, what is it to me? Butt, in good earnest, when wi... you and your brother Russell be a lit... honest, and attend your charge surelie so... expect it, especially the good fellows wh... chose you... I have mett w<sup>th</sup> Mr. Major; we spent two or 3 howers together last night. I perceive the gentleman is very wise and honest, and, indeed, much to be valewed. *Some thinges of common fame did a little stick.* I gladlie heard his doubts, and gave such answer as was next at hand, I beleive to some satisfaction. *Nevertheless, I exceedingly liked the gentleman's plainnesse and free dealinge w<sup>th</sup> me.* I knowe God has beene above all ill reports, and will in his own time vindicate me. *I have noe cause to complain.* I see nothinge butt that this particular businesse betweene him and me may goe on. The Lorde's will be donn. For newes out of the north there is little, only the Mal. partie is prevailinge in the Par<sup>l</sup> of S. They are earnest for a warr; the ministers oppose, as yett... Mr. Marshall is returned, whoe says soe; and soe doe many of our letters. Their great committee of dangers have 2 malig. for ooe right. It's sayd they have voted an armie of 40,000 in Par<sup>l</sup>: soe some of yesterday's letters. Butt I account my newes ill bestowed, *because upon an idle person.*... I shall take speedy course in the businesse concerninge my tenants, for w<sup>ch</sup> thankes, my service to your ladie, I am really your affectionate servant, O. CROWWELL."

A second letter to Norton, dated the 2d of April, 1648, put a second period to these laborious negotiations. A supplementary interview, less successful than the first, is here described, with various points of an extremely interesting kind. Never, surely, did the ministers of a crowned head look so carefully about them in diplomatizing an affair of marriage. There is again in this letter a tone of strong personal exaction, of which the writer might or might not have been conscious. "DEERE NORTON,—I



could not in my last give you a perfect accompt of what passed betwene me and Mr. M., because wee were to have a conclusion of our speed that morning after I wrote my letter to you, which wee had, and having had a full interview of one another's mindes, wee parted with this, that both would consider with our relations, and accordinge to satisfactions given there, acquaint each other with our mindes. . . I cannot tell how better to doe it, to receive or give satisfaction, than by you, whoe (as I remember) in your last said that if thinges did stick betwene us, you would use your endeavour towards a close. . . The thinges insisted upon were theise (as I take it). Mr. Major desired 400 p. annum of inheritance lyinge in Cambridgesheire and Norfolk, to be presently settled, and to be for maintenance, wherein I desired to be advised by my wife. . . I offered the land in Hampshire for present maintenance, w<sup>ch</sup> I dare say, with copses and ordinarie fells, will be *communibus annis* £500 p. annum, besides £500 per annum in tenant's handes holdinge butt for one life, and about £300 p. ann., some for two lives, some for three lives. Butt as to this, if the latter be not liked of, I shall be willing a farther conference he had in the first. . . In point of jouncture I shall give satisfaction. And as to the settlement of landes given me by the Par<sup>mt</sup>, satisfaction to be given in like manner, accordinge as wee discoursed. . . In what else was demanded of me, I am willing (so farr as I remember any demand was) to give satisfaction. . . Only I havinge bene informed by Mr. Robinson that Mr. Major did upon a former match offer to settle the manor wherein he lived, and to give £2000 in monie, I did insist upon that, and doe desire it may not be with difficultie. *The monie I shall neede for my two little wenches, and therby I shall free my sonn from beinge charged with them.* Mr. Major parts w<sup>th</sup> nothing in present but that monie, savinge their board, w<sup>ch</sup> I shoulde not be unwillinge to give them to enjoy the comfort of their societie, w<sup>ch</sup> it's reason he smarte for, if he will robb me altogether of them. Truly the land to be settled, both what the Par<sup>mt</sup> gives me and my owne, is very little lesse than £3000 per annum, all thinges considered, if I be rightly informed. And a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn havinge searched all the Marquisse of Worcester's writings w<sup>ch</sup> were taken at Ragland and sent for by the Par<sup>mt</sup>, and this gentleman appointed by the committee to search the sayd writings, assures me there is noe scruple concerninge the title; and it soe fell out that this gentleman whose searched was my owne lawyer, a very godly, able man, and my deere friend, w<sup>ch</sup> I reckon noe small mercie. He is also possesst of the writings for me. . . I thought fitt to give you this account, desiringe you to make such use of it as God shall direct you, and I doubt not butt you will doe the part of a friend betwene two friends. I account myseffe one, and I have heard you say Mr. Major was entirely soe to you. What the good pleasure of God is I shall waite; there is onely rest. Present my service to your ladie, to Mr. Major, et. I rest your affectionate servant, O. CROMWELL. I desier you to carrie this businesse with all privacie. I beseeche you to doe soe, as you love me. Let me entreat you not to lose a day

herein, that I may knowe Mr. Major's minde, for I thinke I may be at leizure for a weeke to attende this businesse to give and take satisfaction, from w<sup>ch</sup>, perhaps, I may be shutt up afterwards by employment. *I knowe thou art an idle fellowe, butt prithe neglect me not now.* Delay may be very inconvenient to me. I much relie upon you. Lett me heare from you in two or 3 days. I confesse the principall consideration as to me is the absolute settlement of the manor where he lives, w<sup>ch</sup> he would doe butt conditionally in case he prove to have noe sonn, and but £3000 in case he have a sonn. Butt as to this I hope farther reason may worke him to more."

But now, on the return from the second civil war, the young people appear to have lost none of their liking for each other, and Mr. Major has opened negotiations once more. Cromwell answers on the 25th of March, 1649, and though his words are fair, not less distressingly minute than ever does Mr. Major find him in the realities. "S<sup>a</sup>.—You will pardon the brevities of these lines; the haste I am in by reason of businesses occasions it. To testifie the earnest desier I have to see a happy period to this treatie betwene us, I give you to understand that I agree to £150 pr. annum out of the £300 pr. annum of my ould land for your daughter's jouncture over the £150 where you please. . . £400 pr. annum for present maintenance where you shall choose, either in Hantsheire, Gloucester, or Munmouthsheire. . . Those landes settled upon my sonn and his heires male by your daughter, and in case of daughters only £2000 apeice charged upon those landes. . . £400 per annum free to raise portions for my two daughters. I expect the manor of Hursley to be settled upon your eldest daughter and her heires, the heires of her bodie. . . Your ladie a jouncture of £150 per annum out of it. . . For compensation to your younger daughter, I agree to leave it in your power, after your decease, to charge it with as much as will buye in the lease of the Farme at Allington by a just computation. . . I expect, soe long as they live with you, their diet as you expressed, or, in case of voluntarie partinge, £150 pr. annum; £3000 in case you have a sonn, to be payed in two yeares next followinge. . . In case your daughter die without issue, £1000 within six months. Sr, if this satisfie, I desier a speedie resolution; I should the rather desier soe, because of what your kinsman can satisfie you in. The Lorde blesse you and your familie, to whome I desier my affections and service may be presented. I rest your humble servant,

"O. CROMWELL."

On the 28th, Mr. Major solicits an alteration in one point. On the 30th Cromwell refuses it. "S<sup>a</sup>.—I received yours of the 28<sup>th</sup> instant. I desier the matter of compensation may be as in my last to you; you propose another way, which truly seemes to me very inconvenient. I have agreed to all other thinges as you take me (and that rightly), repeating particulars in your paper. The Lorde dispose this great businesse (*great betwene you & me*) for good. You mention to send by the post on Tuesday. I shall speede thinges heere as I may; I am designed for Ireland, which will be speedie. I should be very glad to see thinges settled before

I goe, if the Lorde will. My service to all your familie. I rest, sir, your affectionate

"OLIVER CROMWELL."

Some hope for the poor young lovers appears at last, and they do not seem, from this pretty allusion in the lord-lieutenant's letter (for Cromwell was now lord-lieutenant of Ireland), to have been quite tired out with waiting for it. The date is April the 6th, 1649. "S<sup>r</sup>,—I received your papers enclosed in your letter, although I knowe not howe to make soe good use of them as otherwise might have beene to have saved expence of tyme, if the arrest of your lawyer had not fallen out at this time. I conceive a draught to your satisfaction by your owne lawyer would have saved much time, which to me is precious. I hope you will send some up perfectlie instructed. I shall endeavour to speed what is to be donn on my part, not knowing how soone I may be sent downe towards my charge for Ireland. And I hope to perform punctually with you. S<sup>r</sup>, my sonn had a great desier to come down & waite upon your daughter. *I perceive he minds that more than to attend businesses heere.* I should be glad to see him settled and all things finished before I goe. I trust not to be wanting therein. The Lorde direct all our hartes into his good pleasure. I rest, S<sup>r</sup>, your affectionate servant, O. CROMWELL. . . . My service to your ladie & family."

Most characteristically, however, does one letter of exception more close this very singular series. It is addressed to Mr. Major, nine days later than the last. "S<sup>r</sup>,—Your kinsman Mr. Barton and myselfe repayinge to our councell for the perfectinge this businesse soe much concerninge us, did upon Saturday, this 15<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, drawe our councell to a meetinge, whereupon consideration had of my letter to yourselfe expressinge my consent to particulars which Mr. Barton brought to your councell, Mr. Hales of Lincoln's Inn. Upon the readinge that which expresseth the way of your settlinge Hursley, your kinsman expressed a sence of yours contrarie to the paper under my hand, as alsoe to that under your hand of the 28<sup>th</sup> of March, which was the same with mine as to that particular, and I knowe nothinge of doubt in that which I am to doe, butt doe agree it all to your kinsman his satisfaction. Nor is there much materiall difference save in this, wherein both my paper sent by you to your councell and yours of the 28<sup>th</sup> doe in all littell and all equitable construction agree, viz., to settle an estate in fee simple upon your daughter after your decease, which Mr. Barton affirms not to be your meaninge, although he has not (as to me) formerlie made this any objection, nor can the words beare it, nor have I anythinge more considerable in lewe of what I part with than this. And I have appealed to yours or any councell in England whether it be not just and equal that I insist thereupon. And this misunderstandinge (if it be yours as it is your kinsman's) putt a stop to the businesse, so that our councell could not proceed untill your pleasure herein were known, wherefore it was thought fitt to desier Mr. Barton to have recourse to you to knowe your minde, he alledginge he had noe authoritie to understand that expression soe, butt contrarie, which

was thought not a little strange even by your own councell. I confesse I did apprehend wee should be incident to mistakes, treatinge at such a distance, although I may take the boldnesse to say there is nothinge expected from me, butt I agree it to your kinsman's sence to a tittle. S<sup>r</sup>, I desired to knowe what commission your kinsman had to helpe this doubt by an expedient, who denied to have any, butt did thinke it were better for you to part with some monie, and keepe the power in your owne handes as to the lande, to dispose thereof as you should see cause. Whereupon an overture was made, and himselfe and your councell desired to draw it up; the effect whereof this enclosed paper containes; and although I should not like change of agreements, yett to shew how much I desier the perfectinge of this businesse, if you like thereof (though this be farr the worse bargain), I shall submitt thereunto: your councell thinkinge that things may be settled this way with more clearenesse & lesse intricacie. There is mention made of £900 pr. annum to be reserved, butt it comes to butt about £800. My landes in Glamorgansheire being butt little above £400 pr. annum, and the £400 pr. annum out of my manor in Gloucester & Munmouthsheire. I wish a cleere understandinge may be betweene us. Truly I would not williglie mistake, desiringe to waite upon Providence in this businesse. I rest, S<sup>r</sup>, your affectionate friend & servant, O. CROMWELL. . . . I desier my service may be presented to your ladie & daughters."

Very probably Mr. Major now conceded everything without farther dispute, for in a fortnight after, on the 1st of May, 1649, Richard Cromwell was married to Dorothy Major, in Hursley Church, Hampshire. She was a modest, unobtrusive, kind-hearted woman, and bore her husband nine children.\*

The reader might suppose, from the character of these most elaborate arrangements, that Cromwell had been a "family man," with much time on his hands, and no business save what he could ingeniously, and with much pains, fashion out of his private affairs to attend to. Yet, in the interval comprised by these letters, what mighty events he had created and controlled!

The trial and execution of Charles I., with

\* In article B. of the Appendix I have sketched the *literal* descendants of Cromwell to the present time. Of Richard's wife Mr. Nottle observes: "It is extraordinary that we know so little of her, considering that she was, at one time, the second person in the kingdom: there is every reason to suppose that she was scarce ever at court during Oliver's Protectorate. She felt the reverse of fortune in the most poignant manner, and wanted the comforts of the clergy to reconcile her to what she judged the greatest misfortune. Among all the illiberal things that were levelled against the protectorate house of Cromwell, her character is almost the only one that scandal has left untouched; she never (it is most reasonable to think) saw her husband after he retired to France in 1660; she died Jan. 5, 1673-4, in the forty-ninth year of her age, and was buried in the chancel of Hursley Church. The only character of her that I have ever met with is that given by Mr. John Maidsome, who says, 'she was a prudent, golly, practical Christian.' She was certainly (once at court during the government of her father-in-law, from the following item in Mr. Major, her father's memorandum-book, still preserved: '1637, May 21, Daughter Cromwell went to London,' but as she had a child baptized at Hursley in September following, her stay must have been short; and from an item of her father's disordered recove, it appears, she was at Whitehall when her husband lost his power, after which she retired to 'Hursley Lodge, and lived upon her own lands.'"

all their attendant circumstances, and their vast result in the establishment of the Commonwealth, have been treated in the life of Henry Marten. Cromwell did not appear more openly in them than any of the other statesmen or officers—perhaps he was even less seen in them than any—but it was well known that the majority of the men concerned in the deed confessed to his extraordinary influence and control, while he, in his turn, if Bishop Burnet may be believed, was not without his controller also. "Ireton," says the bishop, "was the person that drove it on, for Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it. Ireton had the principles and the temper of a Cassius in him: he stuck at nothing that might have turned England to a commonwealth." The scurrilous falsehoods of the period, contained in that disgusting book which goes by the name of "The Trials of the Regicides," are scouted now by all well-informed persons, but two anecdotes of the time personally relating to Cromwell may properly find a place here.

"I know nothing in particular," says Bishop Burnet, "of the sequel of the war, nor of all the confusions that happened till the murder of King Charles the First: only one passage I had from Lieutenant-general Drummond, afterward Lord Strathallan. He served on the king's side; but he had many friends among those who were for the Covenant: so the king's affairs being now ruined, he was recommended to Cromwell, being then in a treaty with the Spanish ambassador, who was negotiating for some regiments to be levied and sent over from Scotland to Flanders. He happened to be with Cromwell when the commissioners sent from Scotland to protest against the putting the king to death came to argue the matter with him. Cromwell bade Drummond stay and hear the conference, which he did. They began in a heavy, languid style, to lay, indeed, great load on the king; but they still insisted on that clause in the Covenant by which they swore they would be faithful in the preservation of his majesty's person. With this they showed upon what terms Scotland, as well as the two Houses, had engaged in the war, and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the king they all along published; which would now appear, to the scandal and reproach of the Christian name, to have been false pretences, if, when the king was in their power, they should proceed to extremities. Upon this, Cromwell entered into a long discourse on the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan: he thought a breach of trust in a king ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever: he said, as to their covenant, they swore to the preservation of the king's person in defence of the true religion; if, then, it appeared that the settlement of the true religion was obstructed by the king, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preserving him any longer. He said also, their covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause to condign punishment; and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom public justice had been done, especially those who suffered for joining with

Montrose, but small offenders, acting by commission from the king, who was, therefore, the principal, and so the most guilty? Drummond said, *Cromwell had plainly the better of them at their own weapon and upon their own principles.* At this time Presbytery was at its height in Scotland."

The other anecdote has reference to a cousin of Cromwell's, who, on the eve of Charles I.'s execution, was commissioned to grant any conditions which the lieutenant-general might demand, if he would consent to preserve the life of Charles. Colonel John Cromwell is said to have been encouraged to undertake this mission by the recollection of an assurance given to him some time before by his great cousin, that he would rather draw his sword in favour of the king than allow the Republicans to make any attempt on his person. Upon his arrival in the metropolis, however, he found that his kinsman had shut himself up so closely in his chamber, and issued such strict orders that no one should be admitted to him, that it was not without some difficulty he obtained an interview. The envoy having performed his mission with undaunted zeal and earnestness, Cromwell, says Heath, fell to his old shifts, telling him that it was not he, but the army, who were about to inflict justice on the king; that it is true he did once use such words as those which the colonel had repeated, but times were now altered, and Providence seemed to dispose things otherwise. He added, that he had prayed and fasted for the king, but no return that way was yet made to him. Upon this the visitor fastened the door, which till then had continued open, and going close up to Cromwell, said, "Cousin, it is no time to dally with words in this matter; look you here"—showing his credentials, and a carte blanche with which he had been supplied—"it is in your power not only to make yourself, but your posterity, family, and relations, happy and honourable forever: otherwise, as they have changed their name before from Williams to Cromwell, so now they must be forced to change it again; for this fact will bring such an ignominy upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to wipe it away." Here Cromwell seemed to be shaken in his resolution, and to ponder on the communication which had just been made to him. After a little space, he replied, "Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it; and do you go to your inn, but go not to bed till you hear from me: I will confer and consider farther about the business." The colonel did so; and about one o'clock a messenger came to him, and told him he might go to bed, and expect no other answer to carry to the prince; for the council of officers had been seeking God, as Cromwell himself had also done, and it was resolved by them all that the king must die.

The execution followed. Some have said that Cromwell was praying when the axe fell, and some that he was indulging an ill-considered act of buffoonery. It is hard to say which was most likely. It seems to be confessed, however, that he sought from the guard to whom the body was intrusted permission to view it as it lay. Bowtell, a private soldier, who stood by at the time, said "that Cromwell could not

open the coffin with his staff, but, taking the other's sword, effected it with the hilt of it." He then stood and gazed at it steadily, till, Bowtell asking him what government they should have now, he said hastily, turning round, "The same that then was;" and turning again to the body of the king, calmly observed, that it appeared sound and well made for a long life.

The Commonwealth had scarcely been established, and the Levellers, with Lilburne, temporarily quelled by Cromwell, when the council of state offered him the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland. The affairs of that kingdom were now in such a miserable condition of rebellion and disorder, that in no services but his could they entertain the slightest hope of retrieving them. Ormond had proclaimed Charles II., and that prince was about to start for Dublin.

Cromwell was prepared for the offer, yet on presenting himself in the House of Commons to accept his new office, affected surprise at the nomination, and made his acknowledgments with much hesitation and perplexity. He spoke of his great unworthiness, and even of his inability to undertake so weighty a charge; but yet he professed "that the difficulty which appeared in the expedition was his chief motive for engaging in it;" and that, though he could hardly expect to prevail over the rebels, he hoped, nevertheless, to preserve to the Commonwealth some footing in that kingdom. We have it farther, on the authority of Whitelocke and the Journals, that when the appointment was offered to Cromwell, he hesitated, and requested that two officers from each corps might meet him at Whitehall, and seek the Lord in prayer. After a delay of two weeks, he condescended to submit his shoulders to the burden, because he had learned it was the will of Heaven.

He next made his demand for men and means. He asked from the House 12,000 horse and foot, selected by himself from those veterans whom he had taught to conquer every enemy; a plentiful supply of provisions and ammunition; and a military chest containing £100,000 in ready money. He received, in the name of outfit, £3000; £10 a day as general while he remained in England; and £2000 per quarter in Ireland, besides his pay in his new office. He demanded also that Ireton should accompany him with the second command. His title was Lord-lieutenant-general and General Governor of Ireland.

In the morning of the 10th of July, a large number of his friends were assembled at Whitehall, and three ministers invoked a blessing on his banners, as about to fight the battle of the Lord against the blinded Roman Catholics of Ireland. These functionaries were succeeded by three officers, Goffe, Harrison, and Cromwell himself, who expounded the Scriptures "excellently well, and pertinently to the occasion." This strange scene over, the lieutenant-general mounted his splendid carriage, drawn by "six Flanders mares of whitish gray." He was accompanied by the great officers of state and of the army. His life-guard, consisting of eighty young men, all of quality, and several of them holding commissions as majors and colonels, surprised the spectators by their splendid uniforms and gallant bearing. The streets of

the metropolis resounded, as he drove towards Windsor, with the acclamations of the populace and the clangour of military music.\*

He was met at Bristol with great pomp and ceremony, but found time, when the fatigue of his reception was over, to write a very delightful letter to the father of Richard's wife, with whom, by the arrangement of the marriage, the young couple were now domiciled. "LOVING BROTHER,—I received your Letter by Major Longe, and doe in answer thereunto according to my best understandinge, with a due consideration of those Gentlemen whoe have abid the brunt of the service. I am very glad to heare of your welfare, and that our Children have soe good leizure to make a journe to eate cherries. It's very excuseable in my daughter; I hope she may have a very good pretence for it. I assure you, Sr, I wish her very well, and I believe she knowes it. I pray you tell her from me, I expect she writes often to me, by which I shall understand how all your Familie doth, and she will be kept in some exercise. I have delivered my sonn up to you, and I hope you will counsell him. He will neede it. And, indeed, I believe he likes well what you say, and will be advised by you. I wish he may be serious; the times requier it. I hope my Sister is in health, to whome I desire my very heartie affections and service may be presented, as also to my Cozen Ann,† to whome I wish a good husband. I desier my affections may be presented to all your Familie, to which I wish a blessing from the Lorde. I hope I shall have your prayers in the businesse to which I am called. My Wife, I trust, will be with you before it be longe, in her way towards Bristoll. Sr, discompose not your thoughts nor estate for what you are to pay me. . . . Lett me knowe wherein I may comply with your occasions and minde, and be confident you will finde me to you as your owne hart. Wishinge your prosperitie and contentment very sincerelie, with the remembrance of my love I rest your affectionate brother and servant,

"O. CROMWELL."

In this letter (dated July 19th, 1649) begins a series of entreaties respecting Richard, which may afford curious matter for consideration. Under ordinary circumstances, it was somewhat too late to have set this married young gentleman to his studies again, yet if a certain new necessity had risen in Cromwell's mind, it was even now not yet too late, for at least an effort, to infuse some spirit, and energy, and knowledge into the mind of Richard Cromwell. At all events, it was worth the trial. A year

\* Whitelocke. An extract from a journal of the day is very graphic: "This evening (July 10), about five of the clock, the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland began his journey by the way of Windsor and so to Bristol. He went forth in that state and equipage as the like hath hardly been seen, himself in a coach with six gallant Flanders mares, which gray, divers coaches accompanying him, and very many great officers of the army; his life-guard consisting of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a commander or esquire in stately habit, with trumpets sounding almost to the shaking of Charing Cross had it been now standing. Of his life-guard many are colonels, and believe it, it's such a guard as is hardly to be paralleled in the world; and now have at you, my Lord of Ormond; you will have need of gallantry to encounter, who to overcome will be become sufficient, and to be beaten by them will be no great bluish to their reputation; if you say, Caesar or nothing; they say, a republic or nothing. The lord-lieutenant's colour are white."—*Mod. Intel.*, July 5-12, 1649.

† Mrs. Richard Cromwell's youngest sister.

ago, Oliver would have succeeded to whatever trusts he might have it in his power to bequeath; but now, in the ordinary course of things, it must be Richard. And *what* a trust he might possibly have to bequeath to him!

Among Lord Nugent's manuscripts, I have found a letter written just before his entrance into Dublin to this same Mr. Major. It suggests these considerations again, with more shape and likelihood. How striking is that passage, wherein, having implored his brother-in-law to lay down certain rules of study for his son, he adds, that "*these fit for public services for which a man is born.*" The letter is dated "the 13th of August, 1649, from aboard the John," and runs thus: "I could not satisfie myselfe to omit this oportunitie by my Sonn of writinge to you, especially there beinge soe late and great an occasion of acquaintinge you with the happy newes I receaved from Lt. Genl. Jones yesterday. The Marquisse of Ormond besieged Dublin with 19,000 men or therabouts. 7000 Scotts and 3000 more were cominge to that worke. Jones issued out of Dublin w<sup>th</sup> 4000 foote and 1200 horse, routed his whole armie, killed about 4000 upon the place, and tooke 2517 Prisoners, aboue 300 Officers, some of great qualittie. *This is an astonishinge mercie*, soe great and seasonable, as indeed wee are like them that dreamed. What can wee say? The Lorde fill our souls with thankfulness that our mouths may be full of his praise, and our liues too, and graunt wee neuer forgett his goodnesse to vs. These things seeme to strengthen our faith and loue against more difficult times. Sr, pray for me, that I may walke worthy of the Lorde in all that He hath called me vnto. I have committed my Sonn to you; pray give him advise: I envie him not his contents, butt I feare he should be swallowed vp of them. I would have him minde and vnderstand businesse, reade a little historie, studie the mathematicks and cosmografie; these are good w<sup>th</sup> subordination to the thinges of God; better than idlenesse, or more outward worldly contents; these fit for publick services for w<sup>ch</sup> a man is borne. Pardon this trouble; I am thus bould, because I knowe you loue me as indeed I doe you and yours. My loue to my deere Sister, and my Cozen Ann your Daughter, and all friends. I rest, Sr, youre louinge Brother, O. CROMWELL. Aug. 13th, 1649, from aboard the John. Sr, I desire you not to discomodate yourselfe because of the monie due to me; lett not that trouble you; your welfare is as mine, and therefore lett me knowe from time to time what will convenience you in any forbearance; I shall answear you in it, and be readie to accomodate you, and therefore doe your other businesse; lett not this hinder."

The same packet, too, which conveyed that letter, conveyed another with the same date to "his beloved daughter Dorothy Cromwell at Hursley," eminently characteristic of the writer. "MY DEERE DAUGHTER,—Your letter was very welcome to me. I like to see anythinge from your hande, because indeed I sticke not to saye I doe intyrelye love you, and therefore I hope a word of advise will not be unwelcome nor unacceptable to thee. I desier you both to make it aboue all thinges your businesse to seeke the Lorde, to be frequently callinge upon him that He would manifest himselfe to you in

his Sonn, and be listninge what returnes He makes to you, for He will be speakinge in your eare and in your harte, if you attend thereunto. I desire you to provoke your Husband likewise thereunto. As for the pleasures of this life and outward businesse, lett that be upon the by. Be aboue all these thinges by faith in Christ, and then you shall have the true use and comfort of them, and not otherwise. I have much satisfaction in hope your spirit is this way sett, and I desier you may growe in grace and in the knowledge of our Lorde and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that I may heare thereof. The Lorde is very neer, w<sup>ch</sup> wee see by his wonderfull workes; and therefore He looks that wee of this generation draw neer him. This late great mercie of Ireland is a great manifestation thereof. Your Husband will acquaint you with it. Wee should be much stirred up in our spirits to thankfulness. Wee much need the spirit of Christ to enable us to praise God for so admirable a mercie. The Lorde bless thee, my deere daughter. I rest thy louinge father, O. CROMWELL. . . . I heare thou didst lately miscarrie; prithce take heede of a coach by all meanes; borrow thy father's nagge when thou intendest to goe abroad."

Of the same character, and suggestive of the same thoughts, is a note to Mr. Major, written exactly three months afterward, but which, as it completes my collection of his private letters from Ireland, may be inserted, though somewhat prematurely, here. "DEERE BROTHER,—I am not often at leizure, nor now, to salute my friendes, yett unwillinglie to lose this oportunitie, I take it onely to lett you knowe that you and your familie are often in my prayers. I wish the younge ones well, though they vouchsafe not to write to me. As for Dick, I doe not much expect it from him, knowinge his idlenesse; butt I am angry with my daughter as a promise breaker. Pray you tell her soe; butt I hope she will redeeme herselfe. . . . It has pleased the Lorde to give us (since the takinge of Wexford and Rosse) a good interest in Munster by the access of Cork and Youghall, which are both submitted. Their Commissioners are now with me. Diverse other lesser garizons are come in alsoe. The Lorde is wonderful in these thinges; it's his hand alone does them. O that all the praise might be ascribed to Him. I have been crazie in my health, butt the Lorde is pleased to sustain me. I begg your prayers; I desier you to call upon my Sonn to minde the thinges of God more and more; Alas! what profit is there in the thinges of this Worlde! except they be enjoyed in Christ, they are snares. I wish he may enjoy his Wife soe, and she him; I wish I may enjoy them both soe. My service to my deere Sister, Cozen Ann, my blessinge to my Children, and love to my Cozen Barton and the rest. Sir, I am your affectionate Brother and Servant, O. CROMWELL."

On the 15th of August Cromwell reached Dublin. He allowed his men two weeks to prepare for the labours of the campaign. Three fourths of the island acknowledged at this time Ormond's sway. In the course of the campaign of the past year, he had reduced Drogheda, Dnndalk, Newry, Carlingford, and had expelled Monk out of Ireland.

ed up to the convenience of the governor, and the barbarous anti-Catholic passions of his soldiers. In his despatch he reckons that there were lost of the enemy not many less than 2000, while of the besiegers not twenty were killed. "This," he adds, "is not without cause deeply set to our hearts, we having intended better to this place than so great a ruin." From Wexford he passed to Rosse, which surrendered to him after three days.\* Cork, Kinsale, and Youghal had surrendered to his officers. On the 24th of November he set himself down before Waterford, but on the eighth day found himself obliged to break up the siege. He was more successful at Dungarvan; but at this place had the misfortune to lose by sudden sickness his lieutenant-general, Michael Jones, to whom Ireton, with admirable modesty, had given way on observing his greater knowledge of the country and the service. The manner in which Cromwell expresses himself on this occasion is worthy of record. "The noble lieutenant-general, whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in all these expeditions, fell sick, upon a cold taken in our late wet march and ill accommodation, and went to Dungarvan, where, struggling some four or five days with a fever, he died, having run his course with so much honour, courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than my pen. What England lost hereby is above me to speak: I am sure I lost a noble friend and companion in labours. You see how God mingles out the cup to us."

Cromwell did not enter winter-quarters in Ireland till late, and he left them early. At the end of January he reopened the campaign. Its horrors have no interest, and can teach no lesson. Suffice it to say, that Fethard, Callen, Gowran, and Kilkenny surrendered in quick succession. His last undertaking was against Clonmel, and here he met with a gallant resistance.† Eager, however, to return to England, he listened to a parley, granted an honourable capitulation, appointed Ireton lord-deputy, and sailed for England.

Some extracts from Cromwell's despatches will fitly close this brief sketch of this terrible Irish government. They are, in the main, masterly documents, and should not be lost sight of in any attempt to illustrate his character.

He thus describes the march from Dublin to Wexford: "The army marched from Dublin

about the 23d of September, into the county of Wicklow, where the enemy had a garrison about fourteen miles from Dublin, called Killingerick, which they quitting, a company of the army was put therein. From thence the army marched through almost a desolated country, until it came to a passage over the River Doro, about a mile above the castle of Arklow, the first seat and honour of the Marquis of Ormond's family, which he had strongly fortified, but was, upon the approach of the army, quit- ted. Herein we left another company of foot. From thence the army marched towards Wexford, where in the way was a strong and large castle, at a town called Limerick, the ancient seat of the Esmonds, where the enemy had a strong garrison, which they burned and quitted the day before our coming thither. From thence we marched towards Ferns, an episcopal seat, where was a castle, to which I sent Col. Reynolds with a party to summon it, which accordingly he did, and it was surrendered to him; where we having put a company, advanced the army to a passage over the River Slaney, which runs down to Wexford, and that night marched into the fields of a village called Eniscorfy, belonging to Mr. Robert Wallop, where was a strong castle very well manned and provided for by the enemy, and close under it a very fair house belonging to the same worthy person. A monastery of Franciscan Friars, the considerablest in all Ireland, run away the night before we came. We summoned the castle, and they refused to yield at the first, but upon better consideration they were willing to deliver the place to us, which accordingly they did, leaving their guns, arms, ammunition, and provisions behind them."

The siege and massacre of Wexford are given under his strong and rough hand, thus. After repeating the demand for surrender and the governor's refusal, the despatch proceeds: "While these papers were passing between us, I sent the lieutenant-general with a party of dragoons, horse and foot, to endeavour to reduce their fort, which lay at the mouth of their harbour, about ten miles distant from us, to which he sent a troop of dragoons; but the enemy quit their fort, leaving behind them about seven great guns, betook themselves by the help of their boat to a frigate of 12 guns lying in the harbour, within cannon shot of the fort. The dragoons possessed the fort, and some seamen belonging to your fleet coming happily in at the same time, they bent their guns at the frigate, and she immediately yielded to mercy, both herself, the soldiers that had been in the fort, and the seamen that manned her; and while our men were in her, the town, not knowing what had happened, sent another vessel to her, which our men also took. The governor of the town having obtained from me a safe-conduct for the four persons (mentioned in one of the papers) to come and treat with me about the surrender of the town, I expected they should have done so; but instead thereof, the Earl of Castlehaven brought their relief on the north side of the river about five hundred foot, which occasioned their refusal to send out a party, and caused me to revoke my safe-conduct, thinking it fit to leave it for them to dispose of it when they pleased. Our

embellish of mercy as to spare the lives of unresisting women; but the victors, enraged at such superstition, and regarding it, perhaps, as a proof that they were Roman Catholics, and therefore fit objects of military fury, rushed forward and put them all to death.

\* A circumstance claims our notice in the terms of this surrender, which proves how thoroughly Cromwell had now entered into rehearsal for the Protectorate. He consented to give up the town on condition of being permitted to march out with the honours of war, and to assure the inhabitants that their private property would be respected. An attempt was made to secure the free exercise of religion on the usual plea of liberty of conscience. Cromwell replied, "I meddle not with any man's conscience, but if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know, where the Parliament of England have power, that will not be allowed of."

† An eminent commander, who assisted in the action, reported: "We found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy that our army has encountered in Ireland; and it is my opinion, and that of many more, that no storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly contended, has been seen in these wars, either in England or Ireland."

ninge off in a very great disorder, and faced not about untill they got above musket shot off. Upon this our horse tooke encouragement, drawinge up againe, bringinge up some foote to flanke them. And a Gentleman of ours, that had charged through before, beinge amongst them undiscerned, havinge put his signall into his hat, as they did, tooke his oportunitie and came off, lettinge our men knowe that the enemy was in great confusion and disorder, and that if they could attempt another Charge, he was confident good might be done on them. It pleased God to give our Men courage; they advanced, and fallinge upon the enemy, totally routed them, took two colours and diverse Prisoners, and killed diverse upon the place and in the pursuite. I doe not heare that wee have two Men killed, and butt one mortally wounded, and not five that are taken prisoners."

In a subsequent letter, having described other overwhelming successes, the lord-lieutenant, who had probably, at the instant, a strong conception upon him of the purposes for which he already panted to be in England, subjoins these extraordinary reflections: "Sir, what can be said in these things? Is it an arme of flesh that hath done these things? Is it the wisdom, and councill, or strength of men? *It is the Lorde onely.* God will curse that man and his house that dares to thinke otherwise. Sir, you see the worke is done by a divine leadinge. *God gette into the hartes of men, and perswades them to come unto you. I tell you a considerable part of your armie is fitter for an hospital than the field: if the enemy did not knowe it, I should have held it impoliticke to have writ this; they knowe it, yett they knowe not what to doe.* I humbly begg leave to offer a word or two. I begg of those that are faithfull that they give Glorie to God. I wish it may have influence upon the hartes and spirits of all those that are now in place of government, in the greatest trust, that they may all in harte draw neer to God, givinge him glorie by holinesse of life and conversation; that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissentinge Brethren on all sides to agree, at least in praisinge God. And if the Father of the Familie be so kinde, why should there be such jarrings and harte-burninges amongst the Children? And if it will not be received that these are the seales of God's approbation of your great change of Government, *which indeed was not more yours than these victories and successes are ours,* yett lett them with us say (even the most unsatisfied harte amongst them) that both are the righteous judgements and mightie workes of God; that he hath pulled the mightie from his seat, who calls to an account innocent blood; that he thus breakes the enemies of his Church in pieces; and lett them not be sullen, butt praise the Lorde, and thinke of us as they please, and wee shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and waite upon our God; and wee hope wee shall seeke the welfare and peace of our native country; and the Lorde give them hartes to doe soe too. Indeed, Sir, I was constrained in my Bowells to write this much."

Our last extract shall be taken from a very elaborate despatch, descriptive of some of the later incidents in the campaign: "I marched

from Roghill Castle over the Shewer with very much difficultie, and from thence to Fethard, almost in the harte of the county of Tipperary, where was a garizon of the enemy. The towne is most pleasantlie seated, havinge a very good wall with round and square bulwarks, after the old manner of fortifications. Wee came thither in the night, and indeed were very much distressed by sore and tempestuous wind and raine. After a long marche, wee knew not well how to dispose of ourselves, but findinge an old abbey in the suburbs, and some cabbins, and poore houses, wee got into them, and had oportunitie to send them a summons. They shott at my Trumpet, and would not listen to him for an hour's space; butt havinge some officers in our partie which they knewe, I sent them, to lett them knowe I was there with a good part of the armie. We shott not a shott at them, butt they were very angry, and fired very earnestlie upon us, tellinge us that it was not a time of night to send a summons; butt yett, in the end, the governor was willinge to send out two commissioners, I think rather to see whether there was a force sufficient to force him than to any other end. After almost a whole night spent in treatie, the towne was delivered to me the next morninge upon terms which wee usually call honourable, which I was the willinge to give, because I had little above 200 foote, and neither ladders nor gunnes, nor anythinge else to force them that night. There beinge about seventeen companies of the Ulster foote in Cashel, above five miles from thence, they quit it in some disorder, and the sovereigne and the aldermen since sent to me a petition, desiringe that I would protect them, which I have also made a quarter. From thence I marched towards Callen, hearinge that Col. Reynolds was there with the partie before mentioned. When I came thither I found he had fallen upon the enemy's horse and routed them, beinge about 100, with his forlorne, took my Lorde of Ossory's capt.-lieutenant, and another lieutenant of horse, prisoners; and one of those who betrayed our garizon of Eniscorfy, whom we hanged. The enemy had possessed three castles in the towne, one of them belonginge to one Butler, very considerable; the other two had about 100 or 120 men in them, which he attempted, and they refusinge conditions seasonably offered, were put all to the sword. Indeed, some of your souldiers did attempt very notably in this service; I doe not hear there were 6 men of ours lost. Butler's castle was delivered upon conditions for all to march away, leavinge their armes behinde them, wherein I have placed a companie of foote and a troupe of horse, under the command of my Lorde Colvil, the place beinge six miles from Kilkenny. From hence Col. Reynolds was sent with his regiment to remove a garizon of the enemy's from Knocktofer (beinge the way of our communication to Rosse), which accordinglie he did. Wee marched back with the rest of the body to Fethard and Cashel, where wee are now quartered, havinge good plentie both of horse meat and man's meat for a time; and beinge indeed, wee may say, even almost in the harte and bowells of the enemy, ready to attempt what God shall next direct. And blessed be his name onely for this good successe; and for this, that wee doe

not finde that our men are at all considerably sicke upon this expedition, though indeed it hath been very blustering weather.

"I had almost forgot one businesse. The major-general was very desirous to gaine a passe over the Shower, where, indeed, wee had none butt by boat, or when the weather served; wherefore, on Saturday in the eveninge, he marched with a partie of horse and foote to Arsinom, where was a bridge, and at the foote of it a stronge castle, which he, about four o'clocke the next morning, attempted, killed about thirteen of the enemy's outguard, lost butt two men, and eight or ten wounded. The enemy yeelded the place to him, and wee are possessed of it, beinge a very considerable passe, and the nearest to our passe at Cappoquin over the Black Water, whither wee can bringe gunnes, ammunition, or other thinges from Youghall by water, and over this passe to the armie. The countie of Tipperary have submitted to £1500 a month contribution, although they have six or seven of the enemy's garizons yet upon them. . . . Sir, I desier the charge of England as to this war may be ahated as much as may be, and as wee knowe you doe desier out of your care to the Commonwealth; butt if you expect your worke to be done (if the marching armie be not constantly paid, and the course taken that hath been humbly represented), indeed it will not be for the thrift of England, as far as England is concerned in the speedie reduction of Ireland. The monie we raise upon the countie maintains the garizon forces, and hardlie that; if the active force be not maintained, and all contingencies defrayed, how can you expect butt to have a lingeringe businesse of it? Surelie we desier not to spend a shillinge of your treasure wherein our consciences do not prompt us. Wee serve you, wee are willinge to be out of our trade of war, and shall hasten (by God's assistance and grace) to the end of our worke, as the labourer doth to be at his rest. This makes us holde to be earnest with you for necessarie supplies; that of monie is one; and there be some other thinges which indeed I doe not thinke for your service to speak of publiquely, which I shall humbly represent to the counsell of state, wherewith I desier wee may be accomodated. Sir, the Lorde, who doth all these thinges, gives hopes of a speedie issue to this businesse, and I am persuaded will graciously appear in it; and truly there is no feare of the strength and combination of enemies round about, nor of slanderous tongues at home: God hath hitherto fenced you against all those, to wonder and amazement; they are tokens of your prosperitie and successe: onely it will be good for you, and us that serve you, to fear the Lorde, to fear unbeleef, self seekinge, confidence in an arm of flesh, and opinion of any instruments that they are other than as dry bones."

Cromwell is now in England once more. On his arrival, the last obstacle to his mighty hopes were removed by Fairfax's ill-fated surrender of the command of the army; he was appointed general in chief, and at the same instant directed to proceed to Scotland to reduce rebellion there.

Now again was seen a singular change in his manner, such as has been noticed in the course

of this work at various momentous periods of his history. The consummation of all his hopes and aims was at last approaching. I have already observed upon the alterations of look and manner noticed by Ludlow. Others noticed them with deeper sympathy than that enthusiastic Republican, and listened, as to one indeed inspired, when he stated his conviction that it was the design of the Lord, in their days, to deliver his people from every burden, and that he was now bringing to pass what was prophesied in the hundred and tenth psalm; from the consideration of which, he was often encouraged to promote *by himself* the accomplishment of those ends which were indicated by the finger of Providence. It was to this psalm Ludlow listened impatiently. But imagine Harrison and Cromwell expounding these passages together! "The Lord at thy right hand shall strike through kings in the day of his wrath. . . . He shall fill the places with the dead bodies; he shall wound the heads over many countries. . . . The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of his Zion; *rule thou in the midst of thine enemies*. . . . The people shall be willing in the day of thy power; *thou art a priest forever!*"

On the 23d of July, Cromwell entered Scotland with 11,000 horse and foot, commanded under him by Generals Fleetwood, Lambert, and Whaley, Colonels Pride, Overton, and Monk. He found before him "solitude and devastation." The Scotch clergy had described the English as monsters, delighting in the murder or mutilation of women and children; and the peasantry having destroyed what they must have left, fled with whatever they could remove. Cromwell's proclamations and severe discipline soon readjusted their notions, and they either returned to their habitations or waited his approach.\*

The enemy made the first attack—with a party of 800 horse—on the headquarters near Musselburgh. After some sharp fighting, these were repulsed with much loss. "The enemy came on," said Cromwell, in a despatch to the president of the council, "with a great deal of resolution, beat in our guards, and put a regiment of horse in some disorder; but our men speedily taking the alarm, charged the enemy, routed them, took many prisoners, killed a great many of them, and did execution within a quarter of a mile of Edinburgh. Indeed this is a sweet beginning of your business, or rather of the Lord's, and I believe it is not very satisfactory to the enemy, especially to the Kirk party: and I trust this work, which is the Lord's, will prosper in the hands of his servants."

David Leslie, a gallant and highly-accomplished soldier, was the commander-in-chief of the Scottish army. No man of that day, perhaps, could have been so well matched against Cromwell. This the latter general soon felt and acknowledged. Leslie, in a strong position between Edinburgh and Leith, and with an army double that of Cromwell, harassed him, withdrew from the districts attempted on his march all possibility of procuring corn or cattle for his soldiery, and, in fact, by a series of skilful movements, obliged him at last to fall back

\* History from Mackintosh, vol. vi., p. 168.



upon Dunbar. A variety of movements succeeded this, the object of which, on the part of Cromwell, was to bring on a battle, which Leslie had resolved, if possible, to avoid, while he meanwhile protected Edinburgh and destroyed Cromwell's resources. At one place, where the small river Leith separated the camps, the English pushed on their lines with the intention of making an attack. The word given out was "Rise, Lord!" The body of foot advanced within 300 yards, when they discovered such a bog on both their wings of horse that they could not pass over. "Thus," says Hodgson, who was there, "by this very unexpected hand of Providence we were prevented, and had only liberty to play with our cannon that evening and part of the next morning, which did good execution, as we believe, upon them. We had very strange and remarkable deliverances from theirs, though they played very hard upon us, and that with much art; but the Lord suffered them not to do us much hurt; we had not slain and wounded above five-and-twenty men." Cromwell was present in person on this occasion. He even headed the advanced party, and approached so near to the Scottish lines that one of the enemy fired a carbine at him with the view of checking his progress. Cromwell, upon this, shouted out in sport to the trooper, "that if he were one of his soldiers, he would cashier him for discharging his piece at such a distance." The man, who had formerly served in England under Lieutenant-general Lesley, instantly recognised the leader of the Ironsides, and spread the information that the officer at whom he had aimed was no other than Cromwell himself, whom he had often seen in company with Lord Leven when the army was in Yorkshire.\*

Again Cromwell retreated to Musselburgh, and had nearly approached that place, when a body of Leslie's cavalry fell upon his rear, and left him only a narrow outlet of escape. "By the time," wrote Cromwell, "we had got the van-brigade of our horse, and our foot and train into their quarters, the enemy was marched with that expedition, that they fell upon the rear forlorn of our horse, and put it in some disorder; and, indeed, had like to have engaged our rear-brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us an opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any loss."

Leslie, thus far, had achieved an unquestionable success. Cromwell, again defeated in his great object of the campaign, once more fell back upon Dunbar, which he entered on the 1st of September.

Nothing, under the circumstances, could have been more dangerous than this position. Dunbar, a seaport town, lies in a valley surrounded on three sides by an amphitheatre of hills, in which there are two narrow openings, one on the north, the other on the south, where the road passes from Berwick to Edinburgh. Of these hills, as well as of both the passes, the Scots were in actual possession; and the labour of a few hours would have sufficed to throw up such works as, with their superior numbers, might have defied the utmost exertions of their

enemies.\* Instead of this, however, Leslie yielded, as it is said, to the fanaticism of the ministers in his camp, who, being apprehensive lest the sectaries should escape from their hands, are said to have compelled the general to descend from the high ground of which he had taken possession, in order to intercept their retreat along the coast. Cromwell himself, in his after despatch, justifies this statement. "I hear," he wrote, "that when the enemy marched last up to us, the ministers pressed their army to interpose between us and home, the chief officers desiring rather that we should have way made, though it were by a golden bridge; but the clergy's counsel prevailed, to their no great comfort, through the goodness of God."

While these fatal counsels were being urged in the Scottish camp, Cromwell, in deep anxiety, had his men all under arms, ready to take advantage of the slightest move in Leslie's position. His own feelings at the moment he has himself described: "Their [the Scots] whole army was in march after us; and, indeed, our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. The enemy that night we perceived gathered towards the hills, labouring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick (having in his posture a great advantage, through his better knowledge of the country), which he effected by sending a considerable party to the strait pass at Copperpath, where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way. And truly this was an exigent to us, whereby the enemy reproached us with that condition the Parliament's army was in when it made its hard conditions with the king in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons, and had swallowed up the poor interest of England, believing that their army and their king would have marched to London without any interruption, it being told us, we know not how truly, by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, that their king was very suddenly to come among them, with those English they allowed to be about him. But in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them. The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages, we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself to our poor weak faith, wherein I believe not a few among us shared, that because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us; and, indeed, we had our consolations and our hopes."

On the night of the 2d Cromwell held a council of war. Here various schemes were urged, which showed the extremity more than aught else could. The propriety of embarking the foot, and striving to force a passage for the horse, was debated; but the wind being boisterous, and the surf running high, the project

\* Dr. Russell's able Life of Cromwell.

\* Lives of Eminent Commanders, vol. i., p. 383.

of all professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth. Since we came into Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business, by reason that God hath a people here fearing his name, though deceived: and to that end have we offered much love unto such in the bowels of Christ, and concerning the truth of our hearts therein have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindered the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them; and now we hear that not only the deceived people, but some of the ministers, are also fallen in the battle. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who, taking into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd, to wit, meddling with worldly policies and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the kingdom of Christ—which is neither it, nor if it were, would such means be found effectual to that end—neglect or trust not to the word of God, the sword of the spirit, which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that kingdom; and when trusted to, will be found effectually able for that end, and will also do it. This is humbly offered for their sakes, who have lately too much turned aside, that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ according to the simplicity of the Gospel, and then, no doubt, they will discover and find your protection and encouragement."

It was in a different and more pleasing spirit he wrote, on the same day as to the Parliament, to his "loving brother Richard Major at Hursley." "DEERE BROTHER.—Having soe good an occasion as the Lorde hath vouchsafed unto us in Scotland, I would not omit the impartinge thereof to you, though I be full of businesse. Upon Wednesday wee fought the Scottish Armie. They were in number, according to all computation, above twentie thousand, wee hardly eleven thousand, having great sicknesses upon our Armie. After much appealing to God, the fight lasted above an hower. Wee killed (as most thinke) three thousand, tooke neer ten thousand prisoners, all their traine, about thirtie gunnes, great and small, besides bullett, match, and powder, very considerable officers, about two hundred colours, above ten thousand armes. Lost not thirtie men. This is the Lorde's doinge, and it is marvelous in our eyes. Good Sr, give God all the glorie; stir up all yours, and all about you, to doe soe: pray for your affectionate Brother, O. CROMWELL. . . . I desier my love may be presented to my deere sister and to all your familie. I pray tell Doll I doe not forget her nor her little bratt. She writes very cunninglie and complementally to me; I expect a letter of plaine dealing from her. She is too modest to tell me whether she breeds or not. I wish a blessing upon her and her husband. The Lord make them fruitfull in all that's good. They are at leisure to write often, butt indeed they are both idle and worthis of blame."

Nor should the opportunity be lost of presenting here, in connexion with Cromwell's greatest triumph, and on the eve of his greatest crime, some farther evidence from these

private sources of his gentle and affectionate relations with the members of his family.

Shortly after the battle, his wife wrote to him thus. The allusions to the great officers of state whom she fears he is about to estrange himself from, possess much interest, and the entire wording of the letter is in accordance with the writer's modest and amiable history. "MY DEAREST,—I wonder you should blame me for writing noe oftner, when I have sent three for one. I cannot but think they are mis-carid. Truly if I knog my one hart, I should as sone neglect myself as to . . . the least thought towards you. In doing of it, I must doe it to myself. But when I do writ, my dear, I seldome have any satisfactore answer, which make me think my writting is slided, as well it may; but yett I cannot but think your love covers my weaknes and infirmities. I should joyee to hear your desire in seeing mee, but I desire to submit to the providens of God, howping the Lord, howe hath separated us, and hath oftne brought us together agane, will in heis good time bring us agane, to the praise of his name. Truly my lif is but half a lif in your absence—did not the Lord make it up in heimsel, which I must acknoleg to the prase of heis grace. I would you would think to writ sometimes to your deare frend me Lord Chef Justes, of hom I have oftne put you in mind: and truly, my deare, if you would think of what I put you in mind of sune, it might be of as much purpose as others, writting sumetimes a letter to the President, and sumetimes to the Speiker. Indeid, my deare, you cannot think the rong you doe yourself in the whant of a letter, though it wer but seldome. I pray think of, and soe rest yours in all faithfulness. ELIZABETH CROMWELL."

The same tender and gentle tone pervades Cromwell's letters to her. "MY DEAREST,—I could not satisfie myself to omit this poast, although I have not much to write, yett indeed I love to write to my deere, who is very much in my harte. It joys me to heare thy soule prospereth: the Lorde increase his favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soule can wish is that the Lorde lift upon thee the light of his Countenance, which is better than life. The Lorde blesse all thy good counsell and example to those about thee, and heare all thy prayers, and accept thee alwayes. I am glad to heare thy Sonn and Daughter ar with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good oportunitie of good advise to him. Present my duty to my mother, my love to all the Familie. Still pray for thine, O. CROMWELL."

Other letters belong also to this date, which, while they let in light upon the kindest and most private corner of Cromwell's heart, bring out into still more distinct shape the suggestion I have ventured concerning his son. The first is to Richard himself.

"DICK CROMWELL,—I take your letters kindly. I like expressions when they come plainlie from the harte, and are not strayed nor affected. I am perswaded it's the Lorde's mercie to place you where you ar; I wish you may owne it and be thankfull, fulfilling all returns to the Glorie of God. Seeke the Lorde's face continually; lett this be the strength of your life and strength. And lett your subservient and in order to this."

and, nor behold the face of God butt in Christ, therfore labour to knowe God in Christ, w<sup>ch</sup> the Scripture makes to be the sum of all, even life externall. *Because the true knowledge is not literall or speculative, butt inward, transforminge the minde to it, its unitinge to, and participatinge of the Divine nature* (2 Pet., i, 4). It's such a knowledge as Paul speakes of (Philip., iii., 8, 9, 10). How little of this knowledge of Christ is there amongst us! My weake prayers shall be for you. *Take heede of an unactive vaine spirit. Recreates yourself w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh's Historie; it's a bodie of historie, and will add much more to your understandinge than fragments of storie.* Intend to understand the estate I have settled: it's your concernment to knowe it all, and how it stands. *I have heretofore suffered much by too much trustinge others.* I know my Brother Major will be helpfull to you in all this. *You will thinke (perhaps) I need not advise you to love your Wife.* The Lorde teach you how to doe it, or else it will be done illfavouredly. *Though Marriage be noe instituted Sacrament, yett where the undefiled bed is, and love, this Union aptly resembles Christ and his Church.* If you can truly love your Wife, what doeth Christ beare to his Church and every poore soule therein, whoe gave himselfe for it and to it. Comend me to your Wife: tell her I entyrelly love her, and rejoyce in the goodness of the Lorde to her. I wish her every way fruitfull. I thanke her for her lovinge letter. I have presented my love to my Sister and Cozen Ann, etc., in my letter to my Brother Major. I would not have him alter his affaires because of my debt. *My purse is as his; my present thoughts are butt to lodge such a sum for my two little gyrles: it's in his hand as well as anywhere.* I shall not be wantinge to accomodate him to his minde. I would not have him sollicitous. Dick, the Lorde blesse you every way. I rest, your loving Father,

"O. CROMWELL."

To Mr. Major he again writes in the old mingled strain. "DEERE BROTHER,—The exceedinge croude of businesse I had at London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed, Sir, my harte beareth me witnesse, I want noe affection to you or yours; you are all often in my poore prayers. *I should be glad to heare how the little bratt doth.* I could chide both father and mother for their neglects of me: I knowe my sonn is idle, butt I had better thoughts of Doll; I doubt now her husband hath spoyled her; I pray tell her soe from me. *If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes.* If my daughter be breedinge, I will excuse her, butt not for her nurserie; the Lorde blesse them. *I hope you give my Sonn good counsell; I believe he needes it.* He is in the dangerous time of his age, and it's a very vaine worlde. O how good it is to close with Christ betimes; there is nothinge else worth the looking after. I beseech you call upon him. I hope you will discharge my dutie and your owne love: you see how I am employed. I neede pittye. *I knowe what I feele.* Great place and businesse in the worlde is not worth the looking after: I should have no comfort in mine butt that my hope is in the Lorde's presence. *I have not sought these thinges; truly I have bene called to them by the Lorde, and therfore*

am not without some good assurance that he will inable his poore worme and weake servant to doe his will and to fulfill my generation. In this I begg your prayers: desiringe to be lovinglie remembred to my deere Sister, to our Sonn and Daughter, my Cozen Ann, and the good familie. I rest your affectionate brother,

"O. CROMWELL."

The last I shall quote, however, is the most striking and earnest of all. "DEERE BROTHER,—I was glad to receive a letter from you, for indeed anything that comes from you is very wellcome to me. I believe your expectation of my sonn's cominge is deferred. I wish he may see a happie deliverie of his wife first, for whom I frequently pray. . . . I heare my sonn hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt; truly I cannot comend him therein, wisdom requiringe his livinge within compassse, and callinge for it at his handes. *And in my judgement, the reputation arisinge from thence would have been more real honour than what is attained the other way.* I believe vaine men will speake well of him that does ill. *I desier to be understood that I grudge him not laudable recreations, nor an honourable carriage of himselfe in them, nor is any matter of charge like to fall to my share a stick with me.* Truly I can finde in my harte to allow him not only a sufficiency, butt more for his good; butt if pleasure and self-satisfaction be made the businesse of a man's life, soe much cost layed out upon it, soe much time spent in it, as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before his Saints, *I scruple to feed this humour, and God forbid that his beinge my sonn should be his allowance to live not pleasinglie to our heavenlie Father, who hath raised me out of the dust to what I am.* I desier your faithfulness (he beinge alsoe your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himselfe to the Lorde in his course of life, and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, and to seeke grace from Christ to enable him to walke therein. This hath life in it, and will come to somewhat. What is a poore creature without this? This will not abridge of lawfull pleasures, but teach such an use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience goinge alonge with it. *S<sup>r</sup>, I write what is in my harte; I pray you communicate my mind herein to my sonn, and be his Remembrancer in these thinges. Truly I love him; he is deere to me; soe is his Wife; and for their sakes doe I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor encouragement from me, soe far as I may afford it; butt indeed I cannot thinke I doe well to feede a voluptuous humour in my sonn, if he should make pleasures the businesse of his life in a time when some precious saints are bleeding and breathinge out their last for the good and safetie of the rest.* Memorable is the speech of Urijah to David, 2 Chron., xi., 11. . . . *S<sup>r</sup>, I beseech you believe I heare say not this to me my purse, for I shall willingly doe what is convenient to satisfie his occasions as I have oportunitie; butt as I pray he may not walke in a course not pleasinge to the Lorde, so thinke it lyeth upon me to give him (in love) the best Counsell I may, and knowe not how better to conveye it to him than by soe good a hand as yours. . . . S<sup>r</sup>, I pray you acquaint him with these thoughts of mine, and remember my love*

to my daughter, for whose sake I shall be induced to doe any reasonable thinge. I pray for her happie deliverance frequently and earnestly. . . I am sorry to heare my baylie in Hantshire should doe to my sonn as is intimated by your letter. I assure you I shall not allowe any such thinge. If there be any suspicion of his abuse of the woode, I desier it may be looked after and inquired into, that soe if thinges appear true he may be removed, although indeed I must needs say he had the report of a godlie man by diverse that knewe him when I placed him there. . . Sir, I desier my hartie affection may be presented to my Sister, my Cozen Ann and her husband,\* though unknowne. . . I praise the Lorde I have obteyned much mercie in respect of my health; the Lorde give me a truely thankfull harte. I desier your prayers, and rest your very affectionate brother and servant, O. CROMWELL."

After the victory of Dunbar Cromwell occupied Glasgow and Edinburgh (in which latter city the castle soon submitted), and spent the winter in polemical discussions, in correspondence with various ministers, in regulating the affairs of the army, in reducing certain small fortresses on the shores of the Firth, and in attempts to gain over to his cause the more violent members of the Scottish assembly. Meanwhile the Parliament poured honours and favours on him, and I observe a letter, with one or two interesting touches in it, wherein he replies to their application that he would suffer an artist to take a sketch of his head for a medal in honour of his last victory. The modest request the general sends back was not, it would seem, granted, since the Dunbar medal by the artist in question presents a very fine face of Cromwell. "GENTL.—It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journe about a businesse importinge so little, as far as it relates to me; whereas, if my poore opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that w<sup>ch</sup> I thinke the most noble end—to witt, the commemoracon of that great mercie at Dunbar, and the gratuitie to the Armie—that it might better be expressed upon the meddall by engravinge, as on the one side the Parliam<sup>t</sup> (w<sup>ch</sup> I heare was intended and will do singularly well), soe on the other side an Armie, w<sup>ch</sup> this inscription over the head of it, 'The Lord of Hosts,' w<sup>ch</sup> was o<sup>r</sup> word that day. Wherefore, if I may begg it as a favour from you, I most earnestly beseech you, if I may doe it w<sup>th</sup>out offence, that it may be soe; and if you thinke not fitt to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause; only I doe thinke I may truely say *it will be very thankfully acknowledged by me if you will spare the havinge my effigies in it*. . . The gentleman's paynes and trouble hither have been very great; and I shall make it my second suite unto you, that you will please to conferr upon him that imployin<sup>t</sup> in yo<sup>r</sup> service w<sup>ch</sup> Nicholas Briott had before him. *Indeed, the man is ingenious, and worthie of encouragem<sup>t</sup>*. I may not presume much, butt if at my request and for my sake he may obteyn this favour, I shall put it upon the accompt of my obligacons, w<sup>ch</sup> are not a

few, and I hope shall be found readie gratefully to acknowledge, and to approve myself, Gentl., Yo<sup>r</sup> most reall serv<sup>t</sup>, O. CROMWELL."

With the advance of winter an attack of ague seized Cromwell, but after severe suffering he rallied, and in time for that ill-judged movement of the young king of Scots which brought on the battle of Worcester.

The Presbyterian army, restored to a numerous and most effective force, now held a strong position near Stirling. Charles II. commanded it in person. Taught by the fatal experience of Dunbar, however, they kept acting on the defensive, and could not be drawn from their well-selected ground. As a last effort with this view, Cromwell, with singular daring, transported his army into Fife, and proceeded towards Perth, which he captured after a siege of two days. The stratagem succeeded in one sense, but, besides moving the Scots from their stronghold, it had also induced Charles to adopt the plan of marching into England. It is said that in this he yielded to the advice of his English followers, who overruled the more prudent Argyle, looked with contempt upon the Parliament, and counted upon the numerical majority of the English nation as unquestionably in his favour. On the 31st of July he broke up his camp near the Torwood, and on the 6th of August reached Carlisle.

Cromwell was engaged in the superintendence of a new citadel by means of which he designed to hold Perth in subjection, when the news reached him of the movement of the Presbyterians and the king. His spirit rose to that crisis with a renewal of the excitement which men noted in him at Dunbar. He wrote at once to London to give all necessary courage and confidence to the council and citizens. After informing them of the meditated invasion hanging over them, he observed that it "was not out of choice on our part;" and did not conceal his fear that it would trouble some men's thoughts, and occasion some inconvenience. But, he adds, "this is our comfort, that in simplicitie of harte as to God, wee have done to the best of our judgements, knowing that, if some issue were not putt to this businesse, it would occasion another winter's war, to the ruin of your soldiery, for whom the Scots are too hard in respect of enduring the winter difficulties of this countrie, and have been under the endless expense of the treasure of England in prosecuting this war. It may be supposed wee might have kept the enemy from this by interposinge between him and England, which truely I believe wee might; but *how to remove him out of this place without doinge what we have done, unlesse wee had a commanding armie on both sides of the River of Forth, is not clear to us, or how to answer the inconveniences afore mentioned, wee understand not*." He then entreats that the council of state would collect what forces they could without loss of time, to give the enemy some check until he should be able to overtake them. Meantime, he sent Lambert at the head of the cavalry, who, upon joining with Harrison, whose forces were at Newcastle, was ordered to advance through the western parts of Northumberland, to intercept the Scots in their progress through Lancashire, to watch their motions, straiten their quarters,

\* John Dunch, Esq., of Pasey, in Berkshire; where the original of this letter was found and transcribed by Horace Walpole.

impede their progress in every way, but not to risk a battle.

Charles, meanwhile, with but sorry success, had pushed on by Kendal and Preston to Warrington, where, at the bridge, he received a momentary check from Lambert and Harrison. He still forced his way, summoned Shrewsbury in passing, but without effect, and at last made for Worcester, where he was proclaimed, according to Clarendon, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

London, anticipating his entry almost every hour, gave way to fearful alarms. Even Bradshaw himself, it is said, lion-hearted as he was, could not, among his private friends, conceal his fears. Some raged against Cromwell, and uttered deep suspicions of his fidelity. No one could understand his intentions, nor where he was, nor why he had allowed an enemy to enter the land, when there were no troops to oppose them. Both the city and the country, says Mrs. Hutchinson (by the angry Presbyterians wavering in their constancy to them and the liberties they had purchased), were all amazed, and doubtful of their own and the Commonwealth's safety. Some could not hide very pale and unmanly fears, and were in such distraction of spirit as much disturbed their counsels.

Yet truly there was little need. The genius of Cromwell had already saved them. He had collected a tremendous force—nearly 30,000 men—and on the 28th of August had them all in position within two miles of Worcester. The Presbyterian force was greatly inferior, but the almost impregnable site of the city of Worcester was an ample set-off against that circumstance.

Built along the right bank of the Severn, it defied immediate assault, and Charles's officers had of course done their best to increase its already splendid resources of resistance and defence. Cromwell found the bridges broken above and below; every boat removed; not even a punt to be seen; and in the extensive line of fires above, saw how strongly the heights of the place were occupied. But not for a moment did he hesitate. Inspired by the genius which had served him so often, and never failed him yet, he took the sudden and daring resolve of throwing his army astride upon two rivers—of forcing at their higher transits a passage across both the Severn and the Team—and of coming down at once upon the enemy from the eastern and western heights overlooking Worcester!

The preparations for this daring exploit were completed on the 2d of September; for Cromwell had, moreover, determined to fight this decisive battle for the possession of three disputed kingdoms on what he called his *fortunate day*—his day of Dunbar. Skirmishes meanwhile took place between the outposts on both sides of the river, and, before the morning of the 3d, a desperate struggle had passed at the half-broken Upton Bridge, between Lambert and its gallant defender Massey. Lambert carried it at last, repaired the broken arch, and conducted across 10,000 men, who took their ground along the course of the Team.

It was now the morning of the 3d. The Presbyterians had the day before, in alarm at Lambert's movement, destroyed every bridge

upon that river. Yet Cromwell—not caring to husband life at any time, and still less now, when his superior numbers gave him so many lives to play with—sent out an order to Fleetwood to force, at any loss, his detached corps across the Team. Cromwell, at the same moment, threw a bridge of boats over the Severn at Bunhill, near the confluence of the two rivers, and restored the communication that had been partially cut off. A hot fire near Powick—so sudden were these movements—was the first thing that attracted the attention of Charles, who, from one of the towers of the Cathedral, was examining the positions of the enemy; when, finding that an attack was begun in that quarter, he instantly despatched a reinforcement of horse and foot to the spot, and gave instructions to the commanding officer to prevent, if possible, the formation of the bridge. But a similar addition had been made to the detachment under Fleetwood, who again outnumbered his opponents, and pressed them with great vivacity towards Worcester. "The Scots, in the hope that, by occupying so large a force, they might afford to their countrymen on the other side of the Severn an opportunity of breaking the regiments under Cromwell, maintained the most obstinate resistance." They disputed every inch of ground which presented the slightest advantage; fought from hedge to hedge; and frequently charged with the pike, to check the advance of the enemy.

For an instant this rolled the tide of battle back towards the Team; but fresh battalions after battalion arrived to the support of Fleetwood, who then bore the Scots by fair force of numbers even across the bridge.

Cromwell was meanwhile deciding the battle under the walls of the town; and here, on both sides of the river, from two o'clock in the morning till nightfall, had this terrible contest raged with unceasing fury. The main body of the enemy's infantry had advanced out of the city against the renowned chief of the Ironsides, and the conflict upon one spot in this quarter, Cromwell wrote in his despatch, lasted three hours. It was closed by the veteran regiment which had so often closed the battles of the Parliament, and which now, for the last time, advanced at the word of Cromwell. The victory was complete—gloriously complete, as the lord-general exultingly wrote, and "gained after as stiff a contest for many hours—including both sides of the river"—as he had ever seen. The fort having been summoned, and Colonel Drummond still refusing to surrender it, it was carried, in all the wild triumph of the victory, by a furious storm, wherein fifteen hundred men were put to the sword. Charles, flying through the streets in piteous despair, in vain attempted to rally his troops, and finding they would no longer move, is said to have cried out, with a burst of passionate tears, "Then shoot me dead, rather than let me live to see the sad consequences of this day!" A crown had vanished from his grasp.

On another man who still stood upon that field a crown was now descending. He stood there, some time after the day was won, in a state of uncontrollable emotion; then calling Fleetwood and Lambert to his side, he told them, with a fit of boisterous laughter, that he

would knight them, as heroes of old were knighted (he did not say by kings), on the field where they had achieved their glory. The excitement subdued, he retired to his tent, and there, at "10 o'clock at night," "weary and scarce able to write," he yet wrote to the Parliament of England these memorable words: "*The dimensions of this mercy are above my thoughts. It is, for aught I know, a crowning mercy.*"

A CROWNING MERCY indeed!

AFTER the defeat of Worcester, it is remarked by Lord Clarendon, all the royal and loyal party lay grovelling and prostrate, under desolate apprehensions.\* A glance at the position of the Republican leaders will show that never were such apprehensions so justly grounded or so little overcharged.

Resistance to the great design of a republic was now at an end in England, Ireland, and Scotland. In England, the avowed hostility of the Levellers had become as harmless as the secret machinations of the Loyalists. In Ireland, submission and solitude had been substituted, by an awful and unsparing hand, for turbulence and rebellion. In Scotland, the sturdiest Presbyterian had at last surrendered to the victorious soldiers of Independence even the sectarian loveliness and supremacy of his darling kirk. Scarcely a spot of British ground remained on which, in right of a triumphant conquest, the banner of the English Commonwealth did not stand firmly planted.

Nor had its champions won less consideration for it in distant lands. Through every country in Europe they had proclaimed their purpose, and vanquished enemies on all sides bore testimony to their power. The proud Don John of Portugal lay like the humblest vassal at the feet of Blake; the haughty insolence of Spain had crawled into subservient alliance; the Dutch had surrendered their cherished title of sovereigns of the sea; and, held down by the vigour and genius of our Republican statesmen, the remaining potentates of Europe "stood still with awful eye."

But at the very root of such vast strength there lurked a mortal weakness. The government under which these results had been achieved, and by which alone the frame of things was now kept together, was avowedly a provisional government. It rested on no direct authority from the people. The men who were at the head of affairs had, by sublime talents and unconquerable energy, placed *themselves* there; but in continuing to hold to office by no other bond, they seemed to confess that the people were against them. Daring and resolute in all things else, they fell short of their own high souls in this. It was because in other things they held their personal safety to be risked alone, while in this they saw some peril to that grand design by which, as they fondly hoped, they were destined to secure the happiness of unborn generations of their countrymen. We alone, they reasoned, to whom this glorious republic owes its birth, are fit to watch over its tender years. Our duty cannot be done till we have taught England the practical blessings of the new system we have wrought. Under a

republic she shall find herself greater than under any of her kings. Wealthy and secure, respected and honoured, she will recognise the value and the potency of the government we have formed; and, by her gratitude well repaid, we may then with safety deliver back into the hands of the people the authority we have wielded throughout for their benefit alone.

The reasoning, up to a certain point, must possibly be conceded as just, and worthy of the men.\* There cannot be a doubt, that at the day when the axe descended on the neck of Charles I., a majority of the people were still strongly attached to the forms of monarchical government. But on the other side were a most formidable minority, comprising within itself the greatest amount of energy, genius, and moral force that had yet been exhibited upon the stage of public affairs in England. To elevate the whole nation to that standard was a design at once grand and simple, worthy of the age, and of the deeds already done in it; for, be it kept in mind, Republicanism was of recent growth even in the breasts of these founders of the new republic. The most influential of them had not played the lofty part they did from any preconceived notion of the abstract excellence of that form of civil society. It has been abundantly shown in this work that what such men as Vane sought was popular and good government, embracing extensive representation, security for person and property, freedom of thought, freedom of the press, and entire liberty of conscience. It was only because they could not find these under a monarchy that they became Republicans; but under a monarchy they would have been content with these. From the head of no Jupiter sprang the armed republic of England, but even from the weak and faithless head of her own Charles Stuart. Practical and most protracted experience of the utter impossibility of bringing that monarch to terms of good faith, destroyed, in the breasts of a formidable minority of the nation, all farther faith in monarchy itself. It only remained, by means as powerful, to wean the rest from that old allegiance and long-descended love, by exhibiting to them in enlarged prosperity, safety, and honour, the superior forces that were inherent in the Republican form. Hence it came to be urged, as no less a matter of necessity than duty, to hold fast by the act which Englishmen who have read the history of their country aright know to be the corner-stone of all the freedom that now exists in it, and which declared the Parliament that assembled in 1640 indissoluble save by its own consent. By such a course only, in the midst of the clouds that hung over the minds of men after the memorable action of the 30th of January, was it felt that even the common frame of society could be held together. Only so could the chance, however distant, of another trial of the family of Stuart, be averted from the land which they had cursed so heavily. By this alone could that calm be cast upon the troubled waters out of which order and happiness must ever rise. But it was a course which

\* I have already treated this subject in the "Life of Vane," with less consideration, probably, for the part that statesmen took in it, than I have felt it only due to the general body of Republicans to concede in this place.

\* History, vol. vi., p. 557.

in any case carried along with it one most peremptory condition. Justified by necessity alone, the limits of necessity sternly bound it in. The day that saw it no longer essential to safety, saw it the most fatal instrument of danger.

That day had now, at least, arrived. The first act of the statesmen of Westminster, after the Worcester victory, should have been the passing of their bill for an amended representation, and the dissolution of the Parliament in which they sat. In the restless anxiety of the thoughtful Vane, which followed close upon that event, might be detected the fear that there had already been a delay too long. No merely administrative glory, however great and brilliant, can be expected to produce a lasting beneficial impression on the minds or the condition of a people. The government of the new form had now brought to a successful issue its struggle for existence: scattered or prostrate enemies on all sides bore witness to the solid foundations it had laid. The next, the greatest, and most serviceable stone of the superstructure, should have been a fearless appeal to the people. More was to be gained, as events will show hereafter, by trusting than by distrusting them. They had now, moreover, the indisputable right to demand—what such a course was only the first step to—new political institutions, such as Vane's later experience inculcated, to be founded on the principles of the old, and in which should be kept, as far as it was possible, the spirit of those fundamental laws and usages to which they had been for centuries accustomed, and under which, in their purer shapes, they had grown in civilization and in virtue. Assuming, on the other hand, the injustice of such demands, and the inexpediency of granting them, what was the single security left to the new commonwealth, even in the midst of all its triumphs? Nothing but the sword that had struck for them; nothing but the force which, obedient to an impulse from without, might as readily answer to a bidding from within. Here lurked the danger that was mightiest, because least seen. The serpent that had the deadliest sting for the new commonwealth lay coiled and cherished within its own bosom. Every man in that army, which now rested, after its loftiest and last triumph, within a few days' march of London, should have been made, in his very first hour of consciousness of victory, to feel that his sword had at length become useless, for that higher duties awaited its gallant owner. The great invitation of citizenship should have pierced like a trumpet into every tent: *You have won the privileges of freemen. Come now, and actively participate in them!*

The course of events to which our narrative turns will present, towards the just appreciation of the various great questions involved in this momentous subject, a series of sad, though salutary illustrations.

Within a few hours after the news from Worcester reached London, soul-stirring despatches from Cromwell were read from the speaker's chair to the assembled Commons, and from every chapel in the vast city to its crowded and excited congregation. "We beat the enemy," they said, "from hedge to hedge, till we beat them into Worcester. The dispute

was long and very near at hand, and often at push of pike from one defence to another . . . We fought in the streets of the town together for three hours' space; but in the end we beat the enemy totally. . . . We pursued him to his royal fort, which we took, and have beaten indeed his whole army. . . . When we took his fort, we turned his own guns upon him . . . This hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours as ever I have seen. Both your old forces, and those new raised, have behaved themselves with very great courage; and He that made them come out, made them willing to fight for you. . . . We have seven thousand prisoners, many of them officers and noblemen of quality. . . . If this provokes those that are concerned in it to thankfulness, and the Parliament to do the will of Him who had done his will for it and for the nation—whose good pleasure is to establish the nation and the change of the government, by making the people so willing to the defence thereof, and so signally to bless the endeavours of your servants in this late great work—I am bold humbly to beg that all thoughts may tend to the promoting of His honour who hath wrought so great salvation; and that the fatness of these continued mercies may not occasion pride and wantonness, as formerly the like hath done to a chosen nation, but that the fear of the Lord, even for his mercies, may keep an authority and a people so prospered and blessed, and witnessed unto, humble and faithful, and that justice and righteousness, mercy and truth, may flow from you as a thankful return to our gracious God."<sup>\*</sup>

The earnest and loud amens which these characteristic phrases and adjurations drew forth from crowded congregations of the faithful, were echoed along the less crowded benches of the Commons; and well had it been for the members assembled there, as in all probability for posterity to come, if upon such fervent thanks, so simply and honestly given to their great general, they had been content to rest their gratitude to him (already laden as he was with more worldly testimonies of the richness of their bounty), and on the instant proceeded to offer to the Providence that had again blessed with victory the cause which engaged his arms, the fittest and most "thankful return" which free men could make, by inviting their fellow-countrymen to partake of the blessings so triumphantly won, and by fixing on the broad and strong basis of popular consent, sympathy, and regard, their new fabric of Republican government. For the servants of that government, it should have been enough in any case to know that they had done their duty, and deserved well of their country. Anything beyond this could indeed serve the purposes of "pride

<sup>\*</sup> From a newspaper of the time. Ser. Proc. in Parliament, Sept. 4th to Sept. 11th. This last despatch was delivered to the House by Major Clobbet, a man of much spirit and resolution, who produced with it a collar of SS, belonging to young Charles, and his garter, both which he had taken in the royal tent. A characteristic postscript at the close of the despatch he bore, evidenced at once Cromwell's regard for the interests of his officers, and the legitimate means by which he achieved influence with them. "Your officers," it ran, "behaved themselves with such honour in this service; and the person who is the bearer hereof was equal in the performance of his duty to most that served you that day." An estate of a hundred a year was on this voted to Clobbet.

and wantonness" alone. The writer, whose duty it is to record the proceedings of the time, can only mention the vote of the House at this memorable crisis with a feeling of reluctance akin to shame.

To the Lord-general Cromwell an estate in land of four thousand a year was voted,\* and a royal residence, the palace of Hampton Court, was ordered to be prepared for his future abode. Nor these alone. The honour of the chancellorship of the University of Oxford was at the same time conferred upon him; and a deputation of four of the first members of the government—of that government which should have held its least powerful member of higher dignity and account than its most successful soldier-servant—were appointed to meet and congratulate the lord-general at Aylesbury, on his way to the capital, with every form of honour and subservience. By the same votes, a series of estates, descending in value from £2000 to £300 a year, were voted respectively to Ireton, Lambert, Monk, Whaley, Okey, and Alured.\*

The instructions given to the commissioners of congratulation complete this unworthy picture. Whitelock and Lisle, the lord-keepers of the seal; Oliver St. John, chief justice of England; and Sir Gilbert Pickering, a counsellor of state, having been named for the service, were thus addressed from the speaker's chair: "You are, in the name of Parliament, to congratulate his lordship's good recovery of health after his dangerous sickness, and to take notice of his unwearied labours and pains in the late expedition into Scotland for the service of this Commonwealth; of his diligence in prosecution of the enemy when he fled into England; of the great hardships and hazards he hath exposed himself to, and particularly at the late fight at Worcester; of the prudent and faithful managing and conducting throughout this great and important affair, which the Lord from heaven hath so signally blessed, and crowned with so complete and glorious an issue: of all which you are to make known to his lordship that the Parliament hath thought fit by you to certify their good acceptance and great satisfaction therein, and for the same you are to return, in the name of the Parliament and Commonwealth of England, their most hearty thanks, as also to the rest of the officers and soldiers, for their great and gallant services done to the Commonwealth. You are likewise to let his lordship know, that since, by the great blessing of God upon his lordship's and the army's endeavours, the enemy is so totally defeated, and the state of affairs, as well in England as in

Scotland, such as may very well dispense with his lordship's continuance in the field, they do desire his lordship, for the better settlement of his health, to take such rest and repose as he shall find most requisite and conducing thereunto; and for that purpose, to make his repair to and residence at or within some few miles of this place, whereby also the Parliament may have the assistance of his presence in the great and important consultations for the farther settlement of this commonwealth which they are now upon."† In farther testimony of a thankful acceptance by the government of the great and faithful services performed by the lord-general, the commissioners had to acquaint him that an act had been passed, not only to do honour to this victory of Worcester on one special and early day throughout the three kingdoms,‡ but also to appoint an annual commemoration of the victory on the 3d of September "for all time to come."‡

The triumphant soldier for whom all these honours were designed was meanwhile in slow progress with his army towards London. The excitement of the battle was still strong upon him. "That Cromwell," said Hugh Peters,\*

\* Journals; and see Parliamentary Hist., vol. xx., p. 44.

† To render this practicable everywhere on the same day, the 24th of September was named.—*Journals*.

‡ The treatment of the Royalists captured in this great battle deserves mention. Among the prisoners were the Duke of Hamilton, mortally wounded; Earls of Lauderdale, Rothes, Carnwath, Kelly, Derby, Cleveland, Shrewsbury; Lord Sinclair; Lords Spynie, Kenmore, Grandison; Sir Timothy Featherstonehaugh, Sir J. Packington, Sir Charles Cunningham, Sir Ralph Clare, and Mr. R. Fanshawe, secretary to the king; Generals Lesley, Massey, Middleton, Montgomery, Piscotty, Wemyss, Waddel, White, Faucet, Captain Benbow; besides nine ministers, nine surgeons, the mayor and sheriff of Worcester, and all the aldermen. Out of these, the council of state named nine persons as fit to be brought to trial and made examples of justice: the Duke of Hamilton; the Earls of Derby, Lauderdale, and Cleveland; Sir Timothy Featherstonehaugh, Gen. Massey, Captain Benbow, and the mayor and sheriff of Worcester. Derby, Featherstonehaugh, and Benbow were tried by court-martial at Chester, and suffered in October. Benbow was shot; the other two died on the scaffold. James, earl of Derby, who perished thus, was one of the gentlest and strongest-hearted of men. It was he who, with cold and bleeding wounds, had led the distracted Charles, after this fatal fight, to the outlet of escape he won; and when the axe descended, prayers were on his lips for God's blessing to his king, to his wife (the famous countess in "Peveril of the Peak"), his "dear Mall, and Ned, and Billy"—the children who were left to mourn him. His scaffold had been erected in his own town of Bolton-le-Moors. Of his fellow-prisoners, so selected as above, I may add brief mention. Nine days after the victory, the Duke of Hamilton died of his wounds. Massey and Middleton escaped from the Tower, and reached France. Lauderdale was kept in prison till the Restoration; and Rothes was not liberated till the year 1655. We find the names of the Earl of Kelly, Viscount Kenmore, and of Lords Spynie and Sinclair, among the exceptions in Cromwell's Act of Oblivion for Scotland in 1654. The first-named earl, however, was suffered to go to the Continent. This detail is, on the whole, most favourable to the spirit of clemency and forbearance which generally distinguished the government of the Commonwealth; and however much we may deplore what seems a partial and unjust severity in the first cases referred to, it is only fair to presume (in the absence of any of the details of their court-martials) that a special reason existed for it. I grieve to have to state that the spirit of mercy is by no means equally apparent in the treatment of the inferior prisoners. The greater part of the common soldiers taken were sent to the Plantations, and fifteen hundred were granted to the Guinea merchants, and employed to work in the mines of Africa. This had been the policy of Cromwell in Ireland, and he followed it up in like manner at Deuben, where the few that survived the Presbyterian wreck were shipped to the West Indies, and sold to the factors of sugar estates. Some Royalist rebels to the Protectorate shared the same fate.

‡ At this time Cromwell's chaplain. See Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 447.

\* Ludlow urges, in extenuation of this vote, that the present income, in addition to his old grant of £2500 a year, was meant to keep Cromwell steady (a difficult matter, requiring heavy ballast) in obligation to his duty, or to "leave him without excuse if he should depart from it" (vol. i., p. 371). If this was the motive, it adds to the shortsightedness of the entire proceeding. History and human nature, to say nothing of common justice to the common people, should have dictated a different method.

† To Ireton, two thousand a year was voted; Lambert had a thousand a year; Monk and Whaley, five hundred; Okey, three hundred; and Alured, two. In the following year, Harrison received five hundred a year; Lord Grey of Groby, a thousand; Reynolds, five hundred; and Jones, a hundred.—*Journals*.

‡ The vote bears date the 9th Sept., 1651-2.

§ Cromwell, as I have before stated, held a patent of peerage, though he never availed himself of it. The present title was one of courtesy.



"would make himself king." That such was the great conception with which the mind of Cromwell heaved at last, no reasonable doubt can be entertained. Whether, till now, such sovereign aspirations had descended on him—whether, before this period, his vast position as the chief director of one of the mightiest movements the world had known, contented him—is perhaps a problem forever hopeless of entire solution. There is one thing certain, that it contented him no longer. The great prize hung glittering within his reach—the temptation of it had entered his soul—and the only restraint or check that could have been laid on his power of seizing it was already wellnigh neutralized by the statesmen at Whitehall. At the head of thousands of armed men, whose zeal had been always guided to victory by his genius—who looked up to him with implicit faith and unbounded admiration, and by whom his ears were saluted with loftier and more reverent adulation\* than ever charmed the sense of a descendant of a hundred kings—he was now on his way to where more than the honours of royalty itself awaited him: the splendours of a regal palace, the subservience of the mightiest in the land, the thanks and blessings of the low. It ceases to be a matter of wonder that he should have shown unusual exultation; that in his steps were uncontrollable buoyancy and eagerness of anticipation; that the "golden round" which at last played visibly above his brows, should have betrayed him into forgetfulness of his profounder habits of concealment and self-control; and that his Republican chaplain, watching all signs and portents as he moved along, should have exclaimed to wondering companions, "That man would make himself our king!"†

The Parliamentary commissioners met the conqueror at a short distance from Aylesbury. His excitement had been brought under some subduement; but yet the air of courtesy and condescension with which he received these carriers of honours had a regal stamp upon it. Whitelocke has himself unconsciously described it. On the 11th of September, he tells us in his "Memorials,"‡ "the four members went from Aylesbury on the way the general was to come, and met him, and delivered their message to him from the Parliament. The general received them with all kindness and respect, and after salutations and ceremonials past, he rode with them 'cross the fields, where Mr. Winwood's hawks met them; and the general, with them and many officers, went a little out of the way a hawking, and came that night to Aylesbury. There they had much discourse

(and my Lord-chief-justice St. John more than all the rest\*) with the general, and they supped together. The general gave to each of them that were sent to him a horse and two Scots prisoners, for a present and token of his thankful reception of the Parliament's respect to him in sending them to meet and congratulate him." Our grave memorialist adds, that his horse was a very handsome, gallant young nag of good breed, and one of his prisoners a gentleman of quality. He gave their liberty to both prisoners, and passes to return to Scotland.

The day following this the lord-general entered London. "He came," says Whitelocke, "in great solemnity and triumph, accompanied with the four commissioners of Parliament, many chief officers of the army, and others of quality. There met him in the fields the speaker of Parliament, the lord-president, and many members of Parliament and of the council of state; the lord-mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of London; the militia, and many thousand others of quality. There was a great guard of soldiers, horse and foot, and multitudes of people in the fields and in the streets. He was entertained all the way as he passed to his house with volleys of great and small shot, and loud acclamations and shouts of the people."† All which, observes Ludlow in his memoirs, tended not a little to heighten the spirit of this haughty gentleman.

Heightened his spirit might be; but he had again, with inimitable craft and skill, assumed the old garb of sanctity and patience. His design was complete and safely planned, but the machinery for its action was not ready yet. Accordingly, in these triumphant passages of his entry into the capital, we learn from Whitelocke that "he carried himself with great affability and seeming humility, and, in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention anything of himself, but of the gallantry of the officers and soldiers, and gave (as was due) all the glory of the action unto God."

In the same apparently unselfish spirit, but in reality shaped and fashioned for his most selfish ends, was the conduct of this crafty soldier on taking his seat in Parliament for the first time after his return. It is marked in a memorable note by Whitelocke, referring to the 16th of September. "Cromwell sat in the House, and the speaker made a speech to him, and gave him the thanks of the House for his great services. . . . Cromwell and most of the members of Parliament, and divers commanders of the army, were feasted by the lord-mayor in London. . . . The Parliament resumed the debate touching a new representative.†" This "new representative," the reader need not be told,‡ was the act which was to put a period to the sittings of this famous assembly, and to call

\* Despatches from the general officers conclude after this fashion: "We humbly lay ourselves with these thoughts, in this emergency, at your excellency's feet." The ministers of Newcastle make their humble addresses to his "godly wisdom," and submit their "suits to God and his excellency." Petitioners from different counties solicit him to mediate for them to the Parliament, "because God had not put the sword in his hand in vain."

† Ludlow distinctly tells us that, among other actions denoting his treacherous purpose at this period, instead of acknowledging the services of those who came from all parts to assist against the common enemy, though he knew they had deserved as much honour as himself and the standing army, "he frowned upon them," and the very next day after the fight, dismissed and sent them home, well knowing that an experienced militia was more likely to obstruct than to second him in his ambitious designs

‡ P. 448.

\* St. John, it is unnecessary to remind the reader, was Cromwell's kinsman, and deeper in his confidence than any other man of the time.

† A journalist of the time (*Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres*, published in French, by authority of the council of state) adds, that it was at Acton the speaker and the authorities swelled the conqueror's train; and that it was in a "coach of state" that Cromwell entered the city, where he "was received with all possible acclamations of joy."

‡ *Memorials*, p. 485.

§ See *Life of Vane*, p. 309.

together a new Parliament, on the improved basis of an extended and popular suffrage.

Cromwell, in resuming his Parliamentary duties by a revival of this debate, at once fixed public attention on the weak point of the present government, and diverted it from any suspicion of his own designs. The wily blow had been in some sort warded off by the previous movements of Vane;\* but it fell heavily still. There was another measure which he forced upon the House, with a like dishonest aim, and which finds mention by Whitelocke in the record of the same day's proceedings: "Debate of an act of oblivion and general pardon, with some expedients for satisfaction of the soldiery and the ease of the people."† In other words, the all-powerful conqueror, out of the first excitement of gratitude in the midst of which he stood, forced from the reluctant statesmen their assent to a resolution of amnesty so wide, that it almost struck at the root of the Commonwealth.‡ It was, in effect, resolved, that all political offences committed before the battle of Worcester should be forgiven, with the exception of certain cases, which seemed to demand the visitation of public justice: a decision which, though it implied a gross injustice to those who had already been mulcted heavily, relieved the Royalists from all apprehension of farther penalties. Cromwell, in this, served a twofold purpose. He largely increased the number of his personal friends, and, taking advantage of the opposition of the chief members of the government, he was able to increase the number of their personal enemies. Proscription and confiscation are at all times admirable charges to build a prejudice upon. It was not the least of his incidental advantages, moreover, that he considerably weakened the resources of the Republican exchequer.

At this crisis, too, it was, that a higher than human power gave still greater impulse and practical efficacy to his vast design. On the 8th of December the fatal news reached London of the sudden death of the gallant and virtuous Ireton. It snapped the last bond which could, in the last extremity, have bound Cromwell to his duty, or imposed restraint on his paricide ambition.§ Mrs. Hutchinson tells us, that on the very eve of this calamity, "Ireton had determined to come over to England, in order to divert Cromwell from his destructive course." Whatever truth or error there may be in this assertion, it indicates at least the inflexible sentiments of this famous person. His last public action in regard to the Commonwealth was worthy of his entire life. When the vote was transmitted to him, immediately after the Worcester victory, by which he received an estate of two thousand a year, he

alone, of all whom such grants enriched, refused acceptance. In the spirit of the antique days of Roman virtue,\* he answered to the Parliament that their gift was unacceptable to him. "They had many just debts," he added, "which he desired they would pay before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation than so liberal in disposing of the public treasure."† His death, Whitelocke afterward tells us, struck a sadness into Cromwell. This may well be doubted. The first momentary grief which such tidings must have caused, appears to have been absorbed at once in those projects of ambition from which the single remaining check had been thus suddenly and opportunely snatched away. His next thought, after the mournful tidings, was not of grief, but glory. The body of Ireton was ordered—in deference to the wishes of "the lord-general and of some of his relations," who, according to Ludlow, "were not ignorant of his vast designs now on foot"—to be brought over to England, and to be laid, after a magnificent funeral at the public charge, among the tombs of kings, in the Abbey of Westminster. And, detailing this, Ludlow exclaims, with affectionate and high-souled enthusiasm, that if the great deceased could have foreseen what was thus done, he would certainly have made it his desire that his body might have found a grave where his soul left it, so much did he despise those pompous and expensive vanities, having erected for himself a more glorious monument in the hearts of good men by his affection to his country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in the public service, and his other virtues, which were a far greater honour to his memory than a dormitory among the ashes of kings.

But if any doubt remained that grief at this event held no supremacy in the breast of Cromwell, and that the event itself did not rather clear the great path before him, it is set at rest by a remarkable incident, which dates on the second day after the news reached London. On the 10th of December, Cromwell summoned and held a meeting at the speaker's house, of those friends, military and civil, who were supposed to be well affected towards his own political views. The two or three honest men who attended must have been startled at the question first propounded there, but the majority of the meeting had few natural emotions to thrust in the way of anything that either honesty or dishonesty might propose. They were lawyers chiefly; and Whitelocke, one of them, has happily left on record some detail of what passed.

The ground which Cromwell took in addressing these assembled gentlemen was, "that now the old king being dead, and his son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation," and, in order thereunto, "he had requested this meeting, that they to-

\* See the detail of them in the Memoir of Vane, where the present subject is treated at much greater length.

† *Memorials*, p. 465.

‡ They assented, Ludlow observed, "the Parliament being unwilling to deny Cromwell anything for which there was the least colour of reason." Vol. ii., p. 448.

§ Whitelocke says of him that he was "very stiff in his ways and purposes;" a quality our supple lawyer could scarcely understand or appreciate the value of. "He was," he proceeds, "of good abilities for council as well as action, and made much use of his pen. . . Cromwell had a great opinion of him, and no man could prevail so much, or order him so far, as Ireton could. . . He was stout in the field, and wary and prudent in his counsel, and exceedingly forward as to the business of a commonwealth."

\* Bishop Burnet likened him to Cæsar.

† *Biog. Britt.*, 3109. Ludlow adds, "And truly I believe he was in earnest; for as he was always careful to husband those things that belonged to the state to the best advantage, so was he most liberal in employing his own person and person in the public service."—*ibid.* 321.

gether might consider and advise what was fit to be done, and presented to the Parliament." By what pretension, it may be asked, could a servant of the Republic thus presume to call its stability in question? It is clear that, in the mere act of doing it, he was guilty of treason to the government then existing, and of which he was himself a member. Whitelocke tells us that a "great many" were at the meeting . . . "divers members of Parliament, and some chief officers of the army." But Bradshaw would not attend, nor Vane, nor Marten, nor Scot, nor Blake, nor Harrington. Ludlow, by the wily craft of Cromwell, was in a sort of honourable banishment in Ireland, and what once was the soul of Ireton lay a senseless clod on that distant shore. The meeting was obviously summoned in defiance of the council of the Commonwealth; only the lawyers who belonged to it, and who would as readily belong to anything else, attended. It is clear that all who were emphatically called the statesmen held aloof from it; and it would be an instance of their forgetfulness of duty, at once marvellous and irreconcilable with their previous character and actions, to have suffered such a meeting to go on, presuming that they knew its object, were it not a proof more certain still, that in a sudden and general, and now, for the first time, visible and declared defection of the army from their cause, they had lost all present power of prevention. To the people remained their last appeal, and this they had now resolved to make; too late, alas! for present success, but not too late for a lesson to posterity.

The speaker of the House of Commons opened the conference. "My lord," he said, addressing Cromwell, "this company were very ready to attend your excellency, and the business you are pleased to propound to us is very necessary to be considered. God hath given marvellous success to our forces under your command; and if we do not improve these mercies to some settlement, such as may be to God's honour and the good of this Commonwealth, we shall be very much blameworthy." Hereupon, one of the few honest men who were present, but who was not more honest than gullible, Major-general Harrison, interposed a few words, which are enough to express the delusions already widely spread among the Republican officers as to the possibility of erecting a democracy of saints on the ruins of civil authority.\* "I think," he remarked, "that which my lord-general hath propounded is to advise as to a settlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties, and so that the mercies which the Lord hath given unto us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question." And now much might have arisen from this of a very awkward bearing on the designs of Cromwell, had it not been for the lucky interposition of that most grave and accomplished lawyer, the Lord-commissioner Whitelocke. "It is a great question, indeed," he observes, "and not suddenly to be resolved; yet it were pity that a meeting of so many able and worthy

persons as I see here should be fruitless. I should humbly offer, in the first place, whether it be not requisite to be understood in what way this settlement is desired, *whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy?*" This was, to use a homely expression, hitting the nail on the right head, and accordingly, with equal force and promptitude, Cromwell followed up the blow. "My Lord-commissioner Whitelocke," he exclaimed, "*hath put us upon the right point.* It is, indeed, my meaning that we should consider whether a republic, or a mixed monarchical government, will be best to be settled; and," he added, with that careless air which so often veiled the profoundest workings of ambition in him, "*if anything monarchical, then in whom that power shall be placed?*"

The discussion thus fairly launched, the various speakers embarked in it without farther hesitation. Sir Thomas Widdrington (who was in so far honestly disposed to monarchy that he had resigned the commission of the great seal upon the passing of that memorable vote\* which should have brought these ingenious gentlemen debaters within the penalties of treason) at once, with much candour—a great deal too much for Cromwell—thus tendered his opinion: "I think a mixed monarchical government will be most suitable to the laws and people of the nation; and if anything monarchical, I suppose we shall hold it most just to place that power in one of the sons of the late king." Cromwell betraying some uneasiness at this, his friend Colonel Fleetwood, who afterward married the widow of Ireton, and was a man of reasonable, but not very strong inclinations to a republic, advanced to his relief, and again generalized the discussion after this vague fashion: "I think that the question whether an absolute republic or a mixed monarchy is best to be settled in this nation will not be very easy to be determined." Upon this, the lord-chief-justice, Oliver Saint John, offered a remark of much general force and no particular application, which was all the better for his great cousin and confidant Cromwell: "It will be found," he said, "that the government of this nation, *without something of monarchical power*, will be very difficult to be so settled as not to shake the foundation of our laws and the liberties of the people." The speaker chimed in with this: "It will breed a strange confusion," he remarked, "to settle a government of this nation *without something of a monarchy.*" He had scarcely made the remark, however, when a thoroughly honest man, of short-sighted zeal, but most sincere purpose, turned round to St. John, and put this startling question: "I beseech you, my lord, why may not this, as well as other nations, be governed in the way of a republic?" The Lord-commissioner Whitelocke made reply to it: "The laws of England are so interwoven with the power and practice of monarchy, that to settle a government without something of monarchy would make so great an alteration in the proceedings of our laws, that you have scarce time to rectify, nor can we well foresee, the inconveniences which

\* Harrison's faith in Cromwell was (and the other Republican enthusiasts in the army shared it), that he "pretended to love and favour a sort of men who acted upon high principles than those of civil liberty."

\* "THAT THE OFFICE OF KING IN THIS NATION, OR TO HAVE THE POWER IN A SINGLE PERSON, IS UNNECESSARY, BURDENSOME, AND DANGEROUS TO THE LIBERTY, SAFETY, AND PUBLIC INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE."

will arise thereby." Most shallow, learned, and lawyer-like reply!

The only other man who seems to have spoken with an appearance of honesty, rose after it had been delivered, and frankly observed that it was unintelligible to him. "I do not," added Colonel Whaley, "well understand matters of law, but it seems to me the best way not to have anything of monarchical power in the settlement of our government; and if we should resolve upon any, whom have we to pitch upon? The king's eldest son hath been in arms against us, and his second son is likewise our enemy." If Whaley here intended, however (for his close relationship to Cromwell and his subsequent crawling subservience to him cannot fail to induce suspicion), merely to narrow the question of a kingly successor to some great man taken from the people—as it is clear that Cromwell throughout the meeting desired—Widdrington foiled the attempt by this earnest and honest proposition: "But the late king's third son, the Duke of Gloucester, is still among us, and too young to have been in arms against us, or infected with the principles of our enemies." Whitelocke, upon this, as if to shift the question once more to some point of general disagreement, and so relieve the uneasiness of Cromwell, revived one of the old proposals. "There may," he said, "be a day given for the king's eldest son, or for the Duke of York, his brother, to come into the Parliament, and, upon such terms as shall be thought fit and agreeable, both to our civil and spiritual liberties, a settlement may be made with them."

Cromwell, however, who had been restless and dissatisfied as these latter views were urged, here interposed with a statement of some force and brevity, and obviously designed to wind up the conference. "That," he said, in reference to Whitelocke's last remark, "will be a business of more than ordinary difficulty; but really, I think, if it may be done with safety and preservation of our rights, both as Englishmen and Christians, THAT A SETTLEMENT WITH SOMEWHAT OF MONARCHICAL POWER IN IT WOULD BE VERY EFFECTUAL."

The memorialist concludes his account by saying that "much other discourse was by divers gentlemen then present held upon other points, and too large to be here inserted. Generally, the soldiers were against anything of monarchy, though every one of them was a monarch in his own regiment or company; the lawyers were generally for a mixed monarchical government, and many were for the Duke of Gloucester to be made king; but Cromwell still put off that debate, and came off to some other point; and in conclusion, after a long debate, the company parted without coming to any result at all; only Cromwell discovered by this meeting the inclinations of the persons that spake, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discerned." But, if words bear any meaning, he had also, while doing this, revealed his own inclinations. No man who attended that meeting could thereafter doubt that he was for a "settlement with somewhat of monarchical power in it."

The guardians of the Republic had not been idle meanwhile. On the 18th of the preceding month,\* after a long and severe struggle, the

details of which have found a more appropriate place in another portion of this work,\* a bill was passed to limit the duration of the Parliament then sitting at Westminster to the 3d of November, 1654. Numerous and close divisions attested the energy and excitement of both parties in the House at this memorable crisis. Each alternately triumphed. Cromwell professed to have achieved his desire by forcing on the House a defined period for its dissolution; the statesmen had most assuredly achieved theirs in accompanying the act with a proviso, that, for a certain period at least, the new elections should not interfere with the right of the present members to retain their privileges and seats. This was made the bitterest charge against them afterward, and Cromwell relied upon it for the main justification of his subsequent disgraceful dissolution of them. But they were entitled, as events well proved, to have reasoned on the matter as they did. The first occasion for trusting the people having been lost, it became a duty of deep and deliberate caution how best to select or shape the second. The suspected intrigues of Cromwell and his officers—the half-declared discontents which pervaded the great body of the army—the birth of the venomous reptiles that had only started into power from the warmth of the bosom against which they now traitorously turned—these warned the founders and guardians of the Commonwealth that, the first opportunity of entire faith in the people having been lost, the second had not yet arrived. Marten's simile here came again to their aid.† When "Moses was found upon the river, and brought to Pharaoh's daughter, she took care that the mother might be found out, to whose care he might be committed to be nursed. . . . Their commonwealth was yet an infant, of a weak growth, and a very tender constitution; and, therefore, his opinion was, that nobody could be so fit to nurse it as the mother who brought it forth; and that they should not think of putting it in any other hands until it had obtained more years and vigour." Arguing from this, they held, that to leave the cradle of the Republic unwatched by some staunch and reliable friends, at a time when the sword flashed danger above it, and safety was not altogether discernible in the features or attitude of the great mass of the people, would be a danger to its life and growth little short of the treason that threatened it more openly. In all this Vane does not seem to have thoroughly concurred. He would now have acted in manly reparation of what he felt to have been the first error of the fathers of the Commonwealth, and would have trusted—with a faith that was honourable to his high spirit and pure soul—to the beneficial result of some general convention of the people or of the people's just representatives. Beyond a doubt he was overruled; but whether wisely or not, in the present instance, admits of question, since every day that had passed since the Worcester victory had served to accumulate greater dangers and difficulties around the paths and policy of the statesmen. The bill they passed instead was at least a generous and (if the expression is allowed) a fearless compromise. Reserving for the councils of the

\* See Parl. Hist., vol. xx., p. 78.

\* Life of Vane.

† See Life of Marten, p. 276.

Commonwealth the wisdom and experience of the men who had framed them first, it threw, at the same time, into the hands of the people the power of sending into the House a large majority of their own. The lofty motives and services of its leading advocates should be a warrant for the justice of all else which they designed to accomplish by it; and in proof of these lofty motives, little is necessary to the readers of this work beyond a mention of their names. Besides Vane, there were Bradshaw, Marten, Harrington, Scot, Sidney, Hazlerig, Neville, and Blake. On the opposite side were ranged Cromwell, all his military myrmidons, and a decided majority of the lawyers.

The next grand question taken up by the statesmen struck at the root of Cromwell's power. This was a reduction of the army. Never had the number of men in arms, under the direction of the English government, been so great as at the period of the battle of Worcester.\* The number of the land forces amounted to upward of fifty thousand men, and the monthly assessment necessary for their support amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand pounds. Within six days after the battle of Worcester, Vane had commenced the agitation of this question, on a motion that Parliament should instantly take into consideration how to decrease the charge of the Commonwealth; and within a few weeks he had, to a certain extent, achieved his point. The forces were then diminished, we find, by upward of a fourth, and the amount of assessment stood at ninety thousand pounds. Five months passed, and the subject was again in discussion. It appears, however, to have been brought to a temporary pause by a letter from Cromwell to the speaker, the mention of which, without any detail of its contents, is to be found in the journals of the time. With the lapse of two months more, we find the question once more revived; and on the 12th of August, 1652, there is a resolution on the journals that it be referred to the council of state to give an account, with all convenient speed, of the former vote respecting the retrenchment of the forces.

\* *Exclusively of the forces on actual service in Ireland, Cromwell had at this time under his command thirty regiments of horse, one of dragoons, and eighteen of foot, which, computing by the standard of February, 1648, amounted to 10,440 horse and 24,000 foot: they certainly rather exceeded than fell short of this number. The institution of the militia had fallen into disuse during the civil war, the militia regiments having been merged in the regulars. This institution had been handed down to us from our Saxon ancestors, and consisted of a certain number of the inhabitants of every county, chosen by lot for three years, officered by the lord-lieutenant, the deputy lieutenants, and principal landholders, who were exercised for a few days in each year, and were not compellable to march out of their own counties, except in cases of invasion or rebellion. On the ceasing of the civil war, this institution was revived by an act of the 11th of July, 1650, and again of the 28th of January, 1651. Each of these acts was in force for six months, and the last appears to have been suffered to expire. In contemplation, however, of the Scottish invasion, 3000 horse and 1000 dragoons, for six months, were voted to be added to the forces in lieu of the militia on the 8th of April; and 4000 foot, for three months, on the 1st of August. On the 19th, intelligence of an actual invasion being received, an act passed through all its stages in that one day, for reviving and renewing the expired act concerning the militia, to continue in force till the 1st of December; and it appears that the regiments of militia, being everywhere in arms, hindered the king's friends from assembling to support him. Three regiments of volunteers were also raised, to be employed on the present emergency.*

—*Godwin's History.*

This seems to have decided Cromwell. Upon one burning purpose he instantly concentrated all his energies and all his power. He declared open war upon the Parliament. He harangued his officers on the infirmities and self-seekings of its leading members. His own object, he declared, was equality, and a pure commonwealth, without a king, or permanent chief magistrate of any kind. He had sought the Lord, and divine symbols of grace had been manifested to him! Their present governors were lazy, baleful, unclean men: ungrateful to the army, which had perilled all for them; insensible to their God, who had Himself declared for England! The kingdom of Christ was near, if the saints would only strike for it! The same excitement which had descended on him at the eves of Worcester and Dunbar, promised him now no less a victory.

On the 12th of August—the very day on which, as I have stated, the fatal subject of military retrenchment was resumed in the House of Commons—a council of officers was held at Whitehall.\* On the 13th of August, a petition was presented to the Parliament by them, which no longer limited its view to their own particular concerns, but comprehended a general survey of the affairs of the nation, and dictated, as from master to servant, what would be best and most wisely done.

This petition is of too much importance in every sense to be omitted here. It began with stating that, having had divers meetings to seek the Lord, and to speak of the great things God had done for the Commonwealth, it had been set on their hearts as their duty to offer such things on behalf of their country as in their judgments and consciences might tend to its peace and well-being. In pursuance of this design, they therefore had, with one consent, thought fit humbly to present to the House the following particulars, desiring they might be taken into early and serious consideration. First, that speedy and effectual means might be taken for the propagation of the Gospel; that profane, scandalous, and ignorant ministers might be ejected, and men approved for godliness and gifts encouraged; that a convenient maintenance might be provided for them; and the unequal, troublesome, and contentious way of tithes be taken away. Secondly, that a speedy and effectual course might be pursued for the regulation of law, in matter, form, and administration, in all particulars in which it was needlessly vexatious, or burdensome to the people: for this purpose, they recommended that the results already agreed on by the committee appointed for that end might be without delay taken into consideration, and that the committee might be encouraged to proceed. Thirdly,

\* Several Proceedings, No. 151.

† Journals. Whitelocke, p. 516. I should mention, that on the 27th of the preceding January a petition had been presented from the council of war to the Parliament, a thing of ill example from officers with swords in their hands. But this related merely to arrears due to the army in Scotland. It was referred to the committee of Parliament for military affairs; and, by their recommendation, a bill was passed on the 7th of April, directing the application of £150,000 to the discharge of those arrears. And, while on this subject, I may mention here, that in the following month Cromwell declined the prolongation of his commission of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and that, on the 9th of July, Fleetwood was appointed to the chief command of the forces in that country.

that a speedy and effectual course might be taken, by act of Parliament or otherwise, that such as were profane, scandalous, or disaffected in all places of authority and public trust, might be removed, and their places filled with men of good public affections and blameless lives, it being the desire of all good men that the magistrates, and such as have public trust, might be men of truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness. Fourthly, that a committee might be appointed in each county to redress the abuses of the excise. Fifthly, that such as had freely lent on the public faith, or deeply suffered for their constant and good affections to the public, might be considered, and a way found out to give them satisfaction; and, first of all, the poorer sort, who were not able to subsist without it; and this to be chiefly regarded, before any more of the revenue should be given to particular persons. The sixth and seventh articles related to the arrears of the soldier, and the articles of war granted to the enemy, which were by all means to be made good. Eighthly, that the whole revenue of the state might be brought into one treasury, and the account of receipts and disbursements be published yearly or half yearly. Ninthly, that, in regard of the present great affairs of the Parliament, a committee might be appointed of persons not members, to consider of the charge and inconvenience that arose to the Commonwealth from monopolies, pluralities of places and profits, unnecessary places, and large salaries. Tenthly, that a way might be considered of for a thorough and effectual suppressing of all vagabonds and common beggars, by setting to work such as were capable, and providing for the subsistence of such as through age and decrepitude were unable to relieve themselves. Eleventhly, that effectual provision might be made that such as had served the Parliament in the late wars should not be bereaved of the fruits of their industry by the exclusive nature of several corporations. Twelfthly, that, for the public satisfaction of the good people of this nation, speedy consideration might be had of such qualifications for future and successive Parliaments as should tend to the election only of such as were pious, and faithful to the interests of the Commonwealth.\*

Insincerity and selfishness are most apparent in this petition. It bears very impressively upon it, in all its main features, the character of the source from which it issued. It is not that the requests urged in it are unjust, but that they are partial, and leave unsolicited, save by the most general phrase, those claims which only two months before had been urged in detail upon Parliament by thousands of the common people,† and which were known to be at

that instant in the consideration of the House. The officers here would separate themselves from the common mass of popular petitioners. They set themselves up as a party in the state. They put forward their petition as a leader of opposition in Parliament puts forth an anti-ministerial resolution. Nor is it difficult to detect in it that anxiety for the predominance of "higher principles than those of civil liberty" in the councils of the state, which Harrison afterward avowed to Ludlow had been the staple of Cromwell's eloquence and persuasion at the meetings of the military enthusiasts.

It was carried into the House by a deputation of six, every one of whom was Cromwell's creature: Commissary-general Whaley, Colonels Hacker, Barkstead, Okey, and Goffe, and Lieutenant-colonel Worsley. The authorities of the House received it with a prudent respect and consideration, which did not restrain, in various quarters, the expression of widely different views. "Many," according to the sober Whitelocke, who, it is to be observed, generally limits his disapproval of Cromwell's acts to the mere desire that he had chosen other methods of advancing them, "many were unsatisfied with this petition, looking upon it as improper, if not arrogant, from the officers of the army to the Parliament their masters; and

and solicits the jury trials in every case: and the third, that "no man be compelled by oath to answer against himself." The fourth requires, what is, after upward of two centuries, only feebly advancing in the House of Commons of our own day, the establishment of county courts. The words employed are memorable: "That all suits may be determined without appeal, by a prefixed time, in the hundred, or county courts by juries; and no more tedious travelling to London; nor vexation, and consumption of men's estates, by the chancery and other courts of Westminster; nor further attendance upon committees; nor long imprisonments; that malefactors may have speedy trials; that bail may not be denied where it ought to be taken; that food and necessities may be provided for prisoners at the common charge, and no fees taken by jailers; that all proceedings in law may be free from the parties to the officers." The fifth section recomputes against various inequalities and absurdities in punishments and in the administration of law; and the sixth and seventh run in these memorable words: "That none be questioned or molested for matter of conscience or religion, the grounds of implacable trouble, and the very spawn of tyranny and superstition; and that tithes sprung from the same root and tending to the same ends, and to the obstruction of tillage and industry, may also cease, and no enforced maintenance imposed in the place thereof; and that copyholds and the like, and the Court of Wards, and unjust descents to the eldest son only, the principal remaining badges of the Norman Conquest, and main support of regal tyranny, may be taken away." Nor are the closing passages of this remarkable document less worthy of most attentive consideration. They express, with condoned wisdom and force, many of the worst grievances under which, to the shame of all the Parliaments that have since sat at Westminster be it spoken, the common people of England labour still, and the wiser and more prudent of their representatives still vainly struggle for. "That there be no imprisonment for debt" requires the eighth section, "but all estates be made liable to make satisfaction, NOR THE RICH TURN PRISONS INTO PLACES OF PROTECTION." The ninth and tenth solicit thus: "That none be pressed for war, the power of countries being sufficient to suppress all insurrections and foreign invasions. That TRADE BE FREE, and exempt from monopolies, and disburdening customs, excise, and all charges; and all public moneys to be equally raised." The last three sections are in these words: "That all sheriffs, justices, cornmen, constables, and the like, be annually chosen by those of the place; that all laws contrary to these fundamentals be repealed; that Parliaments or common councils of England may be returned to the old course to be annually elected; and satisfaction given to the nation in point of accounts; and the public faith satisfied; arrears of soldiers paid; juries duly chosen; registers appointed to ascertain all mortgages and sale of lands; care taken of the poor, and waste places signed for them; the printing presses set at liberty."

\* This is taken from Several Proceedings, No. 151; and see Galwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 421.

† Is a most striking document which I find among the records of the time. Far different was this prayer from that of the discontented officers. It was "signed by many thousands," and began by setting forth the "miseries of the war," which they had cheerfully endured, in the hope that "their rights and the fundamental laws (formerly corrupted by the king, with his instruments, the clergy, lawyers, and statesmen) would be restored, as was promised, by the Parliament and army." The first section then asks for the restoration of the "old law of the land" in all matters of attachment and trial, and that "whatsoever hath been done contrary therunto, by committees, courts martial, high courts of justice, or the like, may be abolished." The sec-

Cromwell was advised\* to stop this way of their petitioning by the officers of the army, with their swords in their hands, lest in time it may come too home to himself. But he seemed to slight, or, rather, to have some design by it, in order to which he put them to prepare the way for him." Waiving all sense of any such possible projects or designs, the authorities of the House acted with greater dignity. They resolved to refer the petition to a committee consisting of Cromwell himself, Whitelocke, Lisle, the Earl of Pembroke, Marten, Scot, Harrison, and twenty-five other members, who were directed to inquire how many of the particulars in the petition were already under consideration; how far they had been proceeded in; and whether any new powers were necessary to enable the persons commissioned to proceed more effectually; and to report accordingly. The speaker also, by the direction of the House, gave thanks to the petitioners, both for their good affections formerly displayed, and their care of the public expressed on the present occasion: and so ended the first act of the war between the Parliament and the army, leaving with the statesmen, beyond a possibility of doubt, the praise of superior generalship.

Not for this did Cromwell relax in his efforts. It is, however, an indisputable test of the violent, gratuitous, and most unjust character of the deed he had resolved, that we find every step in his course towards it beset with difficulties which in no other object of his life he had encountered, and which, if Parliament had been brave enough a little earlier to have placed confidence in the people, he would have found altogether insurmountable. It is not thus that historians have generally written this history, or the details might scarcely have claimed a place here. The poor Rump, according to them, was merely contemptible. One kick, however careless or feeble, was the sufficient warrant for its disappearance, its dispersion, its death, its utter and final oblivion!

The first step taken in the House after the business of the military petition had reference to the bill for the dissolution of the Parliament, and the provision for future Parliaments in succession. A report was made by Vane from the committee to whom it had been intrusted, and the result was a dissolution of the grand committee, or committee of the whole House, which had sat on the bill at intervals for the last eleven months, and the sending back the measure itself to be perfected to the committee from whom they received the present report. The tendency of this was to simplify future proceedings on this important subject, and to bring them as speedily as possible to a close. And hardly was it done, before the question of military retrenchments again reared its formidable head. Vane and his friends rightly judged, in thus striking through the army, powerful as it was, for support in the sympathies of the people. It at least, if too late now for more immediate advantage, unfitted them for Cromwell's tyranny. On no subject did they feel with the statesmen so strongly as on this. And with reason! Taxes had ground them to the earth, and without some instant diminution of the military establishments, it was

vain even to talk of a fit remission of their burdens.

It marks still the doubt, the anxiety, the fear of Cromwell, that the next step he took in his great game argues a new distrust of the machinery he had been so long providing to work the designs of his ambition with. His project of usurpation upon the supreme power is unswerving throughout; but the extreme agitation with which, from side to side, he seeks differing means of achieving it, betrays the utter falsehood of the pretence of public acquiescence and desire to which he afterward attempted to resort. At one instant we behold him trying the temper of the swords of his veteran Ironsides, at another exploring the quality of mettle that lurked beneath the gowns and wigs of the lawyers of the state.

Thus the incident which awaits us now is a conference that passed between Cromwell and the Lord-commissioner Whitelocke. They met, by accident or design, on the evening of the 8th of November, in the present year, in a retired part of St. James's Park. The lord-general, on seeing the lord-commissioner, "saluted him with more than ordinary courtesy, and desired him to walk aside with him, that they might have some private discourse together." This private discourse Whitelocke set down in his diary, and after the Restoration it was given to the world.

"My Lord Whitelocke," Cromwell began, "I know your faithfulness and engagement in the same good cause with myself and the rest of our friends, and I know your ability in judgment, and your particular friendship and affection for me; indeed, I am sufficiently satisfied in these things, and therefore I desire to advise with you in the main and most important affairs relating to our present condition. . . . I have cause to be, and am, without the least scruple of your faithfulness; and I know your kindness to me your old friend, and your abilities to serve the Commonwealth; and there are enough besides me that can testify it. And I believe our engagements for this Commonwealth have been and are as deep as most men's; and there never was more need of advice, and solid, hearty counsel, than the present state of our affairs doth require."

To this invitation for "solid, hearty counsel" in the specious name of the good cause, the prudent lawyer responded in general terms of caution, and then added, "The goodness of your own nature and personal knowledge of me will keep you from any jealousy of my faithfulness." To this Cromwell, with many protestations of belief and trust, discreetly rejoined. "I wish there was no more ground of suspicion of others than of you. I can trust you with my life, and the most secret matters relating to our business; and to that end I have now desired a little private discourse with you; and really, my lord, there is very great cause for us to consider the dangerous condition we are all in, and how to make good our station, to improve the mercies and successes which God hath given us, and not to be fooled out of them again, nor to be broken in pieces by our particular jarrings and animosities one against another, but to unite our counsels, and hands, and hearts, to make good what we have so dearly bought, with so much

\* By Whitelocke himself.

hazard, blood, and treasure; and that, the Lord having given us an entire conquest over our enemies, we should not now hazard all again by our private janglings, and bring those mischiefs upon ourselves which our enemies could never do."

The lord-commissioner, flattered by this cordial look of confidence, appears to have shown an instant disposition to enter into the heart of the business. "My lord," he said, "I look upon our present danger as greater than ever it was in the field, and (as your excellency truly observes) our proneness to destroy ourselves, when our enemies could not do it. It is no strange thing for a gallant army as yours is, after full conquest of their enemies, to grow into factions and ambitious designs." "I have used," interposed Cromwell, "and shall use, the utmost of my poor endeavours to keep them all in order and obedience." "Your excellency," admitted Whitelocke, courteously, "hath done it hitherto even to admiration."

Taking advantage of this, the lord-general proceeded to observe with much fervour, and a marvellous lack of shame, on the discontents he had himself cherished, for his own purposes, in the military councils. "Truly," he said, first answering to the lord-commissioner's compliment, "God hath blessed me in it exceedingly, and I hope will do so still. Your lordship hath observed most truly the inclinations of the officers of the army to particular factions, and to murmurings that they are not rewarded according to their deserts; that others, who have adventured least, have gained most; and they have neither profit, nor preferment, nor place in government, which others hold, who have undergone no hardships nor hazards for the Commonwealth; and herein they have too much of truth; yet their insolvency is very great, and their influence upon the private soldiers works them to the like discontent and murmurings. Then, as for the members of Parliament, *the army begins to have a strange distaste against them, and I wish there were not too much cause for it; and really their pride, ambition, and self-seeking, engrossing all places of honour and profit to themselves and their friends, and their daily breaking forth into new and violent parties and factions; their delays of business, and designs to perpetuate themselves, and to continue the power in their own hands; their meddling in private matters between party and party, contrary to the institution of Parliaments, and their unjustness and partiality in these matters, and the scandalous lives of some of the chief of them*—these things, my lord, do give too much ground for people to open their mouths against them, and to dislike them. Nor can they be kept within the bounds of justice, law, or reason, they themselves being the supreme power of the nation, liable to no account to any, nor to be controlled or regulated by any other power, there being none superior, or co-ordinate with them: so that, *unless there be some authority and power so full and so high as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitancies, it will be impossible, in human reason, to prevent our ruin.*"

But the wily lawyer was not to be caught so fast. He admitted much, but kept more in reserve. "I confess," he said, "the danger we

are all in by these extravagances and inordinate powers is more than, I doubt, is generally apprehended. . . . As to the members of Parliament, I confess the greatest difficulty lies there; *your commission being from them, and they being acknowledged the supreme power of the nation, subject to no control, nor allowing any appeal from them. Yet I am sure your excellency will not look upon them as generally depraved; too many of them are much to blame in those things you have mentioned, and many unfit things have passed among them; but I hope well of the major part of them, when great matters come to a decision.*" Cromwell, upon this, with well-painted passion, made the show of an earnest appeal to his lawyer-friend. "My lord, my lord, there is little hopes of a settlement to be made by them—really there is not; but a great deal of fear that they will destroy again what the Lord hath done graciously for them and us. We all forget God, and God will forget us, and give us up to confusion; and these men will help it on, if they be suffered to proceed in their ways. *Some course must be thought on to curb and restrain them, or we shall be ruined by them.*" Whitelocke quietly remarked to this, "We ourselves have acknowledged them the supreme power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concerns from them; and how to curb them, after this, *it will be hard to find out a way for it.*"

This was the very point to which the energetic captain desired to bring his learned and most meditative associate. Flinging off all farther reserve, he frankly, boldly, and abruptly asked, "WHAT IF A MAN SHOULD TAKE UPON HIM TO BE KING?"

This question, he it observed, was addressed to one who stood high in the confidence of the leaders of the Republic, and who himself, indeed, was one of its chief administrators. But no shadow of anger or remonstrance fell upon the treasonable thought. Most quiet and civil was the lord-commissioner's reply: "*I think that remedy would be worse than the disease.*" Cromwell subjoined quickly, "Why do you think so?"

In his answer, most memorable for that, the thorough-paced master of law and stratagem soothed the excitement of the great soldier by pointing out to him all he might do, while he affected to advise him as to what should not be done. He "settled" on the instant a "draught" of the Protectorate! "As to your own person, the title of king would be of no advantage, because you have the full kingly power in you already concerning the militia, as you are general. As to the nomination of civil officers, those whom you think fittest are seldom refused; and although you have no negative vote in the passing of laws, yet what you dislike will not easily be carried; and the taxes are already settled, and in your power to dispose the money raised. And as to foreign affairs, though the ceremonial application be made to the Parliament, yet the expectation of good or bad success in it is from your excellency, and particular solicitations of foreign ministers are made to you only; so that I apprehend, indeed, less envy, and danger, and pomp, but not less power, and real opportunities of doing good, in your being general, than would be if you had assumed the title of king."



timony of your love to me, and care of me, and you have rightly considered it ; and I may say, without vanity, that in my condition yours is involved, and all our friends ; and those that plot my ruin will hardly bear your continuance in any condition worthy of you. Besides this, the cause itself may possibly receive some disadvantage by the strugglings and contentions among ourselves. But what, sir, are your thoughts for prevention of those mischiefs that hang over our heads !"

Those thoughts are then recorded thus ; and when they first saw the light, Charles II. had pardoned the safe rebellion of Whitelocke, and was revelling and rejoicing on his pensioned throne. "Pardon me, sir, in the next place, a little to consider the condition of the King of Scots. This prince being now by your valour, and the success which God hath given to the Parliament, and to the army under your command, reduced to a very low condition, *both he, and all about him, cannot but be very inclinable to hearken to any terms whereby their lost hopes may be revived of his being restored to the crown, and they to their fortunes and native country. By a private treaty with him you may secure yourself, and your friends and their fortunes ; you may make yourself and your posterity as great and permanent, to all human probability, as ever any subject was, and provide for your friends ; you may put such limits to monarchical power as will secure our spiritual and civil liberties, and you may secure the cause in which we are all engaged ; and this may be effectually done by having the power of the militia continued in yourself, and whom you shall agree upon after you.* I propound, therefore, for your excellency to send to the King of Scots, and to have a private treaty with him for this purpose ; and I beseech you to pardon what I have said upon the occasion. It is out of my affection and service to your excellency and to all honest men ; and I humbly pray you not to have any jealousy thereupon of my approved faithfulness to your excellency and to this Commonwealth."

If anything like this were really said, there is much pleasant contempt in the tone of Cromwell's reply ! "I have not," he remarked, "I assure you, the least distrust of your faithfulness and friendship to me, and to the cause of this Commonwealth, and I think you have much reason for what you propound ; but it is a matter of so high importance and difficulty, that it deserves more time of consideration and debate than is at present allowed us. *We shall therefore take a further time to discourse of it.*" "And with this," adds our memorialist, "the general brake off, and went to other company, and so into Whitehall, seeming, by his countenance and carriage, displeased with what had been said ; yet he never objected it against Mr. Whitelocke in any public meeting afterward ; only his carriage towards him, from that time, was altered, and his advising with him not so frequent and intimate as before ; and it was not long after that he found an occasion, by an honourable employment, to send him out of the way (as some of his nearest relations, particularly his daughter Claypole, confessed), that he might be no obstacle or impediment to his ambitious designs."

Making every due concession to Whitelocke's

amusing self-conceit, and to Lady Claypole's womanly good-humour in flattering it, it is incumbent upon us to state our strong impression that Cromwell never at any time proposed to himself the unnecessary trouble of erecting the pliant lord-commissioner into anything like an obstacle or impediment, and also to subjoin the fact that the "honourable employment" for sending our state lawyer "out of the way"\* was not even thought of, till, by a most atrocious act of usurpation, Cromwell had not only declared his ambitious designs, but proved the innocent helplessness of any obstacle that Whitelocke could possibly oppose to them. It was merely to prevent the intrusion of needless and impertinent forms into the detailed project of the Protectorate that, on the eve of the regular instalment of that mode of despotism, the Swedish embassy† was devised for the meddling man of law. Of the conference itself, it is only needful to remark farther, that it was chiefly useful to Cromwell in proving the aid of Whitelocke useless. He turned back to his military council.

Lambert's influence he had already won over to his project ; a vain and weak man, influential with the army, and not ill inclined towards the civil authorities, till the craft of Cromwell worked his vanity and revolt against them, and his very ambition into aid towards himself. For Ireton's office, which was voted to Lambert on the death of that virtuous soldier, having been subsequently deprived of its accompanying title of lord-deputy (an omission rendered necessary by Cromwell's own intimation that he desired no longer to continue in his own person the rank of lord-lieutenant), Lam-

\* Another person of somewhat greater importance was also, within three months of this time, sent out of the way by Cromwell's influence. Henry, duke of Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth, children of Charles I., were in England at their father's death. The council of the Commonwealth had proposed, in 1650, to send the duke to his brother in Scotland, and the princess to her sister in Holland, allowing a thousand a year to each *quoadvis se bene gesserint*. (See Journals, July 24 and Sept. 11 in that year.) But on the 8th of Sept. Elizabeth suddenly died, and the young brother remained under the charge of the governor of Carisbrook till within three months of the period I am now describing. Then it was that Cromwell advised the young prince's tutor, Lovel, whom Clarendon speaks of highly, to ask permission from the government for his safe removal to his sister, the Princess of Orange. This the high-minded Republicans granted at once, and accompanied the concession with the sum of £500 to defray the expense of his voyage, and the promise of an annual stipend if he would not join the rebellious scheme of his elder brothers. This act of magnanimity, not a singular act with these high-souled men, has been commonly attributed to the influence of Cromwell, who thus sought to remove a rival from his path. Perhaps it may, in one sense, have been so ; for Widdrington and the lawyers, it will be recollected, had urged the claims of this youthful Henry Stuart to the throne, under a new settlement, as the only member of the royal family unspotted with the blood of Englishmen. Not the less, however, was the concession to such a request evidence of high generosity on the part of the then rulers of the state. And not the less, let me add, is it a proof how the greatest men are dwarfed by mean and unworthy designs, when we behold the powerful Cromwell, the veteran of a hundred victories, reduced to the wretched need of recognising a rival in a powerless lad of twelve years old !

† See Appendix E., CROMWELL AND CHRISTINA.

‡ The title of general-in-chief of all the forces there was substituted. The "lord-deputy," in consequence, became "lieutenant-general" merely. Ludlow thus adverts to the new appointment. After observing on Cromwell's reluctance to continue him in the military command of Ireland, in consequence of "the jealousy which General Cromwell had conceived of me, that I might prove an obstruction to the design he was carrying on, to advance himself by the ruin of the Commonwealth," he adds, "and therefore, since

bert's vanity was easily moved to believe that an empty title, omitted for the purpose of avoiding a practical absurdity, was omitted for the purpose of slighting him. He rejected the appointment in disgust.\* More easily still was his ambition played with, since the lord-general threw out obscure hints of the necessity that would arise of fixing some order of succession in case of any recasting of the supreme power; and who so fit to succeed the first man of the army as he who was indisputably the second?†

Major-general Lambert refused to go over with any character less than that of deputy, he resolved by any means to place Lieutenant-general Fleetwood at the head of affairs in Ireland; by which conduct he procured two great advantages to himself, thereby putting the army in Ireland into the hands of a person secured to his interest by the marriage of his daughter, and, drawing Major-general Lambert into an enmity towards the Parliament, prepared him to join with him in opposition to them, when he should find it convenient to put his design in execution."

\* Mrs. Hutchinson, in her memoirs, gives the following account of this transaction, and of an incident of Royalist report, which is mentioned in my next paragraph. The account is only correct in the general impression it conveys. "After the death of Ireton," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "Lambert was voted deputy of Ireland, and commander-in-chief there, who, being at that time in the north, was exceedingly elevated with the honour, and courted all Fairfax's old commanders, and other gentlemen, who, upon his promises of preferment, quitted their places, and many of them came to London and made him up there a very proud train, which still exalted him, so that too soon he put on the prince, immediately laying out £5000 for his own particular equipage, and looking upon all the Parliament men, who had conferred this honour upon him, as underlings, and scarce worth the great man's nod. This untimely declaration of his pride gave great offence to the Parliament, who, having only given him a commission for six months for his deputyship, made a vote that, after the expiration of that time, the presidency of the civil and military power of that nation should no more be in his nor any one man's hands again. This vote was upon Cromwell's procurement, who hereby designed to make way for his new son-in-law, Col. Fleetwood, who had married the widow of the late deputy, Ireton. There went a story, that as my Lady Ireton was walking in St. James's Park, the Lady Lambert, as proud as her husband, came by where she was, and as the present princess always had precedence of the relic of the dead prince, so she put my Lady Ireton below, who, notwithstanding her piety and humility, was a little grieved at the affront. Col. Fleetwood being then present, in mourning for his wife, who died at the same time her lord did, took occasion to introduce himself, and was immediately accepted by the lady and her father, who designed thus to restore his daughter to the honour she was fallen from. His plot took as himself could wish; for Lambert, who saw himself thus cut off from half his exaltation, sent the House an insolent message, 'that if they found him so unworthy of the honour they had given him as to soon to repent it, he would not retard their remedy for six months, but was ready to surrender their commission before he entered into his office.' They took him at his word, and made Fleetwood deputy, and Ludlow commander of the horse; whereupon Lambert, with a heart full of spite, malice, and revenge, retreated to his palace at Wimbledon, and sat there watching an opportunity to destroy the Parliament. Cromwell, although he chiefly wrought this business in the House, yet flattered with Lambert, and having another reach of ambition in his breast, helped to inflame Lambert against those of the Parliament who were not his creatures, and to cast the odium of his disgrace upon them, and profess his own cleanness in it, and pity of him, that should be drawn into such an inconvenience as the charge of putting himself into equipage, and the loss of all that provision; which Cromwell, pretending generosity, took all upon his own account, and delivered him of the debt."

† I may quote on this point a curious passage from the *Flagellum*: "Major-general Lambert, nevertheless, did concur with him (Cromwell) in every particular, the whole design being secretly imparted to him, and he promised, as a reward for his assistance, the succession to the supreme power. This intimacy of Lambert was of a long standing, ever since Preston fight, and was cemented the faster by that complacency Oliver took in his wife, a woman of good birth and parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body. The voice of the people was, that she was more familiar with him than the honour of her sex would allow, and that she had some extraordinary kindnesses for him which she had not for her husband; and that, being the

The result of this intrigue was beneficial in another shape. Cromwell had designed the command in Ireland for an instrument of his own, Charles Fleetwood, to whom he at this time also induced his daughter Bridget, who had not yet put off her mourning for Ireton, to consent to give her hand. The Royalist writers have a story about this marriage which may be worth mentioning, though it is refuted by the proofs already offered in this work of the high spirit and masculine good sense of Cromwell's eldest daughter. They say that Charles Fleetwood one day met Bridget Ireton in tears, and on inquiring the cause, found she was giving way to a fit of feminine spleen in consequence of having just before been forced to give way to the wife of Lambert, in St. James's Park. They were both at this instant in mourning, one for a wife, the other for a husband. An offer of the widower's hand was made and accepted on the spot, and the widow found herself speedily restored to precedence as the wife of the Lieutenant-general of Ireland! The story is amusing, but not credible. The wife of Ireton might possibly have consented to sacrifice her affections to the state policy of her father, but she would not have betrayed a mind of superior virtue and character to the miserable satisfaction of her own wounded vanity.

But now the contest between the chiefs of the Commonwealth and their too powerful servant, though in full career towards its memorable and miserable close, received temporary check in two directions. On the one hand, dissension reared its head suddenly in the minds of Cromwell's military cabal; while, on the other, the grand position assumed by the Republican leaders in closing their war with the Dutch seems to have suspended for a brief space, whether in prudence or in awe, even the sacrilegious purposes of Cromwell himself.

Both events are marked beyond a doubt in a Royalist production of the time, and they reflect considerations of the utmost importance and interest on the view of the last days of the English Commonwealth, which is here sought to be impartially conveyed. The first, descriptive of the meetings and dissensions of the military cabal, is thus given. The writer, be it recollected, contemplating both parties in the struggle with equal hatred, may here lay claim to some of the best privileges of impartiality. "Every other day almost, more fasts, or some such religious exercise, was managed by Cromwell and Harrison, who promoted the proposals for a new representative, in order to the personal reign of Christ, and that therefore it was high time the government was placed in the hands of his saints, for all the glorious prophecies thereof were now ready to be fulfilled; and this was cried up as the doctrine of the times. Cromwell seemed to be of the same judgment, and of that millenary principle, designing (as he said) nothing of those mutations of government which were agitating but in tendency to that great revolution; so that he had absolutely fooled Harrison into a confidence of his good intentions, and that he aimed not at his own medium of reciprocation of intelligence between them. He did communicate all her husband's designs, and several some of the others; though she needed not to have been so squeamish or reserved, for one whose depths were never fathomed or discovered to any mortal, Ireton excepted."

greatness; and thereupon all the party Harrison could make, which was Feaks's, Rogers's, and Sympson's congregations, were impatient to have the Parliament ousted, *and their fine module to take place*, wherein righteousness and holiness should be exalted in the kingdoms of the world. And now the Turk and the Pope were horribly threatened, and Oliver looked upon as the great instrument that should confound anti-Christ. But, though most of the officers were thus bewitched and besotted, *yet a great many of them had just and strong suspicions* what his dissolution of the Parliament would end in, and therefore secret consultations were held how to oppose these practices upon the Parliament, *in whose authority conserved and secured, they were so wise as to think themselves safe* and defended from the after-claps of the rebellion. Among the rest, several officers of note came voluntarily out of Ireland (as some out of Scotland), who had, by their general fasts, perceived the drift of their general, *to withstand him, and publicly protest against the conduct of this business*, as directly tending to the overthrow and undoing all, for which so much blood had been spilled, and giving up the most glorious cause in the world to its vanquished enemies—Noll's own argument. . . . Of those that thus opposed him, Colonel Venables, scout-master General Downing, and Major Streater, were the most eminent, who to that purpose, as above said, came out of Ireland; but Colonel Venables was soon wrought upon; and Mr. Downing offering to speak against it in the council of officers, and getting upon the table for better audience, was bid to come down by Cromwell, asking him what he did there. Only Colonel Streater persisted in his resolution of giving reasons against it, and being flamm'd by Harrison with Christ's personal reign, and that he was assured the lord-general sought not himself, but that King Jesus might take the sceptre, he presently replied that Christ must come before Christmas, or else he would come too late. For this opportune opposition, and ten queries then published by him in the army, he was afterward committed to the Gate House, and looked upon by Cromwell as his mortal enemy."

On the other, and, to our present purpose, the more important matter of consideration adverted to, the Royalist writer uses language even stronger and more significant. Having spoken of the last great effort of the Dutch to recover the supremacy of the sea, he proceeds to characterize it as a grave stumbling-block to the designs of Cromwell. "It was a hazardous enterprise," he says, "to be fighting with two commonwealths together, and to which his confidence and resolution could not raise him, *without a surer interest in the people who were to undergo his tyranny*. This now reprieved the members from his decree of dissolution, while they had tried the fortune of war with the Dutch, and had put things into such a posture and certainty that no home alteration could discompose or disorder it, the treasury for the support of the war being now a filling, a naval force rigging and equipping, and the honour and glory of the nation engaged and concerned."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Flagellum, by Heath.

It would be difficult to bear better testimony than this to a statesmanlike fitness for power in the men who at present held it, or to a gross falsehood in the pretence on which it was soon to be wrested from them. And they fully justified these demands upon their last exertions. With unexampled capacity and energy they refilled the drained exchequer, refitted their naval power, sent Blake to sea with the noblest squadron he had yet commanded and finally shattered to pieces the last resources of the Dutch. Again, therefore, but for the last time now, had this great administrative genius averted mortal danger from the Commonwealth. Men's homes were safe, the honour of the Republic safe, and every enemy to England beaten back with ignominy to his own shore. "We never," said an illustrious agent in the work,\* as he proudly recalled the history of the despised Rump under Richard Cromwell's Protectorate, "we never bid fairer to be masters of the whole world." From the highest point of elevation indeed were they doomed to hasten to their setting; in its ripe season was the pear fated to be plucked by Cromwell; and (least merited of all!) the fame which history should surely have awarded, in some sort, to the men beneath the light and warmth of whose genius it had attained so full a richness, she exclusively bestowed, without reserve or stint, on the successful usurper!

Very ominous warnings were thickening around him when he ventured his final move. In renovating the exchequer for the war, Vane had proposed a sale of the estate of Hampton Court, then held in trust by the great soldier;† and the first act of the same statesman, after Blake was fairly at sea, and while the contest was of course undecided, had been to procure a vote from the House, appointing the 3d of November, 1653, instead of that day in the year 1654, for the dissolution of Parliament. What, indeed, were the exact views and prospects to which that true friend of freedom still clung in hope, even so late as this, may be gathered without much difficulty from what Roger Williams, a staunch Republican, and his associate of early years in the government of New-England (who was now staying at our English statesman's country residence in Lincolnshire), wrote to his transatlantic friends. "Here," he says, "is great thoughts and preparations for a new Parliament. Some of our friends are apt to think a new Parliament will favour us and our cause." Certain it was that the time had now arrived for Cromwell's usurpation, if it was to arrive ever. Each day that passed over the statesmen in their new and well-won safety from foreign attack, promised to be laden with events that must tend to establish far more decisively than ever their internal power.

It is very curious, and highly instructive, to note down exact dates at the various points in

\* Thomas Scot. See Life of Marten, p. 365.

† Ludlow thus speaks of "two ways" by which Vane and his associates sought to "countermine" Cromwell. "First, by balancing his interest in the army with that of the fleet, procuring an order from the Parliament, by reason of the importance of the war with the Dutch, to send some regiments of the army to strengthen the fleet; and, secondly, by recommending, as an easy way to raise money in that emergency, the sale of Hampton Court and other places, that were esteemed as baits to tempt some ambitious man to ascend the throne."—Vol. ii., p. 451.

struggle. For example, in the passage of even the cautious and Cromwellian House, we find that the same note which records the last great victory of Blake and the Parliament's forces at sea," contains also some significant allusions to Cromwell and his officers. "And they now began to assume to themselves all the honour of the past actions, and of the successes by them achieved, scarce owning the Parliament, and their assistance and provision for them; but taxing and censuring the members of Parliament for injustice and delay of business, and for seeking to prolong their power, and promote their private interest, and satisfy their own ambition. With these and many others the like censures, they endeavoured to calumniate the Parliament, and judge them guilty of those crimes whereof themselves were faulty; not looking into their own actions, nor perceiving their own defaults, yet censuring the actions and proceedings of the Parliament very opprobriously." The opprobrium must have been sharp indeed which started even this considerate and compliant lawyer into so decided a sense of it. In the next record of his diary he thus proceeds:—"The drift of Cromwell and his officers was to put an end to this Parliament, which many wondered at, and sought to dissuade him from, upon all opportunities, as far as was thought convenient, and that they might not appear desirous to continue their own powers and sitting in Parliament, whereof they had cause to be sufficiently weary."

In this passage Whitelocke seems to me to describe, with sufficient accuracy, one of those great sources of danger to a political cause which seldom rise to the surface of history, but which evidently now beset with very formidable obstructions that strenuous and determined policy by which the statesmen struggled to maintain their ground. All great parties, since the world began, have had to complain of their too moderate or over-sensitive men; men overstocked with delicacies; who are more apt to regulate their course by the derision of opponents than by the approval of conscience or of friend; who will shape hostility according to the convenience of the party to whom they are hostile; and who are, above all things, fond to talk of being weary of the burden their own virtues or their own party may have imposed upon them. We now behold such, by the help of Whitelocke, among the members of the House who supported Vane; and can we doubt that that statesman, who would have thought it treason to his country to consult the convenience of her enemies, and have sunk lifeless in his place before he indulged the luxury of being "weary" in her service—can we doubt that he suffered, far more than by the worst difficulties, dangers, or toils of the cause, from the holiday sensibilities and delicate indifference of such gentlemen as these? It matters seldom that they happen to be few. The example goes forth to the great body of the people, who find it hard to discriminate, in such circumstances, between service and betrayal.

More treacherous enemies, at the same time, beset Vane and his party, even among the civil members of that House for whose independence they were now perilling all that makes life dear

to man. Whitelocke describes them also, in the same passage of apparent self-reference already quoted. "Neither," he continues, as if to excuse the views of the moderate men, "neither could it clearly be foreseen that the design of Cromwell and his officers was to rout the present power, and so set up themselves; against the which they were advised, as pulling down the foundation of their own interest and power, and the way to weaken themselves, and to hazard both their cause and persons. Yet still they seemed zealous, upon their common pretensions of 'right,' and 'justice,' and 'public liberty,' to put a period to this Parliament, and that if the Parliament would not shortly do it themselves, that then the soldiers must do it. Some who earnestly declared their judgment against this, as 'the most dangerous and the most ungrateful thing that could be practised,' by this freedom gained no favour with Cromwell and his officers. But there wanted not some Parliament men, perhaps to flatter with them, who soothed them in this unhand-some design, and were plotting with them to ruin themselves, as by the consequence will appear."

One of Cromwell's falsest pretences is shadowed forth in this extract, but it is a pretence which has unhappily passed into history, and claims, therefore, serious disproof. This, it may be here remarked, is the first time that the testimonies of living witnesses as to these memorable occurrences have been brought face to face; and it is not an ungratifying circumstance to note what a perfect agreement there is as to all the main considerations they suggest, in the relations of men of such different parties, writing at such different times, and only alike in the fact of having themselves witnessed what they thus record. The result will show, among other things, that the only reasonable pretext by which history has attempted to justify the usurpation of Cromwell is based upon a falsehood.

The question of dissolution is stated by Whitelocke to have been urged by the soldiers as of "right," "justice," and "public liberty," and to have left a reasonable alternative to those friends of freedom who had not lost faith in that sacred thing. "You must put a period to this Parliament," urge the soldiers. "If, however, you do not shortly do this yourselves, then the soldiers must do it." Now it is quite true that this tone was for a time adopted in the councils of Cromwell, but only for such a time as might render feasible a subsequent mean perversion of the truth to the English people. Ludlow states some singular facts on this head. While Cromwell, he says, was "making the most solemn professions of fidelity to the Parliament, assuring them that, if they would command the army to break their swords over their heads, and to throw them into the sea, he would undertake they should do it, he privately engaged the officers of the army to draw up a petition to the Parliament, that, for the satisfaction of the nation, they would put that vote which they had made for fixing a period to their sitting into an act; which, while the officers were forming and debating, the general having, it seems, for that time altered his counsels, sent Colonel Desborough,

one of his instruments, to the council of officers, who told them they were a sort of men whom nothing could satisfy; that the Parliament were more ready to do any good than they to desire it; that they ought to rely upon their word and promise to dissolve themselves by the time prefixed; and that to petition them to put their vote into an act would manifest a diffidence of them, and lessen their authority, which was so necessary to the army. The general, coming into the council while Desborough was speaking, seconded him; to which some of the officers took the liberty to reply that they had the same opinion of the Parliament and petition with them, and that the chief argument that moved them to take this matter into consideration was the intimation they had received that *it was according to the desires of those who had now spoken against it, and whose latter motion they were much more ready to comply with than their former.*"

Quite true it was that it had once been, for good reasons, according to the desires of those who now, for better reasons, spoke against it. In such curious details we behold each fluctuation of the struggle; for at this moment, the very crisis of all, Vane had baffled Cromwell upon his own ground and with his own weapons, and it was nothing more nor less than a sudden discovery of that circumstance which "altered the counsels of the general." Ludlow describes what Vane had done in a general remark on the sudden change in the policy of the Parliament. "Now, perceiving to what kind of excesses the madness of the army was like to carry them, the Parliament resolved to leave as a legacy to the people the government of a commonwealth by their representatives when assembled in Parliament, and in the intervals thereof by a council of state chosen by them, and to continue till the meeting of the next succeeding Parliament, to whom they were to give an account of their conduct and management. To this end they resolved, without any further delay, to pass the act for their own dissolution." Vane had within the last few days, in fact, by his own individual and almost unaided exertions, hastened to its latter stages the memorable bill for a "new representative." Thus, as the sharp crisis approached, there appeared even an activity and energy that could cope with Cromwell's own. Silently but resolutely Vane had achieved the major part of the amendments recommended in his own report,\* and little now remained save the final sanction of the House to give to the measure the force of law. Cromwell then, for the first time, while in absolute triumphal progress on the strongest position of the war he had engaged in, looked up and saw it in firm possession of the enemy.

The aspect of the contest between the Parliament and their general changes from this instant. It loses, on the side of Cromwell, every element, or even pretence, of fairness. It at once became evident that the musket could arbitrate it only, and even Cromwell's most plausible craft was unmasked suddenly into a bare image of tyranny and force. Up to this point he had a certain hollow case to rest upon with the people, and was at least going forward to his aim with a stealthier step and the help of

a less startling falsehood. The very circumstances which had justified to the statesmen even their share in the existence of that popular discontent, now spread in various directions (and which clamoured in its less scrupulous quarters of the "despotism" of many), would have served to justify, in some sort also, Cromwell's subtle measures for the substitution of a despotism of one. All that was now at an end. Truth took its stand on one side, falsehood fronted it on the other, and the most momentous interests of humanity, present and future, trembled in the impending issue. Religion and liberty, the right of action and of thought, honours won upon earth, deliverances vouchsafed from heaven—all that had rendered the English people a praise and wonder to the earth during their contest with their king, were now committed in this struggle for the existence of representation in our country. The example of the rulers of England had, during all that time, been the life of virtue in her people. It was by the Eliots, the Pymms, the Hampdens, and the Vanes, that an enlightening influence, as from heaven itself, had pierced into the humblest and remotest corners of the land. To blight this as suddenly as it had risen, and to promote a second growth of ignorance and of slavery, only less bad because less enduring than the first, it was simply necessary to exhibit once more in the high places of England that very oppression, coercion, and arbitrary rule from which she had been freed so lately. And this was the miserable work which Cromwell had now in hand, and for which he was content to peril greater and purer fame than had fallen within the grasp of Englishman before him.

The first thing to be noted in the closing scenes of the struggle, so far as we are able to penetrate the obscurity which unhappily has veiled them too long, is the fierce contempt exhibited by Cromwell for the popular pretences on which he rested first. As soon as he saw that Vane had resolved to test them, he flung them scornfully to the wind. In the life of Henry Neville, for example, a virtuous and exemplary man, a scene of this exact time is given as from Neville's lips. "Cromwell upon this great occasion sent for some of the chief city divines, as if he made it a matter of conscience to be determined by their advice. Among these was the leading Mr. Calamy, who very boldly opposed Mr. Cromwell's project, and offered to prove it both unlawful and impracticable. Cromwell answered readily upon the first head of unlawful, and appealed to the safety of the nation being the supreme law. 'But,' says he, 'pray, Mr. Calamy, why impracticable?' Calamy replied, 'Oh! 'tis against the voice of the nation; there will be nine in ten against you.' 'Very well,' says Cromwell; 'but what if I should disarm the nine, and put a sword into the tenth man's hand, would not that do the business?' " The next scene, with the same moral, took place on a different theatre, with actors somewhat different, and is told by an anti-Republican of uncompromising fierceness. "The next scene of this applauded comedy," he writes, so characterizing a tragedy fraught with the lives of thousands of living men, and with the liberties of unborn millions, "was laid

\* See Life of Vane, p. 314-317.

† Life of Henry Neville, p. 35.

at the Cockpit by Whitehall, where Cromwell, concealing the number of the beast in his apocalypse, declared to his council of officers 'that if they should trust the people in an election of a new Parliament according to the old Constitution, it would be a tempting of God; and that his confidence was, that God did intend to save and deliver this nation by few, as he had done in former times; and that five or six men, and some few more, setting themselves to the work, might do more in one day than the Parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that such unbiassed men were like to be the only instruments of the people's happiness.'

Not succeeding with this proposal, it is to be presumed, to the extent of his desire, we find it somewhat enlarged and modified in the next council held; for the chosen few, who were to be heaven-selected for supreme power, are there suddenly extended to the significant number of forty. This was the revival of a project which had occupied the mind of Cromwell previously.\* Its plain object was to pave as smooth a way to tyranny as possible, by first removing every existing legislative and executive body that had the appearance of being founded upon English institutions, or in any way based on English customs. To that end the design was admirably shaped. The Parliament having been dissolved, the sovereign power of government was to be placed for a time in commission, consisting of forty persons, chosen from the defunct House of Commons, the council of state, and the army. The mere proposed constitution of this body exhibits the kind of difficulties that Cromwell had to encounter in every stage of these extraordinary intrigues, and is in itself an implied refutation of the historical slander which treats the whole body of statesmen, the council of the Commonwealth, and the poor Rump of their once great House, with measureless scorn. Supposing the proposition sincere or insincere, which would have composed out of these various elements the new Council of Forty for England, it carries with it, not the less, an undoubted concession to the claims of the subsisting government for no little consideration at even the hands of those who had thus resolved its downfall. The people were obviously to be induced to believe that members of that famous House which had conducted the contest to its successful close were still to govern them; that power was yet to remain with at least the heads of that great body which, as council of the state, had established the Commonwealth in the respect of surrounding nations. Cromwell was at the same time quite safe in making such a project the basis of his tyranny. It was a sop for all parties, and a satisfaction for none. The Harrisons and Okeys, who looked for a reign of saints, saw, in near prospect already, the mystic number of those sacred rulers; the Streeters, Lamberts, and Salways viewed with much complacency themselves in power, and their own peculiar crotchets in advanced realization; the moderate and indifferent men, the waiters upon Providence and upon Cromwell, were content with it, as they would have been contented with anything that promised

them as much ease with as little responsibility; and the only prominent dissenter or objector would seem to have been Whitelocke himself, who, in his secret and subtle love for all that was old, venerable, or like law, saw little good in forty, and much virtue in one. But Cromwell could have eased his mind on that score with an exercise of little candour. Secretly laughing down these various hopes, he stood triumphant in the security of his own. His creatures, he knew, or creatures he could mould into his, should pack that convenient council; and for the result, what would be easier or more natural than a "manifestation of Providence?"

The grand preliminary difficulty was the mode in which the first step was to be achieved—the dissolution of the Parliament. A section of the officers, backed by a section of the lawyers, argued that this should be the voluntary act of the House itself; but Vane had baffled this, so far as it could have tended to serve the views of Cromwell, by provisions\* with which he had accompanied the act of dissolution, securing to the people a new and enlarged system of representation, and enlisting on the side of liberal and popular government their best sympathies and most enduring affections. The other and larger section of negotiators, or conspirators (for here there can be little choice between the words), were in favour of a compulsory dissolution, but never seem to have contemplated the extreme of that desperate course which was already working darkly in Cromwell's mind. As yet, darkly; but never, through his whole career, had the mind of that extraordinary person appeared wrapped in what looked like a helpless or chaotic confusion, that there did not lie coiled and hidden beneath it more energy and quick-sighted resolve, more rigid and straightforward determination, a purpose more sharply shaped, and readier to start into instant life and action, than have ever yet shone forth in guise the most nimble, or with an address the most accomplished. And what he now gazed at, in that internal mind of his, calmly and resolutely—involving, as it did, not only an act without precedent in nations, but the very existence of rights, thereafter to be sports for children, which had once been watchwords of the greatest fight for liberty yet fought in the world—he at the same time as coolly designed to prepare in some sort the minds of the common people for, by the use of his favourite engine of fanaticism. The suddenness of the shock to be apprehended in some would thus at least be broken.

Ludlow is the evidence on this point. At this time, he says, "divers of the clergy, from their pulpits, began to prophesy the destruction of the Parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable; insomuch that the general, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to Quarter-master-general Vernon, 'that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end. One of these,' said he, 'is headed by Major-general Lambert, who, in revenge of that injury the Parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and

\* See Life of Vane, p. 312.

\* See Life of Vane, p. 316, 317.

conditions suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution. Of the other, Major-general Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leisure, *but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent.*"

The final scene in this extraordinary and most memorable series of intrigues against liberty, carried on by men who had fought for the fame of her best and bravest champions, now draws nigh. On the 19th of April, 1653, the traitorous council, framed by Cromwell, held their famous and last meeting. About twenty members of Parliament are said to have been present, of the character already attributed to these gentlemen "negotiators." The proposition offered by Cromwell's creatures has been already described, and will farther appear in a celebrated note taken at the time by Whitelocke (who was present), of the occurrences of the meeting.

"Yesterday," says the lord-commissioner, writing on the fatal 20th of April, "there having been a great meeting, at Cromwell's lodgings in Whitehall, of Parliament-men and several officers of the army, sent to by Cromwell to be there, and a large discourse and debate having been among them touching some expedient to be found out for the present carrying on of the government of the Commonwealth, and putting a period to this present Parliament, it was offered by divers as a most dangerous thing to dissolve the present Parliament, and to set up any other government, and that it would neither be warrantable in conscience nor wisdom so to do; yet none of them expressed themselves so freely to that purpose as Sir Thomas Widdrington and Whitelocke then did. Of the other opinion, as to putting an end forthwith to this Parliament, St. John was one of the chief, and many more with him; and generally all the officers of the army, who stuck close in this likewise to their general; and the better to make way for themselves, and their ambitious design of advancing them to the civil government as well as they were in the military power, they and their party declared their opinions 'that it was necessary the same should be done one way or other, and the members of Parliament not permitted to prolong their own power:' at which expression Cromwell seemed to reprove some of them; and this conference lasted till late at night, when Widdrington and Whitelocke went home weary, and troubled to see the indiscretion and ingratitude of those men, and the way they designed to ruin themselves."

The reader will have an opportunity of contrasting this account with that which Cromwell subsequently gave of the same transaction, and in the course of which he grounded a complaint of insincerity against Whitelocke and his friends, on the alleged circumstance of their having left the meeting on this famous night with an express understanding that the leaders of the House of Commons would suspend all farther proceedings on the act for dissolution and a new representative till the result of the conference of next day. But if Whitelocke gave such a pledge, which his entire silence on

that head renders at least doubtful, he did so without authority, and in the absence of any means of redeeming it. The course which Vane held at present had been deliberately chosen by that determined man, and it would have demanded a more than human power to induce him, for any consideration left upon the earth, to peril by another hour's delay the popular claim to popular rights delayed already to the endangerment of liberty. The whole of the 19th of April, so spent, as we have seen, at Whitehall, in consultation between the lawyers, temporizers, and traitors,\* was passed by Vane at Westminster, in resolute amendment of the details of the bill which was at once to close the existence of the greatest Parliament that had ever sat within the walls of the old chapel of St. Stephen's, and to call into life throughout England the greatest amount of representative freedom that had yet been enjoyed by her people: and never, surely, did sun rise on a loftier or more honourable strength of purpose in the breast of any man, than that which, early on the morning on the 20th of April, sustained Sir Henry Vane as he passed into the House of Commons to strike his last blow for the sacred cause to which, from earliest youth, and in resistance to all temptations, his life had been devoted with a touching constancy. The same hour of the same ever-memorable morning saw Whitelocke and his friends on their way to Cromwell's house.

Therefore, proceeds the memorialist, in continuation of the passage already quoted, "these came early again this morning, according to appointment, to Cromwell's lodging, where there were but few Parliament-men and a few officers of the army. A point was again stirred, which had been debated the last night, 'Whether forty persons, or about that number of Parliament-men and officers of the army, should be nominated by the Parliament, and empowered for the managing the affairs of the Commonwealth till a new Parliament should meet, and so the present Parliament to be forthwith dissolved.' Whitelocke was against this proposal, and the more, fearing lest he might be one of these forty, who, he thought, would be in a desperate condition after the Parliament should be dissolved; but others were very ambitious to be of this number and council, and to be invested with this exorbitant power in them. Cromwell being informed during this debate that the Parliament was sitting, and that it was hoped they would put a period to themselves, which would be the most honourable dissolution for them, hereupon he broke off the meeting, and the members of the Parliament left him at his lodging and went to the House."

Vane, Marten, Algernon Sidney, and others of the chief men had been there some time, and

\* The only sincere (however wrong-headed) Republican, of whose attendance at these councils I can find any evidence, is Sir Arthur Hazlerig. That he did so is clear from a manuscript report of a speech delivered by him in Richard Cromwell's Parliament. "I heard, being seventy miles off, that it was propounded that we should dissolve our trust, and devolve it into a few hands. I came up and found it so: that it was resolved in a ~~house~~ the Cuckpit. I trembled at it, and was, after, ~~there~~ ~~testimony~~ against it. I told them the ~~truth~~ ~~was~~ ~~accused~~. I told them it was ~~impossible~~ ~~to~~ ~~trust~~."

had succeeded in forcing to its final stage the act for the new representative. Some of Cromwell's creatures had also shown themselves early in their places, with a view to watch the proceedings for him, and to interpose the forms of the House, if necessary, for the purpose of giving time and room to his designs. Thus, when Vane rose to urge the necessity of passing the bill into a law at once, one of these convenient gentlemen was despatched, as we have seen, to interrupt the debate at Cromwell's lodgings; while another, no less than Major-general Harrison himself, rose with the dignified purpose of talking against time, and "most sweetly and humbly" conjured the members assembled to pause before they took so important a step as that which Vane recommended. The warmth and earnestness of Vane's reply were the signal for a second messenger to Cromwell, and Ingoldsby was observed to leave the House in some haste and excitement.

The Cromwell section of officers were still in consultation with Cromwell himself at the lodging of the lord-general. The first news of the morning had "broken off" what might be called the negotiatory part of the meeting; but the military cabal had resumed their private councils, when Ingoldsby's sudden appearance in the room, with the excitement upon him of the great scene he had left, again interrupted their discussions. "If you mean to do anything decisive," he exclaimed to Cromwell, "you have no time to lose." Cromwell rose hastily, commanded a party of soldiers to be marched round to the House of Commons, and left the room without another word. Lambert and "five or six" of the more determined officers followed him. The rest remained sitting where they were, in wonder, uncertainty, and dread.

Cromwell made no pause till he stood before the door of the House of Commons. Here he planted a body of soldiers, stationed another in the lobby, and led round some files of musketeers to a position without the chamber where the members were seated. His manner, at this momentous instant, was observed to be calm, and his very dress was noted for its peaceful contrast to his purposes. Vane had again risen, and was speaking on the dissolution bill in a passionate strain, when he quietly appeared at the door, "clad in plain black clothes, with gray worsted stockings,"\* quite unattended and alone. About a hundred members were at this time present.† He stood for a moment on the spot at which he entered, and then "sat down as he used to do in an ordinary place." Here he was instantly joined by his kinsman Saint John, to whom he said, with inexpressible humility of manner, that "he was come to do that which grieved him to the very soul, and that he had earnestly, with tears, prayed to God against: nay, that he had rather be torn in pieces than do it; but there was a necessity laid upon him therein, in order to the glory of God and the good of the nation." Saint John answered that "he knew not what he meant; but did pray that what it was which must be done might have a happy issue for the general good." With this, that crafty lawyer went back to his

own seat, to wait the issue of all those dark intrigues in which he had himself played so prominent a part.

Vane still held on unflinchingly to his great purpose. He urged, with increased earnestness, the necessity of proceeding at once to the last stage of the bill, and with that view adjured them to dispense with even the ceremony of engrossing, and other immaterial forms. Cromwell, at this, beckoned Harrison. "Now is the time," he said to that enthusiast; "I must do it!" Harrison's answer would imply that he knew the meditated outrage,\* but felt the force of the eloquence of Vane. "The work, sir," he said, after advising him to consider, "is very great and dangerous." "You say well," hastily retorted Cromwell, and "sat still for another quarter of an hour." It would then seem that Vane had succeeded in his purpose, for the speaker had actually risen to put the question,† when Cromwell started up, "put off his hat," and began to speak. "At first," Lord Leicester tells us, "and for a good while, he spoke in commendation of the Parliament for their pains and care of the public good; but afterward he changed his style; told them of their injustice, delays of justice, self-interest, and other faults;" charging them, according to Ludlow, with "not having a heart to do anything for the public good," and accusing them "of an intention to perpetuate themselves in power, had they not been forced to the passing of this act, which he affirmed they designed never to observe." But, he added, with a violent and harsh abruptness, "Your time is come! The Lord has done with you! He has chosen other instruments for the carrying on His work that are more worthy." All this seemed nothing less than inspiration to his fanatical followers. They marked the extraordinary changes in his voice and manner as new births of Providence within him, and exclaimed that it was the Lord had taken him by the hand, and set him on to do that thing. Plain men saw the tyrant only, the slave within the grasp of tyrannous ambition. "He spoke," says Ludlow, "with so much passion and discomposure of mind, as if he had been distracted."

Meanwhile Vane had risen, Wentworth and Marten too, "but he would suffer none to speak but himself."‡ At the same time, as if himself astonished at the unprecedented part he was playing, he cried out to those who had risen, "You think, perhaps, that this is not Parliamentary language; I know it." In spite of all resistance, however, the voice of Sir Peter Wentworth, who stood up by the side of Vane, forced itself at last upon the House. He de-

\* It was believed at the time that Sir Gilbert Pickering, and some few other members (out of those that had attended the Whitehall councils), were also acquainted with what Cromwell purposed. It is certain, according to the author of the *Flagellum*, that Sir Gilbert was privy to it, since "he had held consultation the night before with him, and was up armed in his chamber till the very time."

† Ludlow, Lord Leicester (who received his information from Algernon Sidney), and Sir Arthur Hazlerig (who was present) agree on this point. "We were labouring here in the House," says Hazlerig, in that speech in Richard Cromwell's Parliament to which I have already adverted, "on an act to put an end to that Parliament, and to call another. I desired the passing of it with all my soul. The question was putting for it, when our general stood up and stopped the question, and called in his lieutenant, with two files of musketeers, with their hats on their heads, and their guns loaded with bullets."

‡ Whitelocke, p. 529.

\* Lord Leicester's Journal, p. 139.

† Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 459.



clared that this was indeed "the first time that he had ever heard such unbecoming language given to the Parliament, and that it was the more horrid in that it came from their servant, and their servant whom they had so highly trusted and obliged, and whom, by their unprecedented bounty, they had made what he was."<sup>\*</sup> Whether these words really transported Cromwell, on the instant, beyond the bounds of even his self-command, or merely rendered necessary a farther display of what his deluded followers might take to be genuine inspiration, the reader will best judge from what actually followed, as an honest eyewitness has delivered it to us.

Cromwell instantly thrust his hat down upon his head, sprang from his seat into the centre of the floor of the House, and shouted out, "Come, come, I'll put an end to your prating." Then, adds Lord Leicester, on the relation of Algernon Sidney, "he walked up and down the stage or floor in the midst of the House, with his hat on his head, and chid the members soundly, looking sometimes, and pointing particularly, upon some persons, as Sir B. Whitelocke, one of the commissioners for the great seal, and Sir Henry Vane, to whom he gave very sharp language, *though he named them not*, but by his gestures it was well known he meant them." But even while he raved and chafed in this desperate fashion ("walking up and down," Ludlow tells us, "like a madman, and kicking the ground with his feet"), Vane succeeded in making himself heard once more. At this Cromwell stopped and called Vane by his name. "You," he said, "might have prevented this extraordinary course; but you are a juggler, and have not so much as common honesty."<sup>†</sup> "I have been forced to this," he continued. "I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon the doing of this work. But now begone. You are no Parliament. I say, you are no Parliament! I'll put an end to your sitting. Begone! Give way to honest men."<sup>‡</sup> Stamping his foot, as he spoke thus, very heavily on the floor, the door was flung open suddenly, and he stood in the midst of "five or six files of musketeers," with their arms ready!

In that moment perished, for a time, the rights in whose name twelve years of the miseries of civil war had been unrepiningly encountered, "making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many faithful and valiant Englishmen, who had left their countrymen in this liberty of Parliament, bought with their lives." It is needless to say that resistance, to any successful end, was idle; yet not without such resistance as might serve to enter their immortal protest with posterity did these lion-hearted Republicans leave the scene (now degraded and profaned) of their yet glorious and undying triumphs. "Then the general," pursues Lord Leicester, "pointing to the speaker in his chair, said to Harrison, 'Fetch him down.' Harrison went to the speaker, and spoke to him to come down; but the speaker sat still and said nothing. 'Take him down!' said the general; then Harrison went and pulled the speaker by the gown,

and he came down.\* It happened that day that Algernon Sidney sat next to the speaker on the right hand. The general said to Harrison, 'Put him out!' Harrison spake to Sidney to go out; but he said he would not go out, and sat still. The general said again, 'Put him out!' Then Harrison and Worsley (who commanded the general's own regiment of foot) put their hands upon Sidney's shoulders, as if they would force him to go out. Then he rose and went towards the door. Then the general went to the table where the mace lay, which used to be carried before the speaker, and said, 'Take away these bawbles!' so the soldiers took away the mace."

While this extraordinary scene of violence proceeded thus, the majority of the members had gradually withdrawn; and now, as the more eminent men, who had waited to the last, moved slowly towards the door, through files of musketeers drawn up on either side, they received to the last, in passionate insults from Cromwell, the tribute which their defence of the Commonwealth had well merited from the lips of its destroyer. Nicknames were flung in the face of each. Challoner was pointed to as a drunkard;† Sir Peter Wentworth was accused of adultery; Alderman Allen of public embezzlements; even poor Whitelocke of gross injustice; and as the lord-general's old friend, Harry Marten, passed, he was asked if a whoremaster was fit to sit and govern.‡ Among the latest of all came Vane; and as he came, he once again protested "in a loud voice" against the fatal scene which had been acted. "This is not honest," he said. "Yea, it is against morality and common honesty." At that instant, it is possible Cromwell felt some shame. He paused, as though to rally himself with the recollection of some personal or private vice he might fling against his great rival, but when he spoke, his harsh voice had a troubled tone, and he merely uttered the few words, that have become so memorable, "Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! *the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!*" No vice would stick, even as a lie, against the virtue and simplicity of the most spotless statesman in our annals. Vane passed on, and no nickname followed him.

Cromwell was now virtually lord of England, and stood with a heavier and more daring foot upon her neck than had ever been placed there by any of her kings. "He seized," says Ludlow, "on the records that were in the House

\* Lenthall was by no means a man of gallantry or heroism. On many occasions, indeed, he showed himself deficient in the most ordinary spirit; but there were two incidents in his life, when the very extent of the outrage committed on the authority with which he was invested seems to have positively lifted him far above the strain of common men. These incidents were Charles's attempted arrest of the five members, and Cromwell's present and greater crime. Sir Arthur Hazlerig corroborates the account of the text in his speech already quoted. "The speaker," he said, "a stout man, was not willing to go. He was so noble, that he frowned, and said he would not go out of the chair till he was plucked out, which was quickly done, without much compliment, by two soldiers." Ludlow also tells us, that when Harrison went up to move the speaker from his chair, Lenthall at once told him "that he would not come down unless he were forced." "Sir," said Harrison, "I will lend you my hand;" and thereupon, putting his hand within his, the speaker came down." One matter of consideration should, however, not be omitted: Lenthall had good reason to expect being brought to a severe account, if he had not shown resistance thus. † Drysdale, p. 405.

‡ Perfect Politician, p. 168.

\* Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 456; and see Lingard's History, vol. ii., p. 171.

† Leicester's Journal, p. 141.

‡ Perfect Politician, p. 169.

and at Mr. Scobell's;\* after which he went to the clerk, and snatching the act of dissolution, which was ready to pass, out of his hand, he put it under his cloak, and having commanded the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall."†

The officers he had left were still sitting together when Cromwell reappeared, flushed and excited as they had always seen him after victory, and, flinging on the table before them the key of the House of Commons (the "bawble" had been tossed into the outer room), told them all that he had done. "When I went there," he added, "I did not think to have done this; but, perceiving the spirit of God so strong upon me, I would not consult flesh and blood." Yet even in that cabal there were found some voices to question the justice of an act, no matter by what pretence defended, of unparalleled and awful outrage. Colonel Okey and others, it would seem, spoke out in condemnation of it, "conceiving that the way they were now going tended to ruin and confusion. To these, having not yet taken off his mask, but pretending to more honesty and self-denial than ever, he professed himself resolved to do much more good, and with more expedition, than could be expected from the Parliament, which professions from him put most of them to silence, and moved them to a resolution of waiting for a farther discovery of his design before they would proceed to a breach and division from him. But Colonel Okey, being jealous that the end would be bad, because the means were such as made them justly suspected of hypocrisy, inquired of Col. Desborough what his meaning was, to give such high commendations to the Parliament when he endeavoured to dissuade the officers of the army from petitioning them for a dissolution, and so short a time after to eject them with so much scorn and contempt; who had no other answer to make but that, *if ever he drolled in his life, he had drolled then.*"‡ It is a pity that, in proportion

\* At that time clerk of the House.

† Unable to omit this remarkable scene in a memoir of Cromwell, I have endeavoured to justify its repetition (in transgression of a rule which has been strictly observed in this series of biographies) by certain new elements of character and interest that have occurred to me since the notice of Vane was written. A curious circumstance may be added, illustrative of the stern and undying spirit of the leaders of this famous Long Parliament. Treating Cromwell's act of violence as though it had never disgraced our annals, that Parliament, entitled, if any ever was, to boast itself indestructible, resuscitated itself, as the reader knows, on the death of Cromwell; and, in looking over the journals of the 7th of January, 1659, I find this characteristic passage: "Whereas this House do find an entry in the Journal Book of the 20th of April, 1653, in these words, '*This day his excellency the lord-general dissolved this Parliament*;' which was done without consent of Parliament; which this House doth accordingly declare to be a forgery; and do order Mr. Scobell to be sent for to the bar to answer it." From other minutes in the same journal, I find farther that Mr. Scobell appeared before the House duly to answer this offence, and that the obnoxious entry having been shown him, he was asked who made it. He acknowledged upon this that it was his own handwriting, and that he did it without the direction of any person whatever. The House immediately ordered the entry to be expunged out of the journals, and referred it to a committee to consider "whether the then late act of indemnity extended to pardon that offence, and report their opinion of it to the House." I find nothing more of it, however: matters of greater moment had meanwhile occurred for consideration!

‡ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 460. The memorialist (who then held command in Ireland) adds, "We who were in Ireland, being not so well informed of these clandestine

as these Republican officers admitted glimmerings of conscience or fair intention into their plans, they seem to have lost altogether what could alone effectually serve them in the peculiar policy they favoured—their craft and cunning. It is wonderful to contemplate the simplicity they exhibit; amusing it might be, no less, were it not for the serious mischief it inflicted on our country.

A far different scene, however, from that which he encountered at the military cabal, awaited Cromwell at the council of state. In the afternoon of this still eventful day, the triumphant usurper, attended by Lambert and Harrison, entered the chamber of the council. The famous Bradshaw had that morning taken his seat on his fresh election to the presidency, and it thus fitly devolved upon him, from whose lips had issued the sentence which doomed a legitimate king to death for crimes committed against the people, to rebuke a traitorous usurper upon the threshold of his ill-gotten power. Cromwell broke the silence which followed his sudden appearance in the chamber: "Gentlemen," he said, "if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and, since you can't but know what was done at the House in the morning, so take notice that the Parliament is dissolved." To this Bradshaw rose and at once replied: "Sir, we have heard what you did at the House in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, sir, you are mistaken to think that the Parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves: therefore take you notice of that." With these words fell the Commonwealth of England, leaving behind it a memory which is immortal, and results that are destined to live and bear fruit forever. Each member present in council at once rose and withdrew, Scot, Hazlerig, and Love briefly and emphatically repeating, as they went, the solemn protest of Bradshaw.\* Cromwell made no reply.

At early dawn of the 21st of April, a large placard was seen pasted on the door of the House of Commons—"This house to be let, unfurnished"—the work of some Royalist wit of the preceding night, after orgies which had no doubt worthily celebrated the downfall of the only sufficient or lasting barrier between England and the Stuarts.† On the morning of the same day a sort of government gazette was issued from Whitehall to the following effect: "The lord-general delivered yesterday in Parliament *divers reasons wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of this Parliament*, and it was accordingly done, the speaker and the members all departing; the grounds of which proceedings will (*'tis probable*) be

practices, and no less confident that the principles of some men who joined in this attempt were directed to the good of the nation; and that, though some might be such artful knaves as to have other designs, yet, trusting that an impossibility of accomplishing the same would oblige them to fall in with the public interest, and not to be so very foolish to attempt the setting up for themselves—though we could not but have some doubts of the ill consequences of these things, yet thought ourselves, by the rules of charity, obliged to hope the best, and therefore continued to act in our places and stations as before." \* Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 461.

† For the rejoicings of Charles Stuart himself, see Evelyn's Correspondence, vol. ii., p. 213.

shortly made public." In speedy redemption of this pledge, a declaration of the "grounds and reasons for dissolving the Parliament," in the name of the lord-general and his council of officers, came forth, in English and French, on the 22d of April.

It is due to candour and to truth, wherein will be always found a solid vindication of the Commonwealth against its betrayer, to give the essential part of this declaration, and of what other defence Cromwell may have sought to place on record, in the dread of a verdict by posterity against his action of the 20th of April. To bring such a document as this declaration, for example, to the light of the truth which is here attempted to be cast, for the first time, into every corner of these strange transactions, is to unravel at once its cunning and false pretences. And much more than this will necessarily receive illustration from any careful endeavour to show in detail what various influences were in action at that time upon the people; what miserable self-delusions or wretched vanities held spellbound even Cromwell's agents in his tyrannous work; and for what considerations of dignity, prudence, or superior and unselfish care for the general safety, the baffled and slandered statesmen were content to "bide their time."

The declaration opens with a well-devised allusion to the grounds which had first moved the undersigned officers to take up arms, and engage their lives and all that was dear to them in the cause; to the various and signal dispensations through which Divine Providence had led them; and to the witness the Lord himself had borne to their unwearied efforts. They have been necessitated, they then with apparent frankness state, "for the defence of the same cause they first asserted, to have recourse unto extraordinary actions," which they thus proceed to describe and defend.

"After it had pleased God not only to reduce Ireland and give in Scotland, but so marvellously to appear for his people at Worcester that these nations were reduced to a great degree of peace and England to perfect quiet, and thereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the people the harvest of their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty both in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, their engagements, as also the great and wonderful things which God had wrought for them, it was a matter of much grief to the good and well-affected of the land to observe the little progress which was made therein, who thereupon applied to the army, expecting redress by their means; notwithstanding which, the army, being unwilling to meddle with the civil authority in matters so properly appertaining to it, it was agreed that his excellency, and officers of the army which were members of Parliament, should be desired to move the Parliament to proceed vigorously in performing what was amiss in government, and to the settling of the Commonwealth upon a foundation of justice and righteousness; which having done, we hoped that the Parliament would seasonably have answered our expectation. But finding (to our grief) delays therein, we renewed our desires in an humble petition to them, which was pre-

sented in August last; and although they at that time, signifying their good acceptance thereof, returned us thanks, and referred the particulars thereof to a committee of the House, yet no considerable effect was produced, nor any such progress made as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was petitioned for; but, on the contrary, there more and more appeared among them an aversion to the things themselves, with much bitterness and opposition to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them; which grew so prevalent, that those persons of honour and integrity among them who had eminently appeared for God and the public good both before and throughout this war, were rendered of no farther use in Parliament, than, by meeting with a corrupt party, to give them countenance to carry on their ends, and for effecting the desire they had of perpetuating themselves in the supreme government. For which purpose the said party long opposed, and frequently declared themselves against having, a new representative; and when they saw themselves necessitated to take that bill into consideration, they resolved to make use of it to recruit the House with persons of the same spirit and temper, thereby to perpetuate their own sitting, which intention divers of the activist among them did manifest, labouring to persuade others to a consent therein: and the better to effect this, divers petitions, preparing from several counties for the continuance of this Parliament, were encouraged, if not set on foot, by many of them.

"For obviating of these evils, the officers of the army obtained several meetings with some of the Parliament to consider what fitting means and remedy might be applied to prevent the same; but such endeavours proving altogether ineffectual, it became most evident to the army, as they doubt not it also is to all considering persons, that this Parliament, through the corruption of some, the jealousy of others, the non-attendance and negligence of many, would never answer those ends which God, his people, and the whole nation expected from them, but that this cause, which the Lord hath so greatly blessed, and bore witness to, should languish under their hands, and by degrees be wholly lost, and the lives, liberties, and comforts of his people delivered into their enemies' hands.

"All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest people of this nation, as well as by the army, and wisdom and direction being sought from the Lord, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God going along with us, to consider of some more effectual means to secure the cause which the good people of this Commonwealth had been so long engaged in, and to establish righteousness and peace in these nations.

"After much debate, it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, that the supreme authority should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons—men fearing God and of approved integrity—and the government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the laws, and administer justice impartially; hoping thereby the people may forget monarchy, and, understanding their true election of successive Parliaments, may have the

*government settled upon a true basis, without hazard to this glorious cause, or necessitating to keep up armies for the defence of the same.* And being still resolved to use all means possible to avoid extraordinary courses, we prevailed with about twenty members of Parliament to give us a conference, with whom we freely and plainly debated the necessity and justness of our proposals on that behalf, and did evidence that those, and not the act under their consideration, would most probably bring forth something answerable to that work, *the foundation whereof God himself hath laid, and is now carrying on in the world*; the which, notwithstanding, found no acceptance; but instead thereof, it was offered, that the way was to continue still this present Parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things; and this, being vehemently insisted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehensions, that not any love to a representative, but the making use thereof to recruit and so perpetuate themselves, was their aim.

"They being plainly dealt with about this, and told that neither the nation, *the honest interest*, nor we ourselves would be deluded by such dealings, they did agree to meet again the next day in the afternoon for mutual satisfaction, it being consented to by the members present, that *endeavours should be used* that nothing in the mean time should be done in Parliament that might exclude or frustrate the proposals before mentioned.

"Notwithstanding this, the next morning the Parliament did make more haste than usual in carrying on their said act, being helped on therein by some of the persons engaged to us the night before, none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same; and being ready to put the main question for consummating the said act, whereby our aforesaid proposals would have been rendered void, and the way of bringing them into a *fair and full debate of Parliament obstructed*; for preventing thereof, and all the sad and evil consequences which must, upon the grounds aforesaid, have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the interest of all honest men, and of this glorious cause, had been in danger to be laid in the dust, and these nations embroiled in new troubles, at a time when our enemies abroad are watching all advantages against us, and some of them actually engaged in war with us, we have been necessitated, *though with much reluctance*, to put an end to this Parliament; *which yet we have done (we hope) out of an honest heart, preferring this cause above our names, lives, families, or interests, how dear soever, with clear intention and real purposes of heart to call to the government persons of approved fidelity and honesty*, believing that, as no wise men will expect to gather grapes of thorns, so good men will hope that, if persons so qualified be chosen, the fruits of a just and righteous reformation, so long prayed and wished for, will, by the blessing of God, be in due time obtained, to the refreshing of all those good hearts who have been panting after these things.

"Much more might have been said," the declaration proceeded, "*if it had been our desire to justify ourselves by aspersing others, and raking into the misgovernment of affairs*; but we shall

conclude with this: that as we have been led by necessity and Providence to act as we have done, even beyond and above our own thoughts and desires, so we shall, and do, in that part of this great work which is behind, put ourselves wholly upon the Lord for a blessing, professing we look not to stand one day without his support, much less to bring to pass all the things mentioned and desired without his assistance; and therefore do solemnly desire and expect that all men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their own destruction, *should wait for such issue as He should bring forth, and to follow their business with peaceable spirits*, wherein we promise them protection, by his assistance.

"And for those who profess their fear and love to the name of God, that, *seeing in great measure for their sakes, and for righteousness' sake, we have taken our lives in our hands to do these things*, they would be constant with the Lord day and night on our behalf, that we may obtain grace from him; and seeing we have made so often mention of his name, that we may not do the least dishonour thereunto—which, indeed, would be our confusion, and a stain to the whole profession of godliness—we beseech them also to live in all humility, meekness, righteousness, and love one towards another and towards all men, that so they may put to silence the ignorance of the foolish who falsely accuse them, and to know that the late great and glorious dispensations, wherein the Lord hath so wonderfully appeared in bringing forth these things by the travail and blood of his children, ought to oblige them so to walk in the wisdom and love of Christ as may cause others to honour their holy profession, because they see Christ to be in them of a truth."

With these words the declaration closed: "We do farther purpose, before it be long, *more particularly to show the grounds of our proceedings*, and the reasons of this late great action and change, which in this we have but hinted at. And we do lastly declare, that all judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, committees, and commissioners, and all other civil officers and public ministers whatsoever, within this Commonwealth or any part thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices; and all persons whatsoever are to give obedience to them; as fully as when the Parliament was sitting."\*

After an unholy act, there is nothing so natural as holy profession. Through no gaps have spiritual ebullitions of this sort vented themselves so freely as through those of unrighteousness. In the whole of this declaration there is nothing tangible or substantial: it is profession throughout; and in professing too much, as these officers are made to do, they declare a conscious deficiency. What they allege respecting the purpose of the statesmen not to dissolve of their own accord, is flatly disproved by the scenes of debate and council which preceded, and were even interrupted by, the outrage of the 20th of April; and this contradiction is indeed so flagrant, that in a later part of the declaration it is not sought to be concealed, but an attempt is made to compro-

\* Copied from the original edition in the British Museum published by Hills and Brewster, printers to the army.

mise it by an assertion that when they discovered that sudden change of the policy of the statesmen, they had good reason to "apprehend" that its aim was not "any love to a new representative, but the making use thereof to recruit and so perpetuate themselves." The disingenuous sophism carries its own refutation with it. Not by its result in that sense was such a measure to be tested, but by the justness and fairness of its own provisions. Would these officers have dared to publish a copy of the bill in question? Cromwell had seized the only one in existence (it had not been printed, or even engrossed) on the day of the dissolution; had carried it himself, under his cloak, to his own house at Whitehall, and was never afterward known to refer to it in any way. An attempt has already been made in this work, however, to recover the substance of its main provisions,\* which there is every reason to believe, as I shall hereafter show, were tried and found too popular in the issue of writs for certain Parliaments of the Protectorate. Too popular for the purposes of despotism they might be expected to have proved. They embodied, in truth, a fair, a reasonable, a perfectly honest appeal to the intelligent classes of the people. The measure was worthy of such a statesman as Sir Henry Vane, and was, in all respects, what he might fearlessly have rested his case upon with the people and with posterity. The officers expose, unconsciously, their weakness and insecurity alone, when they confess that the result of such a measure would have been to restore the statesmen to power with additional strength for the realization of their wise purposes. These hundred and thirty men were at once to be re-enforced by three hundred and thirty supporters, who should speak, not their sentiments only, but also those of the people!

What else is said in this declaration and defence? A few things, which may be well to remember. It is declared that the new government had been specially called into existence in order to "settle the Commonwealth on a foundation of justice and righteousness;" that the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them, were to be the main agents of the work; that a new interest of that kind had arisen, which the nation was now to look to chiefly, namely, that of the people of God in question, or, in other words, the honest people, the honest interest; that, in accordance with this, persons of that class, and of approved fidelity and honesty, would instantly be called into the government. In short, it is plainly sought to be conveyed that the reign of saints was about to begin; and, to do them justice, some of the officers believed in the delusion which the rest thus skilfully practised. It is deserving of remark, also, that the very statesmen who on the day of dissolution had been covered with foulest epithets of insult, are here in shame admitted to be persons of honour and integrity, who had eminently appeared for God and the public good both before and throughout the war. Be it remembered, too, that the declaration confesses the existence of considerable sympathy with the last Parliament in the minds of the people (though it would imply its having

been unfairly obtained), and plainly dreads the outbreak of more. It refers uneasily to diverse petitions from several counties for the Parliament's continuance, and finds it needful to implore "all men," as they would not provoke the Lord to their own destruction, to wait patiently for such issue as He should bring forth, and to follow their business meanwhile with peaceable spirits. Finally, the authors of this declaration, as if in betrayal of even their own sense of the inadequacy of all the reasons they had attempted for the late mischievous outrage, declare it to be their purpose, "before it be long," to show more particularly the grounds of their proceedings, and the reasons of the late great action and change.

And it was not long, it may be confessed—a day or two only had elapsed—when a second declaration appeared accordingly. It was brief, however; contained nothing that had not been said in even greater detail in the first;† was merely a compromise for additional delay; and may fairly be taken to imply a farther doubt, on the part of Cromwell and his officers, of the quiet or patience of the people in the new and strange order of things. It was followed by a third and more memorable declaration, which appeared significantly in the name of "Oliver Cromwell, captain-general," only. This was published on the last day of April; was comprised in about twenty lines; and stated, that whereas it had been promised, in the declaration of the 22d, *that persons of approved fidelity and honesty should be called from the several parts of the Commonwealth to the supreme authority*, it now appeared that *some time must necessarily elapse before such an assembly could be brought together*. It was therefore judged proper, to prevent the mischief and inconveniences which might in the mean time arise to the Commonwealth, that a council of state should be constituted, to take care of and superintend the peace, safety, and present management of public affairs.‡

It is a very remarkable circumstance, however, as the reader will at once perceive, if he glances a page or two back, that no such pledge as this, which plainly implies a Parliament, had been given in the declaration of the 22d. The words there used were, that it was the intention "to call to the government persons of approved fidelity and honesty." The only inference undoubtedly was that of an election of a council of state, and most certainly not of any "assembly" from "several parts of the Commonwealth." Whence, then, had arisen this so sudden change? Whence could it possibly have arisen, but from some paramount necessity, as suddenly made apparent in the nation, and which declared to Cromwell the expediency of rendering that military council of his somewhat more palatable to the people, even separated and distracted as they were, by a certain show of civil countenance and concurrence? Such facts as these, and the considerations they carry with them, are of singular importance towards a due estimate of this momentous crisis. It was clearly by steps tho

\* It would be useless to quote it here, as there is not a single new point in it. It may be found in *Several Proceedings*, No. 167, British Museum Library.

† *Moderate Publisher*, 131. *Perfect Politician*, Godwin's *Commonwealth*, vol. iii., p. 520.

\* See *Life of Vane*, p. 310, 317.

most gradual our Cromwell was mounting his throne. From the body of the king, he had stepped upon the ruins of the Parliament of statesmen; and from the carcass of a second Parliament of saints, he proposed to vault into the Protector's throne.

It is instructive to know that any instant declaration of his despotic purpose, after his action of the 20th of April, might still have been fatal to the scheme. It argues much for the germs of good that were in the people yet, deluded as they had been by their enemies, mistaken by their friends, and now on the eve of a consummation of delusion and mistake at once fatal and never to be redeemed. We see that they had been accustomed to associate for so many years their security and rights with the great thought of Parliament, that its very name was to prove a sufficient veil to hide from them the darkest designs; and a merest shadow and pretence of its great significance to all that was held valuable in England was to enable Cromwell to pass for something less than the usurper his precipitate deed of the 20th was calculated to declare him, and indeed to wipe out no small or indifferent portion of the very crime of that deed, forced on him, as it was, before his plans were ripe, by the intrepid and self-possessed resolution of Vane and his friends. Sympathies were thus to be divided between the old and new Parliaments; the expectation of the new birth would greatly suspend any violent workings of judgment against the old murder; the troublesome honesty of the few officers who might happen to stick to the saints' reign would be more easily dealt with; and, finally, explanations might be much better given to an assembly of that description, and through them to the country, by some speech which the captain-general could at once deliver, on his own ground, supported by the prestige of his name and influence, and without control from any possible quarter, than any such farther declaration as had been promised from the military council could in any case supply.

And in this way, it happened accordingly, such explanations were actually given. They shall be noticed in this place, because, though they do not thus occur in order of time, the subject to which they relate is under discussion here, and could never be disposed of in any degree fairly or conclusively without listening to all that Cromwell himself, coolly and cautiously meditating the matter, may at any time, or under any circumstances, have either divulged or sought to conceal respecting it.

After various striking allusions (which will more properly find insertion in another place) to the commencement of the war, following its progress up to the settlement of the government in "the name, at least, of a commonwealth," and specially developing what he called "God's mercies" in it, the captain-general thus proceeded: "I shall now begin a little to remember you of the passages that have been transacted since Worcester fight; whence coming with my fellow-officers and soldiers, we expected—and had some reasonable confidence that our expectations should not be frustrated—that the authority that then was, having such a history to look back unto, such a God that

appeared for them so eminently, so visibly, that even our enemies many times confessed that God himself was engaged against them, or they should never have been brought so low, nor disappointed in every undertaking—for that may be said, by the way, had we miscarried but once, where had we been!—I say, we did think, and had some reasonable confidence, that, coming up then, the mercies that God had showed, the expectations that were in the hearts of all good men, would have prompted those that were in authority to have done those good things which might, by honest men, have been judged a return fit for such a God and worthy of such mercies, and, indeed, a discharge of duty to those for whom all these mercies have been showed, that is, the interest of the three nations—the true interest of the three nations.

"And if I should now labour to be particular in enumerating some businesses that have been transacted from that time till the dissolution of the late Parliament, indeed I should be upon a theme that would be very troublesome to myself; for I must say for myself and fellow-officers, we have rather desired and studied healing, than to rake into sores and look backward, to render things in those colours that would not be very well pleasing to any good eye to look upon. Only this we must say, for our own exoneration, and as thereby laying some foundation for the making evident *the necessity and duty that was incumbent upon us to make this last great change*, I think it will not be amiss to offer a word or two in that, not taking pleasure to rake into the business, were there not some kind of necessity so to do.

"Indeed we may say, without commending ourselves—I mean myself, and those gentlemen that have been engaged in the military affairs—that, upon our return, we came fully bent in our hearts and thoughts to desire and use all fair and lawful means we could to have had the nation to reap the fruit of all that blood and treasure that had been expended in this cause; and we have had many desires and thirstings in our spirits to find out ways and means wherein we might any ways be instrumental to help it forward; and we were very tender, for a long time, so much as to petition, till August last or thereabouts; we never offered to petition; but some of our then members, and others, having good acquaintance and relation to divers members of the Parliament, we did, from time to time, solicit that which we thought (if there had been nobody to prompt them, nobody to call upon them) would have been listened to, out of ingenuity and integrity in them, that had opportunity to have answered our expectations; and truly, when we saw nothing would be done, we did, as we thought, according to our duty, remind them by a petition—which petition I suppose the most of you have seen—which we delivered either in July or August last: what effect that had is likewise very well known. The truth is, we had no return at all that was satisfaction for us, but a few words given us. The businesses petitioned for, most of them, we were told, were under consideration; and those that were not had very little or no consideration at all."

Up to this point nothing is to be observed but a vague repetition of the declaration of the of-

scers on the 22d of April. Some remarkable passages follow, however, in which much that is most worthy of attention will be found. Pretences of the dissatisfaction of the people, "in every corner of the land," are set forth; the meetings of the cabal of soldiers and moderate or dishonest members are craftily described as of authority from the Parliament; the principle of the bill prepared by Vane is acknowledged to be just, though a want of "integrity and caution" is alleged against its details; the absolute intention of the Parliament to dissolve themselves is not sought to be denied; and the whole is wrapped up in a cloud of words, implying communications with "the Lord," which is certainly well adapted to mystify whatever glimmerings or professions of substantial or honest meaning might, without it, have hoped to settle upon the minds of the assembly. It is worth remark, moreover, that the motives of reserving these explanations to such an occasion is fairly avowed.

"Finding the people dissatisfied in every corner of the nation, and bringing home to our doors the non-performance of those things that had been promised, and were of due to be performed, we did think ourselves concerned; we endeavoured, as became honest men, to keep up the reputation of honest men in the world, and therefore we had, divers times, endeavoured to obtain a meeting with divers members of Parliament; and truly we did not begin this till October last, and in those meetings did, in all faithfulness and sincerity, beseech them that they would be mindful of their duty to God and man, and of the discharge of their trust to God and man. I believe these gentlemen that are many of them here can tell that *we had, at the least, ten or twelve meetings, most humbly begging and beseeching them that, of their own accords, they would do those good things that had been promised, that so it might appear they did not do them by any suggestion from the army, but of their own ingenuity, so tender were we to preserve them in the reputation and opinion of the people to the uttermost.* And having had many of those meetings, and declaring plainly that the issue would be the judgment and displeasure of God against them, the dissatisfaction of the people, and the putting things into a confusion, yet how little we did prevail we well know, and, we believe, is not unknown to you. At the last, when we saw, indeed, that things would not be laid to heart, we had a serious consideration among ourselves what other way to have recourse unto; and when, indeed, we came to those close considerations, they began to take the act of the new representative to heart, and seemed exceeding willing to put it on; *the which, had it been done, or would it have been done with that integrity, with that caution, that would have saved this cause and the interest we have been so long engaged in, there could nothing have happened to our judgments more welcome than that would have been;* but finding plainly that the intendment of it was not to give the people that right of choice, although it had been but a ceding right, or the seeming to give the people that choice, intended and designed to recruit the House, the better to perpetuate themselves. And truly divers of us, being spoken to to that end that we should give way to it, a thing to which we had a perpetual

reversion, which we did abominate the thoughts of, we always declared our judgments against it, and our dissatisfaction; but yet they would not hear of a representative *before it lay three years before them, without proceeding with one line considerably in it.* They that could not endure to hear of it, *then, when we came to our close considerations, then, instead of protracting, they did make as much preposterous haste on the other hand, and ran into that extremity;* and finding that this spirit was not according to God, and that the whole weight of this cause, which must needs have been very dear unto us, who have so often adventured our lives for it, and we believe is so to you—when we saw plainly that there was not so much consideration how to assert it or to provide security for it, and, indeed, to cross those that they reckoned the most troublesome people they had to deal with, which was the army, which by this time was sufficiently their displeasure—when we saw this, truly, that had power in our hands, to let the business go to such an issue as this was to *throw back the cause into the hands of them we first fought with, we came to this first conclusion among ourselves, that if we had been fought out of it, necessity would have taught us patience; but to be taken from us so unworthily, we should be rendered the worst people in the world, and should become traitors both to God and man; and when God had laid this to our hearts, and that we found the interest of his people was grown cheap, and not laid to heart, and, if we came to competition of things, the cause even among themselves would even, almost in everything, go to the ground, this did add more consideration to us, that there was a duty incumbent upon us; and truly I speak it in the presence of some that are here, that were at the close consultations—I may say, as before the Lord, *the thinking of an act of violence was, to us, worse than any engagement that ever we were in yet, and worse to us than the utmost hazard of our lives that could be; so unwilling were we, so tender were we, so desirous were we, if it were possible, that these men might have quit their places with honour.* And, truly, this I am the longer upon, because it hath been, in our hearts and consciences, our justification, and *hath never yet been imparted thorough to the nation; and we had rather begin with you to do it than to have done it before; and do think, indeed, that these transactions be more proper for a verbal communication than to have put it into writing.* I doubt, *whosoever had put it on would have been tempted to have dipped his pen in anger and wrath;* but affairs being at this posture, that we saw plainly and evidently, in some critical things, that the cause of the people of God was a despised thing, truly then we did believe that the hands of other men must be the hands that must be trusted with it; and then we thought it high time for us to look about us, and to be sensible of our duty."*

This extraordinary narrative, or "justification," not until now "imparted thorough to the nation," is afterward continued in a still more singular, involved, and wellnigh incomprehensible style. The entire passage demands quotation, since it is a fair test of the essential character of the justification itself, that it was found necessary to multiply into such a rhapsody of

country, to have qualifications in an act to be the rules of electors and elected, and not to know who should execute this. *Desired to know whether the next Parliament were not like to be all Presbyters?* Whether those qualifications would hinder them, or neuter? And though it be our desire to value and esteem persons of that judgment, only they having been as we know, having deserted this cause and interest upon the king's account, and upon that closure between them and the neighbour nation, we do think we must profess we had as good have delivered up our cause into the hands of any as into the hands of interested and biased men; for it is one thing to live friendly and brotherly, to bear with, and love, a person of another judgment in religion, another thing to have any so far set into the saddle upon that account as it should be in them to have all the rest of their brethren at mercy. Having had this discourse, making these objections of bringing in neuters, or such as should impose upon their brethren, or such as had given testimony to the king's party, and objecting to the danger of it in drawing the concourse of all people to arraign every individual person which indeed did fall obviously in, and the issue would certainly have been the putting it into the hands of men that had little affection to this cause, the answer again was made, and it was confessed by some, that these objections did lie; but answer was made by a very eminent person, at the same time as before, that nothing would save the nation but the continuance of this Parliament. This being so, we humbly proposed an expedient of ours, which was, indeed, to desire, that the government being in that condition it was, and things being under so much ill sense abroad, and so likely to come to confusion in every respect if it went on—so we desired they would depute the trust over to persons of honour and integrity, that were well known, men well affected to religion and the interest of the nation, which we told them, and was confessed, had been no new thing when these nations had been under the like hurly-burly and distractions; and it was confessed by them it had been no new thing. We had been at labour to get precedents to convince them of it, and we told them these things we offered out of that deep sense we had of the good of the nation and the cause of Christ; and were answered to that, nothing would save the nation but the continuance of the Parliament, although they would not say they would perpetuate it, at that time least of all.

"But, finding their endeavours did directly tend to it, they gave us this answer, that the things we had offered were of a tender and very weighty consideration. They did make objections how we should raise money, and some other objections. We told them that that we offered as an expedient, because we thought better than that for which no reason was or thought would be given. We desired them to lay the thing seriously to heart. They told us they would take consideration of these things till the morning—that they would sleep upon them; and I think that there was scarce any day that there sat above fifty, or fifty-two, or fifty-three. At the parting, two or three of the chief ones—the very chiefest of them—did tell us that they would endeavour the suspending the pro-

ceedings of the representative the next day till they had a further conference; and we did acquiesce, and had hope, if our expedient would take up a loving debate, the next day we should have some such issue of our debate as would have given a satisfaction to all. They went away late at night; and the next morning, we considering how to order that which we had to offer to them, when they were to meet in the evening, word was brought they were proceeding with a representative with all the eagerness they could: we did not believe persons of such quality could do it. A second and third messenger told us they had almost finished it, and had brought it to that issue with that haste that had never been known before; leaving out the things that did necessarily relate to due qualifications, as we have heard since; resolved to make it a paper bill, not to engross it, that they might make the quicker despatch of it, thus to have thrown all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never bled for it: upon this account, we thought it our duty not to suffer it, and upon this the House was dissolved."\*

In all this fanfaronade of words, it appears to me that there are only two substantial statements worthy of special remark beyond those adverted to already. The first is, that a disposition against the farther existence of the Parliament had been manifested in "every corner of the land;" and the second, that, if they had been permitted to pass the act of self-dissolution, its immediate result would have been to "throw all the liberties of the nation into the hands that never had bled for it," by returning a majority of Presbyterians to recruit the forces of the old members. In other words, the statesmen were to be recruited by the help of their bitterest foes. The lion was to lie down with the fox. The Independent and the Presbyterian were to rush into sudden embrace. The thick, the sordid, and unhealthy atmosphere of arrogant and intolerant bigotry was to melt suddenly into the clear and generous air of perfect religious freedom. Ridiculous as such pretences are—for everything that is devoid of truth must, some time or other, become a thing ridiculous—history has not chosen to reject them.

Both are sanctioned, for example, by one of the ablest, and (taking all things into consideration) the most impartial of modern historians. Doctor Lingard tells us that this Long Parliament "fell without a struggle or a groan, unopposed and unregretted.† The members slunk

\* I have copied these passages from the original edition, which is thus entitled: "The Lord-general's Speech, delivered in the council-chamber upon the 4th of July, 1653, to the persons then assembled and intrusted with the supreme authority of the nation. This is a true copy, published for information and to prevent mistakes." It has the date of 1654.

† Mr. Hallam has done still greater injustice (in Const. Hist., vol. ii., p. 324-5) to these celebrated men. "The Parliament," he takes occasion to say, in one passage, "in its present wreck, contained few leaders of superior ability." Why, it contained Vane, Scot, Algernon Sidney, Fienes, Blake, Ludlow, Bradshaw, Marten, Harrington, Neville, Whitelocke, Hazlerig! all the leaders that had ever sat in it to the advantage of their own fame or of the public good, save the great dead, Pym and Hampden. Cromwell, too, Oliver St. John, and the chief of the army-officers, were members still, though traitors. If Mr. Hallam would imply that the Long Parliament lost its character and virtue when it lost the crafty Hyde, the venomous Prynne, the mean and arrogant Hollis, the nervous and fearful Rudyard, and all those other men whose names have happily perished, but whose votes declare them of the same poor and pitiful



away to their homes, where they sought by submission to purchase the forbearance of their new master; and their partisans, if partisans they had, reserved themselves in silence for a day of retribution, which came not before Cromwell slept in his grave." It is a pity that in such a history should be copied the mere ribald slander of the time. "The news of this Luciferian fall," says a contemporary libel, "was quietly spread throughout the city, and from thence into the kingdom, being related and received with all imaginable gladness, while the members slunk away, muttering to themselves the affront they had received, and laying their heads together how to retrieve themselves; for loth they were to suffer this violence, or acknowledge their dissolution, which they would by no means hear of. But, whatever they fancied to the contrary, raving at this boldness and audaciousness of their servant, as they styled Cromwell, he minded it not, but went on in his work." The manifest contradiction in all this need not be remarked upon. Their righteous and brave denial of the legality of the act that had dispersed them is not compatible with the cowardly slinking away; the alleged submission to their new master is flatly disproved by their open and loud "raving" against the audaciousness and boldness of their old servant. What, then, was the simple fact? In what regard did their memory really stand, after their dispersion, with the people they had served so well?

Cromwell has charged upon them the popular hatred and indifference, and a desire to strengthen themselves by the help of Presbyterianism. It most fortunately happens that an answer on both these charges is left to us, from the lips of one who sealed his truthfulness with his blood. Thomas Scot, who was Vane's equal in virtue, and only second to him in intellect, and whose last utterance, before he surrendered his neck to the executioner, was a blessing to God that he had "devoted his life to a cause that was not to be repented of,"\* spoke these words in the first Parliament of Richard Cromwell.† Mr. Bulkeley, a fierce Presbyterian, had repeated Cromwell's first charge of the popular indifference, characterizing the government of the Commonwealth as "a monster" that was suddenly dissolved, "without either coroner or inquest upon it;" when Scot answered him thus: "That gentleman says the Parliament went out, and no complaining in the streets, no inquiry after them. That is according to the company men keep. Men suit the letter to their lips. It is as men converse. I never met a zealous assertor of that cause, but lamented it, to see faith broken, and somewhat else. I will say no more. It was as much bewailed as the instrument of government. A petition, the day after the Parliament was stamp, then only what he says is intelligible, and will receive the consideration due to it. He proceeds to call the statesmen "the creatures of military force;" an ill-considered and unwise phrase to apply to the men who alone gave efficacy to that force, who were its authors to all good ends, who pointed the road to victory, and who consolidated its advantages when gained. "Their claim to a legal authority," Mr. Hallam continues, "and to the name of representatives of a people who rejected and abhorred them, was perfectly impudent." Of the probable truth of such a decisive assertion, founded as it is on pure surmise, the reader will perhaps receive some means of judging, if he reads a few pages onward.

\* See Life of Marten, p. 386.

† Reported in the Diary of Thomas Burton.

dissolved, from forty of the chief officers, the aldermen of the city of London, and many godly divines (except the rigid Presbyters, too well wishers to Mr. Love's treason), besought to have that Parliament restored. But the Protector, being resolved to carry on his work, threatened, terrified, and displaced them: and who would, for such a shattered thing, venture their all? You have had five changes—this is the fifth; and yet the people have not rest."

Rest—rest: there is much in that word which is significant at all times; nor, since the world began, have greater sacrifices been made for freedom by the conscientious and the bold, than have been made for rest by even the virtuous and the well-intentioned. It is scarcely unnatural that it should be so. Political struggles of a great character are for the future rather than the present, as the petty squabbles of party politicians are for the present and never for the future. The people who have suffered most in these great struggles are precisely those who reap the least, and who have the fewest resources of imagination against a failure in the realities. They have fought and bled, they have toiled, suffered, been plundered and taxed, and, after twelve years of the horrors of a war of brother against brother, and homestead against homestead, they discover that they are, in all worldly advantages, to appearance where they first began. They know not of the seed they have planted for posterity; they see not long lines of their children's children better and happier for them; they know only that bread is as dear as it was, that the state has its exactions still; and that, though they have won the freedom to follow the dictates of their conscience, and worship their Maker as they please—though they have pushed from before their daily path the public robber, the rack, the pestilential jail—yet life is not to them less laden with toil, or redeemed by comfort or rest. The wages of the earth have become even more niggard than they were by the claims of these long years of contest—the tithe for their fair support less freely yielded from its "cold, hard bosom." The enthusiasm which first sustained them, too, has gradually worn itself down; and they are suddenly made sensible of wretched discords and divisions, where they should still have been able to recognise a bond of union, one and indivisible, between every actor or sufferer in the cause. These things should be remembered in judging what is called the fickleness of the people, and then it may be freely and fairly admitted that they did not support the statesmen by all the means that were in their power. In other words, they made no demonstration for them. They could scarcely be expected to know the importance of all that was at stake. It is not till we have retired to a distance from the actual scene of such a political conflict as this was, that the men and things engaged in it assume their due proportions. Not till then is the good that has been bravely done estimated in connexion with the difficulty of doing it, or the tyranny that has been strangely suffered in connexion with the plausible pretences it was based on.

And in speaking of the people in these terms, let me be understood to include, not only the lower orders of men in the labouring districts

and the towns, but the smaller tenants and householders, the industrious workmen, the penniless students, even the Levellers and the Diggers\*—all who had borne arms or supplied materials, or in action or patience suffered, in behalf of the Parliament against the king. To all of these, in a greater or less degree, it must have occurred to undergo what I have described. The enthusiast saw too great a preference for civil over spiritual freedom; there was too much protection for property to please the Leveller; too great a latitude for conscience to please the bigot; and, of all to be most regretted, an unwise dread of the power and purposes of the bad, had worked to the disadvantage and dissatisfaction of the good and well-intentioned. None could have estimated rightly the position of the statesmen during the difficulties that beset the Commonwealth in its early years; few could be other than unjust in a natural resentment of the continued reservation of those rights of citizenship and privileges of representation which had been won as worthily as they seemed to be undeservedly withheld. And hence it was, that when a new party had risen, with these words ever on their lips, and with still loftier promises there for sudden and sublime realization, it was found too late to redress the errors of the old. The force of habit in those sections of the people I have named, who still continued to bear arms under Cromwell's command, induced an instinctive reverence for his movements stronger than any that could be set up against them. His voice was the trumpet that preceded victory to them, and to follow any other would be to challenge disaster or defeat. Others there were among those classes, some Anabaptists, some Fifth Monarchy-men, some Levellers even,† in sincere delusion as to the wonderful

things to be done in the reign of sanctity upon earth, in the person of Harrison and his friends.

would quarrel with Lilburne, and Lilburne with John Every act of kindness shown him in his life (see the Memoir of Marten, p. 358 and p. 380) was only the signal for a pouring down of fresh abuse on the indiscreet generosity that performed it. Even when he had received compensation for his sufferings in the Star Chamber, he at once turned fiercely round on the men who gave it, as if, in taking from him the privilege of being considered an ill-used person, they had abridged his means of livelihood. This was the style of his conduct throughout his life. His whole being was made up of violent, selfish passions, the nature of which, and, indeed, the general temperament of the man, may be gathered from a short passage in his pamphlet called "A Just Reproof to Haberdashers' Hall," one of those thousand paper trumpets through which he was continually pouring the bad breath of his ridiculous self-conceit. He had some supposed claim on Hazlerig for money, and thus (in 1651) refers to it. "Meeting Mr Pearson at the George, in Channel Row, I told him, if his master thought to keep my money while I sued him at law, it was a vain thought; for he was too great for me to encounter him that way, and I had neither money nor time to spend upon him: therefore I entreated him, as he loved Sir Arthur's life and welfare, to say to him that I wore a good dagger by my right side, and a good rapier by my left side, and if within eight days he did not send me all my money, and give me some rational satisfaction, let him look to himself; for after that day, wherever I met him, I would pay him for all together, though I were cut into a thousand pieces on the very place." That such a man could have any sincere political object in view is not for an instant conceivable. He merely sought about, in some day's new fit of wilful discontent, for mean jealousies and violent passions among the lower sections of the army, and had little difficulty in finding them. The mutinies which followed, and which, though always promptly suppressed, have given the Levellers (for such was the name assumed by these Lilburne factions, though they disclaimed any levelling designs on property) a place in history, had never any defined object, unless the promotion of disorder and confusion can be so designated. It is quite impossible to discern at any time a steady purpose in Lilburne, save that at all times he would seem to have looked with a keen eye to his own profit and loss. It is equally clear that his intemperate followers derived all their importance from the great stock of which they were the paltry offshoot, or, rather, refuse—the army, on the therefore unsullied brightness of whose military discipline they cast an unexpected stain. Still, as in every movement of this kind during a period of general unrest, honest men were deluded into their folly, and to these allusion is made in the text. So far as the object of such can be ascertained, through the extraordinary clouds of selfish pretension that envelop all Lilburne's writings, it would seem to have been much of the same sort as that of Harrison and the Anabaptists, or Fifth Monarchy-men, making allowance for the religious peculiarities of the latter. They demanded annual Parliaments, and a sort of universal representation of the "universal elect" among the people. They held, not only that Christianity forbade the rule of a single person on earth, but that it was irreconcilable with many civil institutions which Vane and the statesmen considered to be essential to the liberties of England. They desired an almost entire alteration of the common law, and were clamorous for the total abolition of tithes, and, indeed, of all regular stipends to the ministry. The chief men among the more honest were Thomas Prince, Richard Overton, and William Walwyn; and it is a very curious and memorable circumstance, that in certain writings of the last two men, which are to be found among the pamphlets of the time, decided *seconds* of disbelief (almost the only instances of such, perhaps, in these pious days) are to be found. Overton, for example, wrote a tract, entitled "Man's Mortality; or, a Treatise proving Man (*quatenus animal rationale*) a Compound wholly Mortal." His proofs are drawn from reason and Scripture; and his ostensible doctrine is, that "condemnation in hell is not properly, but remotely, the reward of Adam's fall, and is the wages of infidelity, or unbelief in Christ, as salvation is of belief;" and that the whole human species, to whom the Christian faith has not been proposed, are merely mortal. But, as the purpose of his entire treatise is to establish man's mortality, and the immortality of those to whom Christianity is proposed is dismissed in a few lines, it is not unreasonable to conclude, with a writer who notices the subject, that this is introduced only as a palliation, to take off the general odium to which the author might otherwise have been exposed, and also to retain the particular influence with those Levellers and mutineers which to an infidel or scoffer would have been indignantly refused. Walwyn did not publish his peculiar sentiments himself, but they were *ascribed* for him, in "Walwyn's Wiles, or the Man's Mortality."

\* These Diggers (not a very large, but a very curious sect, and very expressive of the hope and the despondency of this strange and memorable time) were something in the nature of the Spenserian philosophers, who made themselves notorious some twenty years since. The names of two of their leaders have come down to us, Gerrard Winstanley and Everard. Winstanley wrote numerous tracts in support of their tenets; and from these we learn that their principles were, that God gave all things in common, and that every man has a right to the fruits of the earth. They professed an intention not to disturb any one in his possessions; but they asserted that the time was come when the whole world would shortly espouse their principles. They made their appearance at St. George's Hill, near Walton, in Surrey, Winstanley and Everard being at their head, with about thirty followers; and, resorting to an open common, they began to dig the earth, and deposit in it seeds and roots. They were not, however, permitted to proceed in this very innocent and primitive occupation; for, alas! Fairfax sent two troops of horse to disperse them, who destroyed some of their implements and tools, and conducted a few of the more obstinate and petulant of themselves to prison. See *Whitlocke's Pamphlets by Winstanley. Cause of the Diggers*, &c. *Godwin*, vol. ii., p. 83.

† There were undoubtedly some sincere men among the Levellers, though they were more rare in this than in any other section or party of the time. Nearly all of them partook, in a greater or less degree, of the violent, self-willed, and intemperate character of their leader, John Lilburne, who was a Cobbett without his intellect; altogether a most vain, vulgar, and irrational person. Confusion was his panacea for everything. At once the most credulous and the most suspicious of men, he fancied that all the honesty left in the world had suddenly taken up its abode in the breast of John Lilburne, and his atrocious and abominable detraction was accordingly poured out in never-ceasing succession upon every party in the state. He could live only in the heated and disordered air of abuse and quarrel. Even stronger than his self-love was his love of this, and hence arose that famous saying of the great wit of the Commonwealth, that, if only he were left upon the earth, John

Moderate Royalists there were, too, even in these popular divisions, who had gone out upon the question of a limited monarchy; who had remained constant to that throughout; and who, in fact, turned the scale of the entire population in decided favour of a monarchical system. Then there were the indifferent, and the restless, and the conceited men, who were in favour of themselves chiefly, and the five senses that composed them, and to whom anything new, which could gratify one of these, had a merit at once admirable and indescribable. For all such, five years of a commonwealth were quite enough of one thing. These are the men that play the fashionable host in politics; who "slightly shakes his parting guest by the hand, but with his arms outstretched, as he would fly, grasps in the corner."\* Finally—and be they still and ever remembered with peculiar honour, as they were remembered by Vane when he addressed the crowd who surrounded his scaffold, in words which all England, as England then was, should have blushed to hear—there were men who, "whatever defections did happen by apostates, hypocrites, and time-serving worldlings, continued firm, sincere, and chaste unto the cause to the last, and loved it better than their very lives." Of such were the men just named by Scot, as threatened, terrified, displaced, oppressed by Cromwell, and trampled on by his creatures, for their love to that "shattered thing," the self-governed Commonwealth of England.

That the effect produced on all these sections of men by the forcible dispersion of the Long Parliament and the government of statesmen was most fatal and disastrous, there cannot be a reasonable doubt. The bond which had hitherto held such various elements together was by that act violently broken. Men might disagree on every variety of minor matter which did not compromise the virtue and good faith of the leaders under whose banners they had fought, and by whose example they had conquered. So long as these remained entire, a great common agreement, for the sake of a cause in which all had already staked so much in common, could neither be hopeless, nor even distant far. But this potent charm once gone, all else went with it. There lay the crime of Cromwell, still more than in his disregard of truth, or of his own so solemnly sworn assertions. Whatever for twelve memorable years had been thought sacred, he made profane; whatever men had begun to think most durable, he scattered to the winds. While Vane was struggling to seize advantage of the dawn of a better day, which had more or less arisen to the minds of all his countrymen, and use it to the elevation of each in the social and intellectual scale, Cromwell only worked in the night that still hung about the dawn, and, by studying old prejudices and habits not yet past, sought first to elevate himself upon a

\* Of these, it is needless to say, after the preceding note, John Lilburne is the great and most restless type. Baffled and banished, in the plenitude of the power of the Parliament, he opened a negotiation in Holland with Charles Stuart; in the midst of it, suddenly made aware of the dispersion of the Parliament by Cromwell, he reappeared in London to attempt conciliation with the usurper. It was very vain, as we shall see, but not the less significant of the man and his faction.

throne. What Vane proposed to have done, in general amelioration of the minds and habits of Englishmen, was flung back for an indefinite and almost hopeless time by the act of the 20th of April; what Cromwell resolved to achieve for himself was half accomplished by that act alone. Let this determine its character. The people throughout the country saw suddenly the most venerated and illustrious names in the land covered with ribaldry and insult; and they beheld the grave assembly which had built up the Commonwealth, which had scourged its enemies into the dust, and held its false friends cowering and crouching down—that assembly, so learned, so valiant, and so powerful, under which the English people at least enjoyed what liberties they then had, and from which they would have patiently waited still, in expectation of new and unknown blessings—they beheld it one day receiving homage, in the name of a free people, from ambassadors of princes, and in the next they saw it hooted out of its place, in the name of jugglers, drunkards, adulterers, and cheats, by the muskets of its own servant. The moral effect of that deed was never to be recalled. Honour was a pretence, piety a pretence, and the substance of all things good evaporated into air. It would occur to few among the ordinary masses of the people to ask the reason or the justice. Enough for them that what had been was no more. It would least of all occur to the state of society or of parties I have attempted to describe, to cling for support, in this common want or common sorrow, to faith in the still superior virtue of the cause, under the very name and pretence of which these strange outrages had been committed. It had been tried already, and found wanting. It had held together for upward of twelve years, and through every kind of doubt, defection, toil, dread, and triumph, the soul of the Parliament and the struggle, bound as with links of adamant; and now, in one little instant, these had broken like a rope of sand. Nothing of a permanent or substantial character could ever hope thereafter to belong to it. It no longer implied a solid truth, against which the giddy factions, the minor differences and divisions of the hour, might dash themselves in vain; it held forth nothing now that was defined or certain; there was never more to be included in it a general and common object which all might pursue; no longer a quiet haven which, through what different passages soever, all could still hope to reach; it was resolved suddenly into no more than one of the indifferent chances or casualties of the world, and had become a trick for the luckiest man to make the most of, a stake for the best gambler to win. And meanwhile, in the various uncertainties of the present, what offered most fairly would be of course most greedily taken; whatever looked like rest, or held up convenience of any kind, would doubtless gather round it for the time the parties who were capable of greatest zeal, and had the largest amount of activity in them. Cromwell and his reign of saints were worth a trial.

Such, then, with the masses of the people at large, was the position of the statesmen after the action of the 20th of April, 1653. In the midst of neither hatred nor contempt they fell,

but in general wonder, some indifference, and some sorrow. They did not slink away to their homes, nor by undignified submission purchase safety or forbearance. They were content to retire, indeed, without empty brawling, or a vain show of braggart passion. They had left deeds behind them which, though but imperfectly developed as yet in direct action upon the personal comforts of the people, were the immortal seed of all the blessings of liberty, personal and political, which that people have since enjoyed. With such deeds on record, never to be denied or undone, they required no other defence; and, wisely satisfied to wait till the bubble of this saint's reign had burst, and the apples of its fools' paradise had turned to their inevitable and most bitter sour, they offered none.

They found generous defenders, notwithstanding, whose voices ought to have utterance here, in connexion with the actions they commemorated. For it is surely just that, by a fair exhibition of the case of this dispersed and insulted body of statesmen, the claims of Cromwell and the Protectorate should be tested and understood. Necessity was a favourite plea with the partisans of Cromwell; it can thus only be made apparent whether that necessity existed. Granting that the government of the Long Parliament was as anomalous and unauthorized as that of the Protectorate confessedly was, the important question remains of the relative superiority of either in regard to benefits conferred, or proposed to be conferred, upon the people governed. This is a question which admits of one mode of solution only. The measures that were in either case pursued, recommended, or adopted, must be impartially judged together by their tendencies and results. A present glance at the past rule of the statesmen will be the only fair and sufficient light that can guide us through the Protectorate.

Mrs. Hutchinson thus generally describes the condition of the Commonwealth on the eve of its fall. The whole passage is worth consideration, though it includes some points described already. It is the evidence of as gentle and brave-hearted a woman as ever suffered for truth or love. "The Parliament," she says, "had now, by the blessing of God, restored the Commonwealth to such a happy, rich, and plentiful condition as it was not so flourishing before the war; and although the taxes that were paid were great, yet the people were rich and able to pay them: they (the Parliament) were in a way of paying all the soldiers' arrears, had some hundred thousand pounds in their purses, and were free from enemies in arms within and without, except the Dutch, whom they had beaten, and brought to seek peace upon honourable terms to the English; and now they thought it was time to sweeten the people, and deliver them from their burdens. This could not be but by disbanding the unnecessary officers and soldiers; and, when things were thus settled, they had prepared a bill to put a period to their own sitting, and provide for new successors. But when the great officers understood that they were to resign their honours, and no more triumph in the burdens of the people, they easily induced the inferior officers and soldiers to set up for themselves with them; and, while these things were passing,

Cromwell, with an armed force, assisted by Lambert and Harrison, came into the House and dissolved the Parliament, pulling out the members, foaming and raging, and calling them undeserved and base names; and when the speaker refused to come out of his chair, Harrison plucked him out. These gentlemen, having done this, took to themselves the administration of all things; and a few slaves of the House consulted with them, and would have truckled under them, but not many. Meanwhile they and their soldiers could no way palliate their rebellion but by making false criminations of the Parliament-men, as that they meant to perpetuate themselves in honour and office, that they had gotten vast estates, and perverted justice for gain, and were imposing upon men for conscience, and a thousand such like things, which time manifested to be false, and truth retorted all upon themselves that they had injuriously cast at the others."\* Mrs. Hutchinson has here considerably underrated, as will be shown hereafter, the financial resources of the Commonwealth.

Edmund Ludlow, a witness whose interest in the matters he describes, great as it was, was not too great for his honesty, and whose authority has been sanctioned by even his bitterest adversaries, thus, at a distance from the scene of the dispersion of his old associates, described and inourned them. A Parliament, he calls them, "that had performed such great things, having subdued their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; established the liberty of the people; reduced the kingdom of Portugal to such terms as they thought fit to grant; maintained a war against the Dutch with that conduct and success that it seemed now drawing to a happy conclusion; recovered our reputation at sea; secured our trade; and provided a powerful fleet for the service of the nation: and however the malice of their enemies may endeavour to deprive them of the glory which they justly merited, yet it will appear to unprejudiced posterity that they were a disinterested and impartial Parliament, who, though they had the sovereign power of the three nations in their hands for the space of ten or twelve years, did not in all that time give away among themselves so much as their forces spent in three months—no, not so much as they spent in one—from the time that the Parliament consisted but of one House, and the government was formed into a commonwealth. To which ought to be added, that after so many toils and hazards, so much trouble and loss for the public good, they were not unwilling to put an end to their power, and to content themselves with an equal share with the others for the whole reward of their labours."†

In like manner, the sincere and gallant Sidney set apart, in his noble discourses of government, a niche for the government of the Commonwealth. "When Van Tromp," he says, in his high strain of chivalrous pride—"when Van Tromp set upon Blake in Folkestone Bay, the Parliament had not above thirteen ships against threescore, and not a man that had ever seen any other fight at sea than between

\* Life of Colonel Hutchinson, vol. ii., p. 197, 198.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 452, 453. Portions of some of these "Epitaphs" on the Parliament have been given in the Life of Vane; but the presence of them, in a less mutilated shape, seemed

a merchant ship and a pirate, to oppose the best captain in the world, attended with many others in valour and experience not much inferior to him. Many other difficulties were observed in the unsettled state: few ships, want of money, several factions, and some who, to advance particular interests, betrayed the public. But, such was the power of wisdom and integrity in those that sat at the helm, and their diligence in choosing men only for their merit was blessed with such success, that in two years our fleets grew to be as famous as our land armies; the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height than when we possessed the better half of France, and the kings of Fance and Scotland were our prisoners. *All the states, kings, and potentates of Europe most respectfully, not to say submissively, sought our friendship; and Rome was more afraid of Blake and his fleet than they had been of the great King of Sweden, when he was ready to invade Italy with a hundred thousand men.*"\*

Nor is the tone of even the cautious White-locke less enthusiastic than this. Writing with Cromwell's personal influence strong upon him, and with the additional restraint of an official relation to Cromwell, he yet writes in these words. "Thus was this great Parliament, which had done so great things, wholly at this time routed by those whom they had set up, and that took their commissions and authority from them; nor could they in the least justify any action they had done, or one drop of blood they had spilled, but by this authority. Yet now the servants rose against their masters, and most ungratefully and disingenuously, as well as rashly and imprudently, they dissolved that power by which themselves were created officers and soldiers; and now they took what they designed, all power into their own hands. *All honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this unworthy action, which occasioned much rejoicing in the king's party.*† . . . Thus it pleased God," he continues, "that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions, and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and ruined by their own servants, and those whom they had raised now pulled down their masters: an example never to be forgotten, and scarcely to be paralleled in any story, by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are; how apt to fall when we think them highest; and how God makes use of strange and unexpected means to bring his purposes to pass."‡

At a distance, too, from the scene of their great exertions, and uninfluenced by any of the passions which mingled with them, the politi-

cian who was thought wisest of his age withheld not his approbation and esteem. Basnage tells us, in his "Annals of the United Provinces," that the famous Swedish chancellor, Oxenstierna, "blamed, indeed, the extreme barbarity committed on the person of the late King of England, but commended and admired almost every part of the plan of that great design which Parliament had formed." It was a design, Oxenstierna added, "that had been conducted with distinguished prudence, and those who then governed in England acted upon such principles of policy as were founded in truth and experience."\*

Nor should the testimony of an accomplished foreign writer be omitted in this record. "The new Republic," says the Abbé Raynal, in his "History of the Parliament of England," "procured England a tranquillity which it no longer hoped for, and gave it a lustre which it had not had for several centuries. It had just been agitated by a most violent tempest, and now all was calm; it had thought itself on the brink of ruin, and was now in condition to give law. It is melancholy, for the honour of virtue, that one of the best and greatest spectacles which the annals of nations present should be the work of rebellion. Everything appeared wonderful in this revolution. The Royalists conformed to a kind of government ill adapted to their tempers, and disapproved by their consciences. The grantees, accustomed to the part of legislators, remained quietly in the rank of private subjects. The Irish and Scots, who had taken up arms, the first from an attachment to their kings, the other to efface the horror of their treachery, were unhappily subdued. The Dutch, who had taken the advantage of the calamities of England to usurp the empire of the seas, were humbled. France and Spain, who had been always rivals, always enemies, meanly courted the friendship of the usurpers. The sovereigns who ought to have united to revenge an outrage to which all kings were exposed, either through fear or interest applauded the injustice. All Europe debased itself, was silent, or admired."

Finally, even their enemies were awed from insult into praise, in the presence of that gigantic memory their actions left behind them. Roger Coke not only lays aside his customary bitterness and scorn, but adopts a striking tone of just and reverential respect. "Thus,"† he says, "by their own mercenary servants, and not a sword drawn in their defence, fell the haughty and victorious Rump, whose mighty actions will scarcely find belief in future generations; and, to say the truth, they were a race of men most indefatigable and industrious in business, always seeking for men fit for it, and never preferring any for favour nor by importunity. You scarce ever heard of any revolting from them; no murmur or complaint of seamen or soldiers; nor do I find that they ever pressed any in all their wars. And as they excelled in the manage-

\* Algernon Sidney on Government, cap. ii., sect. 28.

† This is further corroborated by even a member of the Lord Protector's household, and one of his enthusiastic partisans. Mr. John Maidstone (whose very striking letter to a friend, descriptive of the popular struggles from their commencement to the eve of the Restoration, will be found in Appendix A.) remarks upon the dissolution thus: "Great dissatisfaction sprang from this action, and such as is not yet forgotten among good men." In another part of the same interesting sketch he observes, emphatically, that the English people of that day were wont "to deify their representatives."

‡ Memorials, p. 529, 530.

\* This is mentioned by M. Chanet, both in the appendix to Kaysler's Travels, and in Basnage's book. See Puffendorf's observations on the resolution of the last Swedish diet, &c., in the appendix to Kaysler's Travels, vol. iv, p. 31, and Basnage's Annals of the United Provinces, vol. i, p. 243. See also Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 316.

† Detection of the Court and State of England, vol. ii, p. 30.

ment of civil affairs, so it must be owned they exercised in matters ecclesiastic no such severities as either the Covenanters or others before them did, upon such as dissented from them; nor were they less forward in reforming the abuses of the common law."

And now a brief sketch of the measures by which these statesmen made themselves so famous will show how well they merited even this lofty praise.

Finance was necessarily a subject which largely employed their attention and taxed their powers, in consequence of the unceasing wars, by land or sea, in which the Commonwealth was engaged. The chief sources of revenue were five: the excise; the customs; the sale of fee-farm rents,\* of the lands of the crown, and of those belonging to the bishops, deans, and chapters; the sequestration and forfeiture of the estates of delinquents; and, finally, the postoffice. For the establishment of the latter we are indebted to Edmund Prideaux,† who held the office of attorney-general to the Commonwealth at the period of its destruction. We first observe him chairman of a committee for considering what rates should be set upon inland letters; then, by an ordinance passed shortly before the death of the king, we find him created postmaster-general; and, finally, we see, by a report on the journals of the House, dated the 21st of March, 1650, that he had established a weekly conveyance of letters into all parts of the nation, and kept up a regular intercourse of packets between England and Ireland.

The introduction of the system of excise by Pym has been referred to in this work. It was borrowed from the financial proceedings of Holland, and worked with most consummate skill during the wars with that Republic. And here I am tempted to borrow from the historian of the Commonwealth‡ the only intelligible definition of excise that has occurred to my reading. Excise, it may be stated on that authority, is a tax upon the manufacture of a commodity, paid by the manufacturer; also on the importation of goods, upon which, if manufactured at home, an excise duty would be required, an equivalent sum in that case being demanded from the importer. The retailer of excisable commodities has likewise, in many cases, to pay for an annual license. It is a tax, for many reasons, well adapted for popular imposition. It differs from the duty denominated customs in this, that the latter, being paid upon the exportation or importation of commodities, will often fall on the raw material, whereas the former is only collected upon a commodity ready for sale to the consumer. It is therefore peculiarly distinguished by its being imposed at the latest practicable period, and is in that sense the most economical of all taxes. The earlier any impost is paid, the heavier it falls upon the consumer in the end, since every trader through whose hands the commodity passes must have a profit, not only upon the

raw material, and his own labour and time, but also upon the tax itself, which is paid by him long before he is remunerated by the consumer. Notwithstanding which, it has been observed, that the duties earliest paid are least felt by the people, the merchant being sensible that they do not eventually and in the last result fall upon him, and the consumer being induced to con-found them with the intrinsic price of the commodity. But this very circumstance renders customs, and duties imposed on the raw material, taxes for slaves; and an excise, or a duty on goods already prepared for consumption, a tax for men who feel that what they pay for is a substantial benefit to themselves. When men are contending for their liberties and everything that is dear to them, they are prepared to make great sacrifices; and such a people, as Montesquieu says, will frequently take on themselves, of voluntary choice, imposts more severe than the most arbitrary prince would dare to lay on his subjects. Another objection that is frequently made to the duty of excise is the severity of its collection, since it is found necessary to give to its officers a power of entering into and searching the houses of those who deal in the commodities on which it is laid, at any hour of the day, and sometimes of the night. But this objection is of the same description as the preceding. "Undoubtedly," Mr. Godwin proceeds, "a softer and more forbearing mode of treatment may be attained in a mixed than in a Republican government. In the former the individual is more considered; in the latter, the public. He who is not contented to sacrifice, in a certain degree, his individuality, and some of his indulgences, to the well-being of the whole, is not yet sufficiently prepared to become a citizen under the purest and noblest kind of political administration."\*

Great financial ability, it is obvious, was the first condition of success in the vast struggle. Without that, the entire amount of other genius developed in military or civil matters would have been little better than useless and unprofitable. In the various deliberations that arose on a subject so important, it was impossible that its furtherance by means of sequestration could be in any way avoided; and this is a part of the policy of these statesmen which is most frequently remembered to their disadvantage.† Let it be fairly looked at, and

\* Mr. Godwin intimates that the substance of this passage was communicated to him by his friend Booth, the mathematician. It will be curious to subjoin Blackstone's definition of excise, adopted in all the encyclopedias, as a puzzle for the reader's ingenuity. "Excise," he says, "is an inland imposition, paid sometimes upon the consumption of the commodity, or frequently upon the retail sale, which is the last stage before the consumption."—*Comm.*, book 1, cap. viii.

† This, and another favourite charge, already indignantly repelled by the great authorities I have quoted, namely, that of a desire they always manifested of filling their own pockets, and enriching their poor estates with the wealth of others: a charge which might be dismissed with silent contempt, if silent contempt were at any time a serviceable thing. It rests on lists published by the sour and disappointed Presbyterian, Clement Walker, subsequently im-bodded in a tract against the "Rump" (published in the auspicious era of the Restoration, and entitled the "Mystery of the Good Old Cause Unfolded"), and finally adopted by such historians as Clarendon and Hume. Walker's lists were called "Lists of Names of Members of the House of Commons, annexing to each such sums of money, offices, and lands as they had given to themselves for services done

\* The clear annual income from this source amounted to £77,000; and we find that, in January, 1651, £25,300 of this income had been sold for £325,650.—*Lingard*, vol. ii., p. 176.

† The youngest son of Sir Edmund Prideaux of Devonshire, created a baronet by James I.—*Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 506.

‡ Godwin, vol. iii., p. 489.

proceeded in regularly, with the forms of justice, and under sanction of the venerable name of law.\* The right of appeal was given to every one who found himself aggrieved; a right perpetually exercised, and therefore, we may be well assured, not nugatory or fruitless. All the money raised under these ordinances was strictly required to be paid into the hands of the treasurers at Guildhall, from whence it was again issued for the pay and subsistence of the army, and for such other uses as the Parliament should direct. With these statements the whole subject may be confidently left to an honest and impartial judgment.†

Passing from the subject of finance to those higher questions which involve the freedom and independence of man, the claims of these famous statesmen to eternal gratitude and honour become apparent indeed. They settled, upon a basis never to be disputed more, the right of every Englishman, in all grades of life, to his writ of *habeas corpus*; by the exercise of which, if on any pretence cast into prison, he could demand to be brought before the judges of the land, to ascertain the cause of his imprisonment; if with any charge of crime accused, he could insist that the accusation against him should be put into the way of trial with all convenient speed; or, supposing no satisfactory answer were given in either case, he had then the great privilege of insisting upon his right to immediate liberation.‡

Scarcely less important than this was their settlement of the tenure by which the judges—arbiters of law between man and man, of justice between sovereign and subject—should in all time to come hold their solemn office. The condition of the old and corrupt system, *durante bene placito*, was overthrown by the introduction of letters patent, with the stipulation of *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. The working of the old system, thus beneficially changed forever, is aptly described by Neal in his "History of the Puritans." "The judges," he says, "were generally of a stamp, that, instead of upholding the law as the defence and security of the subjects' privileges, they set it aside on every little occasion, distinguishing between a rule of law and a rule of government. They held their places during the king's pleasure; and when the prerogative was to be stretched in any particular instance, Laud would send for their opinions beforehand, to give the greater sanction to the proceedings of the council and the Star Chamber, by whom they were often put in mind that, if they did not do the king's busi-

ness to satisfaction, they would be removed."§

With the destruction of that infamous power, a memorable lesson was taught forever. One of the judges, who had debased himself by trampling law and justice under his feet, was publicly dragged from the bench he had degraded, and, still clad in his soiled and spotted ermine, was taken through the open streets to prison.† And as with lawyers who had overthrown law, so also with bishops who had corrupted religion. All ranks, including royalty itself, were made amenable to Truth, and bowed perforce before it. The crown was for all time to come restrained from arbitrary taxation; all irregular or despotic practices against property or freedom were abolished;‡ every state criminal, unjust monopolist, fraudulent patentee, were unshrinkingly struck down; and in the bill for triennial Parliaments, and other measures, which were afterward lost for a time in the unexpected results of the war, the shattered fabric of the old constitution of limited monarchy was consolidated and restored.

The next great act to be specially commemorated has been described by Blackstone as "a greater acquisition to the civil property of the kingdom than even Magna Charta itself,"§ This was the abolition of the Court of Wards, and of all those tenures which were the subject of its jurisdiction. Wardship was a part of the old feudal system. All landed property, according to that system, began with the king. He distributed his domains among his feudal tenants, or, in other words, the officers of his army, and they, in return, were obliged to serve him in his wars with a stipulated number of followers. But in this obligation it was implied that the tenant in chief should be capable of military service. There were two cases where this could not happen: first, where the heir was a female, or, secondly, was a minor. It became, therefore, the established law under this system, that the king could dispose of the female heir in marriage as he pleased, and that he received the whole produce of the estate during a minority. It is easy to see how this prerogative would be abused. "It was intended merely to prevent the damage the king might sustain by the loss of the stipulated military service. It grew into a resource by which he might feed the rapacity of his hungry courtiers. To an idle and insinuating favourite he had the undisputed prerogative of giving a great heiress in marriage; or to an individual of that character he might give the wardship of a minor, in consequence of which the receiver entered into absolute possession of the produce of an estate, with no other duty in return than that he must provide in some way for the subsistence and education of the heir."|| And as the uses of the Court of Wards had grown into

\* Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 495, 496.

† The only act in these confiscations which seems to me to deserve any part of the extreme censure applied to them was the sale of the Earl of Craven's estate. Though the earl had been out of England during the war, his estate was sold, on the ground of his having had personal correspondence with Charles Stuart abroad. This was an indefensible action; but it is just to remember that this was an action not only undefended, but strenuously opposed, by many of the most virtuous and eminent members of the House. The division was a singularly narrow one: the majority which carried the confiscation and sale was two only, and Vane, always on the side of kindness and humanity, was teller for the minority. Hazlerig (who appears for the majority), and the less considerate politicians of the House, unwisely and unjustly, but there is no reason to believe dishonestly, carried their point thus closely against him.—See *Journals*, 22d of June, 1652.

‡ This *habeas corpus* enactment formed the main part of the act for taking away the Star Chamber.

§ Book ii., cap. iii.

† This was Sir Robert Berkeley. See Whitelocke, p. 39; the Life of Pym, p. 179.

‡ The act they passed against impressment elicits the unqualified praise of Hallam (*Const. Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 137), and the famous enactment in their tonnage and poundage bill is well known: "that it is and hath been the ancient right of the subjects of this realm, that no subsidy, custom, impost, or other charge whatsoever, ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in Parliament."

§ Commentaries, book ii., cap. 3.

|| Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 500.

The punishment of these crimes is, for the first offence, six months' imprisonment; and for any subsequent conviction, to abjure the dominions of the Commonwealth; and, in case of return, to suffer death as a felon. The only qualification of the severity is, that the party shall be indicted within six months of his having committed the alleged offence: a provision which serves well to show the still prevailing sense of equity and fairness which presided over what would seem the harshest measures of these statesmen.

Their acts of toleration in matters of religion were at the same time accompanied with a declared resolution, adopted from one of the army petitions, that, while they were favourable to liberty of conscience, they did not desire that the least indulgence should be shown to licentiousness or profaneness; and, accordingly, a bill was brought in, in the beginning of 1651, and shortly after passed into a law, for the suppression of incest, adultery, and fornication. The punishment of the two former, an exception being made of the case of a woman whose husband should have been three years absent (adultery in this act is understood to relate to woman in the state of marriage), was ordered to be death; and the punishment of fornication was three months' imprisonment. Every keeper of a brothel was also made liable, for the first offence, to be whipped and branded, and for the second, to suffer death as a felon.† When these acts were passed, however, Vane and Marten both predicted, in opposition to them, that the severity of the punishment would defeat the purpose of the law: a prediction confirmed so fully, that, in consequence of Marten's continued agitation of the subject, the severities were afterward relaxed.

And be it not forgotten, in this detail, that measures of law reform, to a very large and various extent, were in deliberation at the period of Cromwell's act of tyranny. They had passed, on the 8th of November, 1651, a memorable measure, which was understood to be only the forerunner of several others;‡ that the books of law already written and in force should be translated into English;§ that all law-books in future should be written in English; and that all law proceedings should be conducted in the English language.|| What would have followed in furtherance of their great design on this

head (frequently declared, in emphatic phrase), to make the law more simple, and, by means of a better promulgation, to abridge its powers of ensnaring the people who were called on to obey it, was checked by their forcible dispersion, to be again resumed, indeed, as we shall see, by the next assemblage of men who sat in their House, but only to be again arrested by a second dispersion of legislators, who refused to be made the direct tools of tyranny.

Finally, it becomes us to speak of the strictly administrative genius of these statesmen, dispersed by Cromwell and his muskets as idle and incapable! unclean birds, that had, by insolent success, been unfairly perched upon Fortune's top! slugs, that preyed upon the vitals of the Commonwealth!

History, even as history is commonly written, has not dared to dispute that, during the whole period of their supremacy, they upheld with unceasing dignity and spirit the national honour. They made the arms of England the terror of the world abroad, as they had made the engines of their government the terror of enemies at home; and it was from them, and from them alone, that Cromwell inherited the respect and awe of the whole Continent of Europe. They had declared that they would not rest till they had vindicated and asserted the ancient right of their country to the sov-

and have the more hopes to obtain it from so many worthy English gentlemen, when that which I have said was chiefly in vindication of their own native laws, unto which I held myself the more obliged by the duty of my profession; and I account it an honour to me to be a lawyer. As to the debate and matter of the act now before you, I have delivered: no opinion against it; nor do I think it reasonable that the generality of the people of England should, by an implicit faith, depend upon the knowledge of others in that which concerns them most of all. It was the Romish policy to keep them in ignorance of matters pertaining to their soul's health; let them not be in ignorance of matters pertaining to their bodies, estates, and all their worldly comfort. It is not unreasonable that the law should be in that language which may best be understood by those whose lives and fortunes are subject to it, and are to be governed by it. Moses read all the laws openly before the people in their mother tongue. God directed him to write it, and to expound it to the people in their own native language, that what concerned their lives, liberties, and estates might be made known unto them in the most perspicuous way. The laws of the Eastern nations were in their proper tongue; the laws at Constantinople were in Greek; at Rome, in Latin; in France, Spain, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and other nations, their laws are published in their native idiom. For our own country, there is no man that can read the Saxon character but may find the laws of your ancestors yet extant in the English tongue. Duke William himself commanded the laws to be proclaimed in English, that none might pretend ignorance of them. It was the judgment of the Parliament, 36 Edward III., that pleadings should be in English; and in the reigns of those kings, when our statutes were enrolled in French and English, yet then the sheriffs in their several counties were to proclaim them in English. I shall conclude with a complaint of what I have met with abroad from some military persons; nothing but scoffs and invectives against our law, and threats to take it away; but the law is above the reach of those weapons, which, at one time or another, will return upon those that use them. Solid arguments, strong reasons, and authorities, are more fit for confutation of any error, and satisfaction of different judgments. When the emperor took a bishop in complete armour in a battle, he sent the armour to the pope with this word, *Hecce sunt vestes filii tui?* so may I say to those gentlemen abroad as to their railings, taunts, and threats against the law, *Hecce sunt argumenta: armorum antiauricularum?* They will be found of no force, but recoiling arms. Nor is it ingenuous or prudent for Englishmen to deprave their birthright—the laws of their own country. But to return to the matter in debate: I can find neither strangeness, nor foreseen great inconvenience, by passing this act; and therefore, if the House think fit to have the question put for the usual manner, I am ready to give my affirmative."

\* Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 507, 508.

† Godwin, vol. iii., p. 506.

‡ See Journals of May 10, November 22, 1651. White-locks, p. 460. Lingard's History, vol. xi., p. 175.

§ The exact terms of the resolution were, "That all reports books of the resolution of judges, and other books of the law of England, shall be translated into the English tongue; and all writs, processes, and returns thereof, pleadings, rules, orders, indictments, injunctions, certificates, patents, and all acts, deeds, and proceedings whatsoever, shall be only in the English tongue, in the ordinary usual hand, and not in court hand."

|| On this question (which, before it was carried, provoked a "very long and smart debate" in which debate, we are likewise told, many "spoke in derogation and dishonour of law," and the necessity of its reform, White-locks delivered a speech on the origin and character of the English laws, vindicating their Saxon birth from the reproach of having been imposed upon the land by William the Norman, which, for its singularly argumentative character and wonderful minuteness of research, must always be considered a stupendous monument of antiquarian and legal learning. He concluded thus—the entire speech may be found in his own memorials, p. 460-465: "But, Mr. Speaker, if I have been tedious, I humbly ask your pardon;



tain it is, moreover, that in all they applied themselves to (their object in all, even when mistaken most, being still the advancement of the welfare of England), they distinguished themselves by indefatigable perseverance and unwearying toil.\* And then, to crown and consummate the fame of these lasting things, which shall surely be held supreme above their temporary errors, they were on the point of giving a just charter of representative franchise to the great body of the nation, when they fell beneath the violence of Cromwell.

Was that fall merited? Does the plea of necessity hold good? Had these men rendered themselves suddenly incapable of the trust of government they had held so long, by insolent

and service, are necessitated to sell the lands of the deans and chapters, for the paying of public debts, and for the raising of £300,000 for the present supply of the pressing necessities of the Commonwealth, do enact," &c. These lands, it should be mentioned at the same time, notwithstanding the urgent necessity, were not to be sold under twelve years' purchase, though the lands of the bishops had been allowed to be sold for ten; not a bad price, considering the high interest of money, at this time about eight per cent., and recollecting the possibility, also, of the lands being one time or other reclaimed by their former possessors. I now come to the equal and sufficient revenues alluded to in the text. Out of the lands thus appointed to be sold, a subsequent act of the 8th of June, 1649, excepted expressly "all tithes appropriate, oblations, obventions, portions of tithes appropriate, or of belonging to the archbishops, bishops, deans, and deans and chapters, all which, together with £20,000 yearly rent, formerly belonging to the crown of England, the Commons thought fit to be settled for a competent maintenance of preaching ministers, where it was wanting, in England and Wales." This competent maintenance was £100 a year, equally awarded to the state preachers. Nothing, at the same time, was taken from the rectories, which, whatever their revenue might be, were preserved entire. This system, founded on justice and common sense, worked admirably; nor, it may be safely added, will any church, whether voluntary or of the state, work to the satisfaction of its ministers, or of the people it should be designed to benefit, till it is taken from the temptation of too much wealth on the one hand, and the degradation of too much poverty on the other. What I have said in the text on the subject of the universities claims a concluding word. One of the enactments supplementary to the foregoing ordered, "That the trustees, in whose hands the dean and chapter lands were vested for the use of the public, shall, from time to time, pay out of the above-mentioned £20,000, £2000 yearly, for the increase of the maintenance of the masterships of colleges, in both universities, where maintenance is wanting, regard being to be had unto the number of houses of learning in each university that are fit to have an increase of maintenance; and to make an assignment of maintenance unto them accordingly, provided it do not exceed £100 per annum to any one of them." Nor was this bounty ill rewarded. The names of Cudworth, Whichcote, Wilkins, and many others, bear witness to the quality of intellect the universities of the Commonwealth produced; men who educated and gave to the world the Tillotsons and Barrows. As to the general patronage bestowed by the statesmen on literature and learned men, it is only needful to add to the names of Milton, Needham, and others, those of Marvel and the two Parkers. I had wellnigh forgotten to state, too, that on the 18th of June, 1651, a committee appointed by these accomplished and truly "liberal" statesmen reported in favour of the *endowment of a third university in Durham*, out of the overgrown wealth of the chapter lands. The project, we shall see, was revived in the Protectorate. Even Mr. Hallam (generally unjust, I regret to say, to these great men) can say of this that it "was a design of great importance to education and literature in this country."

\* Not long after the first meeting of this famous assembly of men, we find that above forty committees were appointed to investigate and prepare so many different subjects for the consideration of the House of Commons; and as these committees, upon an average, consisted of twenty persons, and sometimes of double that number, almost every member must be supposed to have been upon some committee, and the same member was often upon several. The House usually sat in the morning, the committees in the evening. The larger committees had a power of appointing sub-committees of their own body, either for expedition, or for a more accurate examination of the subjects that came before them.

assertions of undue power, and selfish preferences of their own ends before the welfare and the good of England, when Cromwell, speaking the voice of the people, doomed them to dispersion and contempt, as an expiation of their sin! Their actions are now before the reader; their errors have not been concealed; and by the result of both, let them be finally and fairly judged. It is our duty at present to follow Cromwell's fortunes in the new scenes opened to his vast ambition. Means will thus be offered in abundance of determining how far the result justified the outrage of the 20th of April, and whether its author then executed the righteous sentence of the nation, or merely practised on its weakness and divisions. With all the strange indifference, or, rather, as it may be better termed, the suspense between anger and hope, by which that outrage seemed to have half received the popular sanction, there was yet enough of the elements of good in our countrymen to render it needful that still under the show and by the pretences of Parliamentary authority should despotism effect its crafty march upon them. But this is anticipating what will soon reveal itself, in a political lesson of no indifferent value. It will speedily be manifest whether the reign of saints was a more practicable thing than the reign of statesmen, and whether the last was indeed a failure, since the first achieved success. It will also be made evident under which anomalous authority—the Parliament or the Protectorate—the people of England enjoyed most freedom. Let the palm be given to that which only has deserved best, when some proof is offered that under it the people were better governed; that by its means our England had increased in wealth at home and honour abroad; that vice was trampled under foot; that property was protected; that personal and political liberty were enjoyed; and, in one word, that this authority, which claims to be remembered with our greatest respect, had discountenanced all possible revival of servile thoughts and Royalist vices in the new Republic, and promoted only the growth of popular intelligence, of sobriety, and virtue.

Be it, then, once more remembered, before proceeding to these means of final judgment, that Cromwell, by a peculiar combination of circumstances, most rare in the history of usurpers, had been able to overthrow the government of the Commonwealth, not in its hour of weakness or decay, but at what seemed to be the "highest point of all its glory." The Dutch were virtually subdued; \* the Portuguese and the Danes had humbled themselves to England; and with all the other powers of Europe

\* So completely were many parties at a loss to fathom the first inducement of Cromwell to assault the Parliament at such an hour, that a story became very current at the time, that, immediately after Blake's last victory over the Dutch, the great loss of the latter had "so sensibly affected the states of Holland and West Friesland, that they despatched letters to the English Parliament to endeavour, after some means, for putting an end to this cruel war. This negotiation had no effect, though it was particularly promoted by General Cromwell himself, who was very desirous to have a peace concluded. The states had offered to acknowledge the English sovereignty of the British seas, and to pay £300,000 to the English Commonwealth; but, finding this was not likely to succeed, they applied themselves (as we are told) more directly to General Cromwell, promising him vast sums if he would venture to dissolve the Parliament." This is told in a manner that makes the Protector not at all inimical to Cromwell.

the leaders of the Commonwealth were at peace. They were in sole possession of the Spanish trade, and were gradually, though slowly, diminishing the burdens of the people. They had given safety, at least, to each man's home, and commerce was once more lifting up its head throughout the country. On the day of their dissolution there were upward of £500,000 in the public treasury, and the value of £700,000 in the magazines; their power at sea was giving law to the world, and they had refused £900,000 a year for the customs and excise.\* Finally, they had then resolved to submit their stewardship to the judgment of the nation; to test, by new institutions, the capacity of the people for Republican government; and to stand or fall by the result. Bishop Warburton, in a few celebrated words, has stated the matter as we may now be well content to leave it. "Cromwell," he says, "seemeth to be distinguished in the most eminent manner, with regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked men who have overturned the liberties of their country. The times in which others succeeded in this attempt were such as saw the spirit of liberty suppressed and stifled by a general luxury and venality; but Cromwell subdued his country when this spirit was at its height, by a successful struggle against court oppression, and while it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw embarked together in one common cause."

It only remains that the names of these statesmen should be placed on record beside this mention of their deeds. A list of them was published, as they reassembled after the death of Cromwell, and to this, which follows, I have added such as declined to reassume their seats, or had perished in the interval. It may be held, therefore, very nearly complete; and embracing, as it does, the most eminent of the men who assembled on the 3d of November, 1640,

\* Biog. Brit., art. Cromwell, ed. Kippis, vol. iv., p. 525. The History of Mrs. Macaulay. The author of "The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell" (published in 1668) distinctly says, that the prosperity of trade "appeared by the great sums offered them for the customs and excise, £900,000 a year being refused. The riches of the nation showed itself in the high value that land and all our native commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulence. Our honour was made known to all the world by a conquering navy, which had brought the proud Hollanders upon their knees, to beg peace of us upon our own conditions, keeping all other nations in awe. And, besides these advantages, the public stock was £500,000 in ready money; the value of £700,000 in stores; and the whole army in advance, some four, and none under two months; so that, though there might be a debt of near £5000 upon the kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it." This tract was written by Slingsby Bethel, and carries considerable authority with it. He was the son of Sir Walter Bethel, by a sister of the sturdy and celebrated Cavalier, Sir Henry Slingsby, who expiated on the scaffold his love for monarchy. Bethel, who was sheriff of London in 1680, played a conspicuous part in the agitations of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill; and, as a staunch partisan of Shaftesbury and Monmouth, fell under the terrible lash of Dryden. He is the Shimei of "Absalom and Achitophel."

"When two or three were gathered to declaim  
Against the monarch of Jerusalem,  
Shimei was always in the midst of them;  
And, if they cursed the king when he was by,  
Would rather curse than break good company."

"If any leisure time he had from power,  
Because 'tis sin to misemploy an hour—  
His business was, by writing, to persuade  
That kings were useless, and a clog to trade."

and all who held their seats between the 30th of January, 1649, and the 20th of April, 1653, the reader has thus before him, recollecting the immortal memories of Eliot, Pym, and Hampden, and making needful allowance for the indifferent or the traitorous among them, the great authors of all the legislative triumphs this work has recorded, and, indeed, of all the essential political liberty that our country has enjoyed.

William Lenthall, speaker. Earl of Salisbury. Philip earl of Pembroke. Philip lord viscount Lisle. Edward lord Howard of Emscricke. Thomas lord Halifax. William lord Monson. Oliver St. John, lord-chief-justice. John Wild, lord-chief-baron. Lord-commiss. John Lisle. Lord-commiss. Bulstrode Whitelocke. Oliver Cromwell, lord-general. Henry Ireton, lieutenant-general. Lieutenant-general Fleetwood. Lieutenant-general Ludlow. Major-general Skippon. Sir Arthur Haslerig. Sir Henry Vane. Sir Thomas Wroth. Sir Thomas Walsingham. Sir Henry Mildmay. Sir Michael Livesey. Sir Robert Goodwin. Sir John Trevor. Sir William Brereton. Sir Thomas Widdrington. Sir Richard Lucy. Sir Francis Russel. Sir John Lenthall. Sir William Armine. Sir William Strickland. Sir John Bourchier. Sir Gilbert Pickering. Sir Peter Wentworth. Sir James Harrington. Edmund Prideaux, attorney-general. Roger Hill, sergeant-at-law. Erasmus Earle, sergeant-at-law. Robert Blake. John Jones. James Chaloner. John Moyle. Thomas Crompton. Christopher Martin. Henry Smith. Miles Corbet. Michael Oldsworth. Carew Raleigh. Edward Howard. John Gurdon. John Fielder. John Fry. Thomas Atkin. John Hutchinson. Edmund Dunch. Thomas Pury, Sen. Thomas Chaloner. William Leman. Edmund Harvey. Henry Marten. Benjamin Weston. William Heveningham. John Barker. George Thomson. Luke Robinson. Gilbert Millington. Augustine Garland. Henry Neville. Robert Andrew. Thomas Lister. Peter Brook. John Trenchard. Nathaniel Rich. Nicholas Gould. Algernon Sidney. John Lowry. William Say. John Selden. Edward Neville. John Wastell. Henry Darley. Francis Lassels. William Purfoy. Nicholas Letchmere. Thomas Allen. John Dormer. Francis Rouse. William Cawley. John Nut. Richard Ingoldsby. Cornelius Holland. Edmund Wilde. John Corbet. James Ash. John Goodwin. Richard Sawley. Herbert Morley. James Nekhorp. Robert Brewster. John Dixwell. Thomas Harrison. John Downs. John Anlaby. Simon Meyne. Thomas Scot. George Fleetwood. Thomas Pury, Jun. William Eyre. Thomas Boone. Edmund West. Robert Reynolds. William White. Richard Darley. John Carew. Augustine Skinner. John Dove. Thomas Birch. Nicholas Love. Philip Smith. Valentine Wotton. Alexander Popham. Robert Cecil. Isaac Pennington. John Fag. William Hay. Nathaniel Hallows. Thomas Wayte. Henry Arthington. Walter Strickland. John Pyne. Thomas Mackworth. Gervas Pigot. Francis Thorp. Robert Bennet. Robert Nicholas. Richard Norton. John Stevens. Peter Temple. James Temple. John Weaver. Thomas Wogan. Brampton Gurdon. Robert Wallop.

William Sydenham. John Bingham. Philip Jones. John Palmer. William Ellis.

Cromwell had been some days engaged in the establishment of the council of state before he described it to the nation in his declaration of the 30th of April.\* It was not an easy matter to establish, for all his officers thought themselves entitled to have an opinion concerning it, and it was his policy, for the present, to seem to give them their way. The discussions that ensued were, accordingly, highly characteristic.

Lambert, and a few of the more worldly of these gentlemen, proposed that it should consist of ten members; Harrison, and a section of his party, were for the number of seventy, after the model of the Jewish Sanhedrin; Okey, and others of the saints, were for thirteen, in imitation of Christ and his twelve apostles. The last scheme, embracing at once the scriptural and convenient, was favoured for this and other peculiar reasons by Cromwell, and ultimately adopted. On the 29th of April they had taken their seats, for the first time, as rulers of the Commonwealth. With Cromwell were associated eight officers of high rank and four civilians.† The last would thus seem to have been thrown in as a convenient screen alone; for this council of state, so constituted, was to all intents and purposes a military council.

It will scarcely be believed, notwithstanding, that a desperate attempt was made to secure, in the position of one of the civilians, the name and authority of Sir Henry Vane. Idle effort! but not less zealously made; for none knew better than Cromwell that any damage to such a character must be self-inflicted, and none more certain than he that such co-operation, by any argument secured, would altogether avert the possibility of a popular outbreak before his plans were ripe. No argument was therefore forgotten, no inducement omitted, to achieve the services of the "juggling" Vane. But the manner of their reception became his character. As he had treated the insult, he treated the mean submission. From his house in Lincolnshire, to which he had at once retired after the 20th of April, he wrote a brief answer to the application from the council, that "though the reign of saints was now no doubt begun, he was willing, for his part, to defer his share in it till he should go to heaven."‡ Heartily Cromwell wished him there—who can doubt!

Decidedly warlike, however, as the new

council of state was in its construction, the old council of officers held, not the less, to their existence as a quasi-authoritative body, of which the lord-general, Cromwell himself, was the natural and most authoritative mouthpiece. Under no lack of governors, therefore, did England labour after the dispersion of her statesmen. A fortnight had not elapsed after that event before acts of the highest authority were seen to emanate, with equal force and potency, from three several executive powers. Englishmen were now called on to obey the council of state, now to submit to the council of officers; in one day they were to receive, with deference, the law of the Lord-general Cromwell, speaking on behalf of the officers, and in the next they were to welcome the orders of the Lord-president Cromwell, as the mouthpiece of the state.\*

Such, however, were the trifling peculiarities that might well precede a reign of saints, and men waited in hope accordingly. Scarcely a day passed that did not bring to the council its "humble and thankful congratulation from some that fear the Lord," in anticipation of the great things they were to do, and not seldom a mission or address of the following fashion reached the devout hands of the lord-general or the lord-president, Oliver Cromwell. "After so many throes and pangs—severe contests between the powers of the world and the interest of Christ—we conceive the great and long-desired reformation is near the birth. We bless the God of Heaven, who hath called you forth and led you on, not only in the high places of the field, making you a terror to the enemy, but also (among those mighty ones whom God hath left) to the dissolving of the late Parliament. O my lord, what are you, that you should be the instrument to translate the nation from oppression to liberty, from the hands of corrupt persons to the saints! And who are we, that we should live to see these days which our fathers longed to see, and reap the harvest of their hopes! To be low in our own eyes, when God lifteth us, is a true testimony of humility and uprightness. No action of service or honour ever swelled the bosom of Christ; him, we believe, you make your pattern. Let the high praises of God be in our mouths, and the generations to come tell of his wonders. Let the improvement of this opportunity be your care and our prayer, that you may follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and we attend you with our persons,

\* See ante, p. 515. A curious letter, of a few days later date, shows the suspicions already begun to be entertained as to his purposes. "This declaration," says the writer, "is in his own name, and signed by himself, Oliver Cromwell, which shewes what henceforward he aims at."—*Thurloe's State Papers*, vol. i., p. 340.

† These were Lambert, Harrison, Desborough, Thomlinson, Bennet, Sydenham, Stapely, and another whose name I cannot precisely ascertain, in the confusion of the additions subsequently made, and of the second council of state so soon afterward appointed. I take him, however, to have been Colonel Philip Jones.

‡ These were, Strickland, late ambassador to the United Provinces; Sir Gilbert Pickering, John Carew, and Samuel Moyer. A new president was weekly chosen, Lambert being the first, Pickering the second, and Harrison the third.

§ See an intercepted letter of Mr. T. Robinson to Mr. Stueham, at the Hague, in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i., p. 265.

\* See Whitelocke, p. 530-533. Among other acts done, judges were displaced, appointed, superseded; new treasury and admiralty commissioners were named; even the monthly assessment (so clamoured against in the time of the statesmen!) of £120,000 was renewed for an additional half year; and all these various powers assumed by authorities as various. (See Leicester's Journal, p. 142. Merc. Pol., No. 157.) The chief civil offices had in the main gone forward without intermission, in obedience to the order contained in the declaration of officers. (See ante, p. 514.) It is amusing to mark Whitelocke's manner of shuffling over, in his Memorials, the fact of his first adhesion to this anomalous and most unlawyer-like state of things. Alluding to the appearance of this declaration, and of the more particular passage to which I have referred, he says, "The commissioners did not proceed in the business of the great seal till after this declaration; and then, considering that they had their authority from the Parliament, they did proceed." This "Parliament" must have been the Parliament remotely and mysteriously alluded to in the declaration as likely, probable, impossible to be summoned!

from all these, excited enthusiasts gathered together in various quarters of the city, to predict a speedy advent for those halcyon days which would at last fulfil God's promises to man. In one street signatures were solicited to a petition for the re-establishment of the ancient Constitution; in another, for a pure republic, with the government of successive Parliaments; in a third, for welcome to that "Lamb of the Lord," which had exhibited itself in the new military councils. All this was to have been expected in the state of society and of parties already described. Some addresses declared the conviction of their subscribers that the late dissolution was a crime, some that it was a blessing; some were for having the statesmen back, some were rather impatient, and not very implicit, about the assembling of the saints. From the country, too, various rumours arrived in quick and startling succession. Here there was "gathering of hands" for the fallen Commonwealth, there for the rising king;\* and only one thing reigned alike everywhere, THE SPIRIT OF CONFUSION.

And thus arose the instrument of Cromwell's vast design! "Sure," wrote Hyde from Paris a few weeks later, "sure the confusion is very high in England, and you must declare for Cromwell, that his single influence may compose these distractions, which the multitude cannot do." It is good to make our giants first, since it is certain that we kill them then more easily.

The time had certainly arrived, if not for that of a declaration in behalf of Cromwell, at least for his own trial of the last grand cheat he had been so long preparing. It was observed for some weeks that he had never seemed to wear such gracious aspects of humility and godliness as at this peculiar time; his prayers had peculiar relish in them, and a most extraordinary fervour; his preachings were also very frequent in the council; and it was the report of men more immediately about his person in confidential relations, that he had certainly, of late, received absolute communications from the Holy Spirit.†

\* I refrain from overlaying the text with details on these matters, which might be multiplied to an interminable extent. I give another curious letter, however, which bears upon the subject generally, and sufficiently illustrates the view I have given of the state of society; it is to be found in Thurloe, vol. i., p. 249, 250: "We talk merrily of a petition coming out of Surrey for making their general king. The foolish, senseless, stupid citizens were so sottish as to petition their lord-general to have at least some who were thought good men of the Parliament to sit again; but he gave them an answer no ways to their desire. He intends to be king in effect, though loth to take upon him the title. The apparition of the city's petition was seen a fortnight ago in several places of this town; but it soon vanished in the thoughts of wise men. The council often are at a non-plus, for they know not what to do; they have added three more to their number. The general's picture was set up at the Exchange, with verses under it, tending much to his honour: it was brought to him by the lord-mayor, who, it is thought, was the contriver of the setting of it up. White-locke declareth that the Parliament is not dissolved, and there is a gathering of hands to that purpose. On the other side, there is a gathering of hands for a king. This is both in town and country. Essex and Buckinghamshire are sending a petition for a king. Thus things stand in a great confusion. As things stand now, we know not what to think or say. The time was, when the challenging of five members was cried out upon for an unheard-of breach of privilege of Parliament; but afterward the impeaching of eleven members was a greater, and made a mighty noise among the Presbyterians. What think you now of turning them all out of doors?"

† The assertion is thought worthy of grave contradiction

The secret of these spiritual throes and heavings made its appearance in due course. It had been immediately preceded by eight days' close consultation between Cromwell and his military divan: a circumstance duly noted with all kinds of lofty and indistinct surmises by the Whitehall newspapers,\* and for the result of

by one of Cromwell's common-sense partisans: M. de Bordeaux, for example, the French resident in England, and for many reasons well affected to Cromwell, thus writes to Monsieur de Brienne, the French secretary of state: "Les bruits, qu'on fait courir du général [Cromwell] ne sont pas vrais; il affecte bien une grande piété, mais par une particulière communication avec le St. Esprit; et n'est par si foible, que de se laisser prendre par des flateries. Je sçais que l'amb. de Portugal lui en aiant fait sur ce changement, il en fait raillerie." An extract from a Royalist pamphlet of the day will show, however, the peculiar interests that now subsisted between this Frenchman and Cromwell. Alluding to the addresses which were got up after the fall of the Parliament "to strengthen the hands of this dictator in carrying on the work of Zion," it thus proceeds: "He was also complimented by the French ambassador Bordeaux, who had made applications to the Parliament, but was doubtful of effecting his errand with those highest and mightiest states who were grown formidable not only to the Dutch, but to his master, who willingly courted them to prevent their closing with his rebels of Bordeaux; only Oliver, as we have seen, valued them no more than scoundrels or rake-shames, nor would give ear to any more enemies of monarchy." A vice in the foreign policy of the Protectorate is here glanced at.

\* It is needless to observe that the breathless interest with which intelligence of each new incident or circumstance of the war was looked for, had greatly tended to the increase of newspapers, both in numbers and influence. About twelve were now regularly published, all of them weekly newspapers, besides those occasional assaults on the popular party which came out in the shape of Royalist journals. On Monday appeared the Perfect Diurnal, and the Moderate Intelligencer; on Tuesday, Several Proceedings in Parliament, a publication of authority; the Weekly Intelligencer, and the Faithful Post; on Wednesday, Mercurius Democritus, and the Perfect Account; on Thursday, Several Proceedings in State Affairs, a publication of some authority, and Mercurius Politicus, a sort of state gazette; and on Friday, the Moderate Publisher, the Faithful Post, by a different publisher from that of Tuesday, and the Faithful Scout. There was no newspaper on Saturday, probably because that would have been considered as too nearly trenching on the Lord's Day. Among the various writers whose names have come down to us, that of Marchmont Needham, the editor of the Mercurius Politicus, best deserves mention. He had written against the liberal cause in the commencement of the war, yet the statesmen not only pardoned him this, but extended to his undoubted talents the patronage they loved to bestow universally on literature and learned men. Eventually he "was induced to become an advocate for them and liberty." He was a writer worth gaining. This is his character by Anthony & Wood: "His Mercurius Politicus, which came out by authority, and flew every week into all parts of the nation for more than ten years, had very great influence upon numbers of inconsiderable persons, such as have a strong presumption that all must needs be true that is in print. He was the Goliath of the Philistines, the great champion of the late usurper, whose pen, in comparison of others, was like a weaver's beam. And certainly he that will or can peruse those his intelligences called Merc. Politici, will judge that, had the devil himself (the father of all lies) been in this Goliath's office, he could not have exceeded him; as having with profound malice calumniated his sovereign, with scurrility abused the nobility, with impudence blasphemed the Church and members thereof, and with industry poisoned the people with dangerous principles." The reader will know how to translate this into an admission of Needham's great talents, and his power of making them available. He may still wish to judge for himself, however, as to the quality of the newspaper-writing in that age, and I therefore subjoin a passage from the 108th number of "Mercurius Politicus," on what are called "Reasons of State." "The regulation of affairs by reason of state, not the strict rule of honesty, has been an epidemical one. But, for fear I be mistaken," continues he, "you are to understand, that by reason of state here we do not condemn the equitable result of prudence and right reason—for upon determinations of this nature depends the safety of all states and princes—but that reason of state which flows from a corrupt principle, to an indirect end; that reason of state which is the statesman's reason, or, rather, his will and lust, when he admits ambition to be a reason—preferment, power, profit, revenge,

which all parties in the metropolis appear to have waited with an extreme intensity of interest. It was early in June when its disclosure appeared, and it announced a Parliament. A Parliament! That name which a short month past was said to have become hateful to the English people, was now confessed to be the one feasible mode of inducing satisfaction and content. A Parliament of statesmen! Some hearts, it might be, leaped high again with the generous hope, which in generous nature survives distrust and fear, and saw the men of the army powerless, and the Commonwealth restored. A Parliament of saints! At that rapt announcement, enthusiasts who walked the city with their faces too much fixed on heaven to see ordinary wants or human fears, beheld the prayed for movements in the clouds that were to sweep away forever iniquity and sorrow, but were, alas! struck blind to movements reviving on the earth, which, in a few brief years, would sweep themselves away with a most triumphant scorn.

A Parliament of saints it was indeed to be! The ignorant and enthusiast still believed; the poor were obliged to hope, since it was something still to cling to; the statesmen grieved or smiled; the indifferent calculated chances; while the irreverent exultation of the Royalists scattered questions along the streets, to ask if the image of him who rode into Jerusalem upon an ass's foal were any more than a type of the new deliverer, who was about to ride into his throne upon the backs of a hundred and twenty asses, selected out of several counties for the especial purpose.\*

But were the people to return these saints? Were the asses to be of popular selection? The pretences urged against the statesmen would surely, at least, be permitted to survive so far. It would be hardly credible, that within a month of the violent destruction of a Parliament on the plea that it had refused to place faith in the people, its destroyers should take on themselves to call another Parliament together without even the semblance of a popular appeal. And yet this was what was now done, as any other thing equally monstrous might have been done

and opportunity, to be reasons sufficient to put him upon any design or action that may tend to present advantage, though contrary to the law of God, or the law of common honesty and of nations. Reason of state is the most sovereign command and the most important counsellor. Reason of state is the card and compass of the ship. Reason of state is many times the religion of a state—the law, the life of a state; that which answers all objections and quarrels about mal-government; that which wages war, imposes taxes, cuts off offenders, pardons offenders, sends and treats ambassadors. It can say and unsay; do and undo; balk the common road, make high-ways to become by-ways, and the farthest about to become the nearest cut. If a difficult knot come to be untied, which neither the divine by Scripture, nor lawyer by case or precedent can untie, then reason of state, or an hundred ways more which idiots know not, dissolve it. This is that great empress which the Italians call *Ragione di Stato*; it can rant as a soldier, compliment as a monsieur, trick it as a juggler, strut it as a statesman, and is as changeable as the moon in the variety of her appearances." This is admirable satire, expressed with admirable correctness and ease. I should not omit to add that one of the ablest works produced by Needham was written at the request of the Parliamentary leaders, and thus entitled: "The Case of the Commonwealth of England stated, with a Discourse of the Excellencies of a Free State above a Kingly Government." I shall have an opportunity of returning to this work.

\* Lord Somers's Tracts by Scott, vol. vii., p. 97. Placards containing such assertions as these were dropped in various places throughout the city.

in that condition of affairs. When men have been induced, no matter by what disunion or distraction, to countenance one great falsehood, they have then surrendered the privileges with the protection of truth. A lie can only generate a lie, and he who has acknowledged the parent, dares not deny or reject the offspring. The first result of the pernicious fraud which perverts the intellect is the habitual indifference or insincerity which debases and corrupts the heart.

The new Parliament was to be summoned on principles unheard of in all time before. The qualification of its members was to be sanctity of principles and holiness of life, and their election was to proceed, heaven-directed, from the choice of the council of officers. With this view, ministers in various parts of the country, on whom the council could rely, had been directed to take the sense of the "Congregational churches" in their several counties, and to send up to the lord-general and his officers returns containing the names of persons "able, loving truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness," whom they judged "qualified to manage a trust in the ensuing government."† Out of these, with the assistance of various names selected for their own more immediate ends, the council of officers, in the presence of the lord-general,‡ now proceeded to select a convention of 139 repre-

\* I subjoin from Thurloe a specimen of one of these Congregational documents. "Letter from the people of Bedfordshire to the Lord-general Cromwell and the council of the army. May it please your lordship and the rest of the council of the army, We (we trust), the servants of Jesus Christ, inhabitants in the county of Bedford, having fresh upon our hearts the sad oppressions we have (a long while) groaned under from the late Parliament, and now eyeing and owning (through grace) the good hand of God in this great turn of providence, being persuaded it is from the Lord that you should be instruments in his hand at such a time as this, for the electing of such persons who may go in and out before his people in righteousness, and govern these nations in judgment, we having sought the Lord for you, and hoping that God will still do great things by you, understanding that it is in your hearts (through the Lord's assistance) to establish an authority, consisting of men able, loving truth, fearing God, and hating covetousness; and we having had some experience of men with us, we have judged it our duty to God, to you, and to the rest of his people, humbly to present two men, viz., Nathaniel Taylor and John Croke, now justices of peace in our county, whom we judge in the Lord qualified to manage a trust in the ensuing government. All which we humbly refer to your serious considerations, and subscribe our names, this 13th day of May, 1653." A memorandum of the "Dutch deputies in England," dated the 12th of August, 1653, states that the new council, "by the direction and name of the Lord-general Cromwell, against the 4th of July, 1653, have summoned a new representation of 190 English, five Scotch, and five Irish commissioners, out of the respective counties and a few towns: who, upon the letter of the said general, after a foregoing communication with the ministers of the Independent party, which are spread through all England under the name of the gathered churches, and do keep a mutual correspondence, were chosen, and have appeared here." It is worthy of remark, at the same time, that the lord-general and his council exercised their own right of choice at all times when it happened to differ from their Congregational advisers: and that, for example, though Nathaniel Taylor in the above recommendation was "called," John Croke was not. "Edward Cater" was summoned in his stead.

† It is a singular circumstance, that what was called the council of state took no authoritative share in this proceeding, and, accordingly, no notice of the subject is to be found in their order book: it was solely the work of Cromwell and his officers. A characteristic circumstance should also be noted. Major Salway, though not a member of the military council, was present at these meetings, invited thereby by Cromwell, who thus, by an extreme appearance of confidence and favour, disarmed the suspicions of a gentleman equally candid and troublesome.

representatives, divided thus : for England, 122 ; for Wales six ; six for Ireland ; and five for Scotland ; and to all these, summonses were at once sent out.

The form of the summons was as extraordinary as its origin. It was issued in the sole name of Oliver Cromwell, as though in these two words already lodged the sovereign authority of England ; and it ran thus : " Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety, and government of this Commonwealth should be provided for ; and in order thereunto, divers persons fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, *are by myself*, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated, to whom the charge of trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed ; and having good assurance of your love to, and courage for, God and the interest of this cause, and of the good people of this Commonwealth, I, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the armies and forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, —, Esquire (being one of the persons nominated), personally to be and appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the 4th day of July next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called and appointed to serve as a member for the county (or city) of —. *And hereof you are not to fail.* Given under my hand and seal, the 6th day of June, 1653. OLIVER CROMWELL."\*

Nor did any fail excepting two. Two men only refused to answer to the summons. The rest, in wonder or enthusiasm, obeyed. It is indeed recorded of the majority that they took the very extraordinary manner of their election as a sufficient proof that the call was from heaven !† This was natural enough, since men who have been fed with prodigies once, will feed themselves with prodigies still ; nor is a falsehood itself more self-productive than a miracle : and thus did everything work to the usurper's wish. Temporal and spiritual pride went hand in hand to the work, trusting each to the blindness of the other, and both resolved to get what they could, of their respective yet most opposite desires, out of the " mysterious knack," as one of the Royalist papers not inaptly called it, " of a new, unheard-of legislative authority, who, by the name of men of in-

tegrity and fidelity to the cause of God, were by a bare summons from Oliver called to the settlement of the state—that was, to be stirrups or footsteps to the throne whereon Cromwell should tread."\*

Faithful to the day appointed in the summons, these wonderfully-selected, able, truth-loving, God-fearing, covetousness-hating, and Cromwell-obeying men, presented themselves on the 4th of July, 1653, at the council-chamber in Whitehall. A more extraordinary assemblage had assuredly never been seen within the walls of any place of power. Mean men were among them, and for this they have been flung aside in the mass as a set of ignorant mechanics and adventurers, low born, low bred, illiterate, and vile ; indifferent and reckless men were among them, and for this they have been scorned and branded by history as hypocrites and madmen.† Yet were they none of these. De-

\* It will be worth quoting another Royalist comment of the time on the present proceedings, more especially as it contains a curious illustration of the origin of the slanders against the quality and condition of the men who composed this convention. " As for news here, we have none but good, for the lord-general goes on like himself, a conqueror and a king, as it is hoped he will shortly be ; for there is a privy seal made, a sword with three crowns upon it, to borrow moneys with it. And it is told me by some that I know in Whitehall, that there is brought in there a royal crown and a sceptre ; and I wish him as much joy with it as you do, or can do. His excellency and his privy council, which consist of as many Christ and his apostles, all godly men, have made two acts lately, equal to the former acts of Parliament : the one for the continuance of our monthly tax ; the other for the convening of a new representative at Whitehall, *on purpose, as is expected, to crown his excellency.* They are elected out of all counties, but not by the counties of England, but by the special appointment of him and his council ; and his warrant to them runs thus : ' I and my council do will and command you to appear at Whitehall ' &c. ; and I assure you we shall have a blessed government, for though all the elected are mean men, yet they are godly men, and the most of them gifted men, fit to govern both in Church and government. By the next I shall give you their names. In the mean time, take the names of some good and gracious, elected for Westminster and London : *Mr. Smith, some time clerk to Sir Edward Pount ; another, a leather-seller, over Ram Alley, in Fleet-street, a very ram, a man well known to your bed-fellows ; another, a scrivener in St. Thomas Apostle's, a pure apostle, Mr. Colburne by name ; another, an opus vite man, near Aldgate, to furnish the state with a dram out of the bottle to comfort their hearts.*" The " leather-seller" referred to here was the notorious Barbone, and it is singular that there is no such attempt to play the same trick with his name on the part of this scurrilous Royalist as our grave historians have since played.

† " Much the major part of them," Lord Clarendon tells us, " consisted of inferior persons of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament itself was afterward denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his Christian name) Barbone, a leather-seller in Fleet-street ; from whom, he being an eminent speaker in it, it was afterward called Praise-God Barbone's Parliament. In a word, they were a pack of weak, senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name and reputation of Parliaments lower than it was yet." Another contemporary styles them, " A set of men for the most part of such mean and ignoble extraction, that so far were they from being taken notice of by their shires, each of whom (but two or three) represented, that they were scarce known in the very towns wherein they were born, or afterward inhabited, till the excise, then committees for sequestration, and the war in the respective counties, made them infamously known. The rest were of Cromwell's partisans in the Parliament and high Court of Justice." Whitelocke remarks, however, " That many of this assembly being persons of fortune and knowledge, it was much wondered by some that they would at this summons, and from such hands, take upon them the supreme authority of this nation, considering how little authority Cromwell and his officers had to give it, or these gentlemen to be so much may be worth

\* Lord Somers's Tracts, vol. vi., p. 247.

† The author of " An Exact Relation of the Proceedings and Transactions of the late Parliament, their beginning and ending ; by a Member" (printed in the year 1654, and to be found in Somers's Tracts, vol. vi., p. 266), tells us, " It is very observable, that of all that were chosen and summoned to appear for the end aforesaid, being 140 persons, there were but two that refused the call and work, so unanimous a concurrence was there found as to the service, though they knew well their call was not according to ancient formality and the way of the nation. There seemed to be two reasons wherein there was satisfaction : first, that Divine Providence had cast it on them, without their seeking in the least ; secondly, the necessity, as the case of the Commonwealth stood, of having some to act and carry on affairs in way of government till there might be an attainder to a better way of settlement, by the choice of the good people of this nation, which was not to be denied to be their just and dearly-purchased liberty." The last passage proves that a certain set of men in this Parliament had been able to combine a conscientious sense and care of public liberty, with even the rapt and excited phrensies of religious enthusiasm.

scribe them, as such an assemblage claims to be described, by the general characteristics of the great majority of its members—and let laughter still flow freely as it will at the monstrous origin of their authority, and the ludicrous pretences of their sanctity, the more grave and the more respectful will be our mention of the personal qualities of the men. They were earnest and sincere. They had great truth of purpose, unquestionable good faith, and a zeal that set life and labour at naught in the service to which they had been called. They believed much, and they acted as men who believed. They wildly thought themselves, indeed, the heralds of a new and glorious era of unearthly happiness to earth, and of immortal peace and good-will to mortal men; but to this service of overheated imaginations they brought the aid of judgment, upon various and most essential things, at once sober, correct, and practical, which should for itself alone command the admiration and respect of all reasoning or reflecting persons. Finally, they were men of no common worldly esteem. "It was much wondered at by some," says Whitelocke, "that these gentlemen, many of them being persons of fortune and knowledge, would, at this summons and from these hands, take upon them the supreme authority of the nation." There were many more things wonderful which Whitelocke's philosophy preferred to leave undreamed of, though it might, perchance, have explained them. It was possibly much wondered at by some, for example, that such gentlemen as these, many of them being persons of knowledge, would have been called upon, under a summons from such hands, to assume the supreme authority of the nation; yet none knew better than Whitelocke and his class what Cromwell's objects were, and none better than they could have told how even such men as these would be made the instruments to advance them. This will speedily become manifest.

Thus, then, assembled in this Whitehall council-chamber the celebrated Barebone's Parliament: a title by which grave historians, taking advantage of the lucky accident of the name of one of its members, have sought to make it ridiculous in history. A cheap thing is ridicule; and a most precious instrument of unprincipled power, the facility of coining nicknames! The ingenious device of changing Barbone into Barebone, and the constant repetition of the latter word in its most ridiculous sense, have been successful in persuading historical readers for nearly two centuries that this assemblage of men, wealthy, high born, wise, as many of them were, was little better, to all sensible or rational purposes, than an assemblage of literal bare bones\* might have been!

subjoining, also, the character of the members of this convention from Ludlow, who tells us, "That many of the members of this assembly had manifested a good affection to the public cause; but some there were among them who were brought in as spies and trepanners; and though they had been always of the contrary party, made the highest pretensions to honesty and the service of the nation. This assembly, therefore, being composed, for the most part, of honest and well-meaning persons (who, having good intentions, were less ready to suspect the evil designs of others), thought themselves in full possession of the power and authority of the nation, and therefore proceeded to the making of laws relating to the public."

\* Voltaire gravely translates Barbone's name into *os décharnés*!

so true it is that men are not made less contemptible because their nickname happens to be nonsense. It is all the better for revealing no shadow of the qualities they may have, whether vile or great, since it only flings the more insignificance over them in expressing, as it were, a very abstraction of the contemptible. The return of Praise-God Barbonet as one of the members for the city of London hath had truly a portentous influence on the memory of this Parliament!

Besides Barbone, however, it will become us to recollect in this narrative that Henry Cromwell, a man of no insignificance any way, was summoned; that the whole of what was called the council of state, with the exception of the

\* Mr. Godwin (in the Hist. of the Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 524) first exposed the trick of this altered name, and, as the authority of four undisputed contemporary lists of this Parliament, published by the council of the state, wrote it Barbone. He suggested, at the same time, as to the Christian prefix, that it was scarcely more fanatical than Dedatus, a name to be found in the records of most of the countries of Europe. He might have said more for the name itself, which is capable of the classic translation of Timotheus. It would be scarcely necessary to refer to the numberless vulgar slanders and ridiculous fictions that have sprung out of this notorious name, but that it too well expresses the spirit in which the history of these times has (out of late) been written, to be altogether omitted. For example, one historian talks of "Praise-God Barebone" having had two brothers, the Christian name of the first of whom was *Christ came into the world to save, and of the second, If Christ had not died, thou hadst been damned*. He introduces his anecdote with the suspicious words, "*I have been informed that there were three brothers*," and adds, that "some people, tired of the long name of the younger brother, are said to have omitted the former part of the sentence, and to have called him familiarly *Damned Barebone*." Another writer, according to Mr. Godwin, the Reverend James Brome, in a book of Travels over England, Scotland, and Wales, second edition, 1707, has endeavoured to render the satire more complete by giving the names of a "jury returned in the county of Sussex, in the late rebellious, troublesome times, as follows (p. 279): *Accepted Treason, d. Norsham; Redeemed Compton, of Battell; Faith-not Hewet, of Heathfield; Make-peace Heaton, of Hare; God-for Smart, of Tisehurst; Stand-fast-on-high Stringer, of Cromhurst; Earth Adams, of Warbleton; Called Lower, of the same; Kill-sin Pimple, of Witham; Return Spelman, d Watling; Be-faithful Joiner, of Britling; Fly-debate Roberts, of the same; Fight-the-good-fight-of-faith White, of Eimer; More-fruit Fowler, of East Hodley; Hope-for Beading, of the same; Graceful Harding, of Lewes; Weep-not Billing, of the same; Meek Brewer, of Okeham*." It is really scarcely credible that this list should have been copied into Hume's History of England: so it is, however, and Dr. Zachary Grey had previously given it the authority of his name, if his name had been capable of bearing authority in matters which involved hatred to the Puritans. Unblinded by such hatred, these men would have been the first to see that this notable list was a mere piece of *mauvaise plaisanterie*. If any doubt remained about it, however, it fortunately happens, from Mr. Godwin's researches, that the Rev. James Brome (the original reporter) has furnished a sufficiently satisfactory clew to the whole, by premising to this list of the Sussex jury that it was given him "by the same worthy hand" that had supplied him with the names of the Huntingdon jury in a preceding page. The story of the Huntingdon jury runs thus: "The following is the copy of a jury taken before Judge Doddridge at the assizes holden in this place, July, 1619, which is the more remarkable, because the surnames of some of the inhabitants would seem to make them at first sight persons of very great renown and quality (p. 56): *Maximilian King, of Puseland; Henry Prince, of Godmauchester; George Duke, of Soerham; William Marquess, of Stukeley; Edmund Earl, of Hartford; Richard Baron, of Bythorn; Stephen Pope, d Newton; Stephen Cardinal, of Kimbolton; Humphrey Bishop, of Bugden; Robert Lord, of Waseley; Robert Knight, of Winwick; William Abbot, of Stukeley; Robert Baron, of St. Neot's; William Dean, of Old Weston; John Archdeacon, of Paxton; Peter Esquire, of Easton; Edward Friar, of Ellington; Henry Monk, of Stukeley; George Gentleman, of Spaldedeh; George Priest, of Graffan; Richard Deacon, of Catworth; Thomas Yeoman, of Barham*." It is altogether a joke, the reader perceives, and, what is worse, by no means a good one!

four general officers and Colonel Thomlinson, appeared; and that among the names of influence and consideration which were to be found among them were those of Viscount Lisle; George lord Eure; Major Salway; Lockhart, afterward French ambassador; Montague, afterward Earl of Sandwich; Howard, afterward Earl of Carlisle; Sir Robert King, of Dublin; Sir Charles Wolseley, of Oxfordshire; Sir William Brownlow, of Lincolnshire; Sir William Roberts, of Middlesex; Sir James Hope, of Hoptown; and Colonels Duckenfield, Bennet, Fenwick, Barton, Sydenham, Bingham, Lawrence, Blount, Kenrick, West, Danvers, Jones, Pyne, Norton, Clark, James, and Hutchinson; with Majors Saunders and Horseman, Captain Stone, and others that had served with singular credit in the war. The illustrious name of Robert Blake appeared also in the list, with eleven others, including Francis Rouse, the provost of Eton College, who had sat with him in the Long Parliament itself.\*

Two names remain to be mentioned, whose appearance may now be held to have been truly ominous of the crisis to which the public cause was approaching fast, and of the strange and sad prospects that were in wait for liberty. These were George Monk, and Anthony Ashley Cooper—the “scoundrel of fortune” who restored Charles II., and the renegade who sat in judgment on the judges of Charles I. From this period both date their fortunes. Monk had already been selected by Cromwell to supersede Blake in the naval command; and Cooper, whose “venal wit” had hitherto been aptly used for royalty, now recognised the period of his great advancement come, and set that wit to work to profit by it.

“He cast himself into the saint-like mould,  
Groan’d, sigh’d, and pray’d, while guiliness was gain,  
The loudest baggage of the squeaking train!”

No surer mark can we find of the present aspect of affairs than in the rise of such men as these. They determine, with an almost unerring accuracy, from the distance at which we regard them, the character of the crisis which suddenly gave them power. England had become little better than a wide theatre for the struggle of selfish passions. With no paramount principle to bind men together—with no ties of acknowledged allegiance to restrain them, the intrepid and the bold; the men who had sufficient daring to execute what they had craft enough to plan; the unscrupulous and the restless; the souls for close designs and crooked counsels, for storm, for confusion, for anything but calm—all these would naturally start above the surface. We see the types of such men in George Monk and Anthony Ashley Cooper. We see the demoralizing action on the people, in the state to which they had been brought, and can discern, “as in a map, the end of all.” Policy measured by passion; rules of government, various as the various temperaments of men, set up each day; plots and conspiracies, unheard of during the sway of the statesmen, hatched each night; but George Monk still faithful to George Monk, Anthony Cooper losing

no love for Anthony Cooper, and at no great distance from the sad scene, the brutal and wicked orgies of the Restoration! He who now cants for tyranny under Cromwell with pious breath, will soon practise it under Charles II. with iron heel.\*

The 4th of July was a very sultry day, and the council-chamber at Whitehall was of moderate dimensions, but upward of 130 of the “elect” legislators had on that day assembled in that place, to receive into their own hands the supreme authority of the nation; and, “seated round the room on chairs,” waited for the entrance of the lord-general and his officers. After a brief delay, Cromwell appeared, followed by the chiefs of his military council. Every one present at once rose and uncovered.† Upon this, Cromwell also removed his hat, and, advancing up the room to the “middle window,” took his station there with a considerable body of his officers on either hand, and, “leaning upon the back of a chair, with his own back to the window,”‡ proceeded to address that remarkable meeting in a speech of profoundest art. It occupied upward of an hour in deliv-

\* Not to acquaint the reader with a satire which he has no doubt admired, but to place on record a noble delineation of the kind of qualities which were now, as in a hot-bed, nursed in England, I subjoin the character of Shaftesbury from Dryden’s great hand:

“Of these the false Achitophel was first,  
A name to all succeeding ages curs’d.  
For close designs and crooked counsels fit,  
Sagacious, bold, and turbulent of wit,  
Restless, unfix’d in principles and place,  
In power unpleas’d, impatient of disgrace;  
A fiery soul, which, working out its way,  
Fretted the pigmy body to decay,  
And o’er-inform’d the tenement of clay.  
A daring pilot in extremity;  
Pleas’d with the danger when the waves went high,  
He sought the storms; but for a calm unfit,  
Would steer too nigh the sands to boast his wit.  
Great wits are sure to madness near allied,  
And thin partitions do their bounds divide;  
Else why should he, with wealth and honour bless’d,  
Refuse his age the needful hours of rest?  
Punish a body which he could not please,  
Bankrupt of life, yet prodigal of ease?  
And all to leave what with his toil he won,  
To that unfeather’d, two-legged thing, a son;  
Got while his soul did huddled notions try,  
And born a shapeless lump like anarchy.  
In friendship false, implacable in hate,  
Resolved to ruin or to rule the state.  
To compass this the triple bond he broke,  
The pillars of the public safety shook,  
And fitted Israel for a foreign yoke;  
Then seized with fear, yet still affecting fame,  
Usurp’d a patriot’s all-atoning name.  
So easy still it proves in factious times,  
With public zeal to cancel private crimes.  
How safe is treason, and how sacred ill,  
Where none can sin against the people’s will!  
Where crowds can wink, and no offence be known,  
Since in another’s guilt they find their own!  
Yet fame deserved no enemy can grudge;  
The statesmen we abhor, but praise the judge.  
In Israel’s courts we’er sat an Abethdin  
With more discerning eyes, or hands more clean;  
Unbribed, unsought, the wretched to redress;  
Swift of despatch, and easy of access.  
Oh! had he been content to serve the crown,  
With virtues only proper to the gown,  
Or had the rankness of the soil been freed  
From cockle, that oppress’d the noble seed,  
David for him his tuneful harp had strung,  
And heaven had wanted one immortal song!  
But wild ambition loves to slide, not stand,  
And Fortune’s ice prefers to Virtue’s land.  
Achtophel, grown weary to possess  
A lawful fame and lazy happiness,  
Disdain’d the golden fruit to gather free,  
And lent the crowd his arm to shake the tree.”

† Lord Leicester’s Journals, p. 147.

‡ Ibid.

\* These were Lisle, Pickering, Christopher Martin, Francis Rouse, Harrison, George Fleetwood, Carew Strickland, Richard Norton, Sydenham, and Jones.



ery, and is said\* to have been pronounced in so excellent a manner "as sufficiently manifested that—as the lord-general himself was thoroughly persuaded—the Spirit of God acted in him and by him." The convention had by this time resumed their seats, but Cromwell and his officers still stood.

He began by observing that no doubt the summons they had all received would have explained to them the cause of their being in that room; he had, however, something more "significant" than that summons to offer them now, in the shape of "an instrument drawn up by the consent and advice of the principal officers of the army." "And," he added, "we have somewhat likewise farther to say to you for *our own exonerat*ion, and we hope it may be somewhat farther to your satisfaction; and, therefore, seeing you sit here somewhat uneasy, by reason of the scantness of the room and the heat of the weather, I shall contract myself with respect to that." This was merely one of those pleasant promises which orators often make and seldom keep. His very next sentence confessed what a long story he had resolved to tell.

"I have not thought it amiss a little to mind you of that series of providences wherein the Lord hitherto hath dispensed wonderful things to these nations, from the beginning of our troubles to this very day. If I should look much backward, we might remember the state of affairs as they were before the short, and that which was the last Parliament. In what a posture the things of this nation stood, doth so well, I presume, occur to all your memories and knowledges, that I shall not need to look so far backward, nor yet to the beginning of those hostile actions that passed between the king that was and the then Parliament; and, indeed, should I begin this labour, the things that would fall necessarily before you would rather be fit for a history than for a discourse at this present.

"But thus far we may look back. You very well know, after divers turnings of affairs, it pleased God, much about the midst of this war, to winnow, as I may so say, the forces of this nation, and to put them into the hands of men of other principles than those that did engage at first. By what strange providences that also was brought about, would ask more time than is allotted me to remember you of. Indeed, there are stories that do recite those transactions, and give narratives of matter of fact. But those things wherein the life and power of them lay; those strange windings and turnings of Providence; those very great appearances of God, in crossing and thwarting the designs of men, that he might raise up a poor and a contemptible company of men, neither versed in military affairs nor having much natural propensity to them even through the owning of a principle of godliness, of religion, which, so soon as it came to be owned, the state of affairs put upon that foot of account—how God blessed them, and all undertakings, by the rising of that most improbable, despicable, contemptible means—for that we must forever own—you very well know.

"What the several successes have been is

\* By Carrington, one of his biographers. (*Life of Cromwell*, p. 181.)

not fit to mention at this time neither, though I must confess I thought to have enlarged myself upon this subject, forasmuch as the considering the works of God and the operation of his hands is a *principal part of our duty, and a great encouragement to the strengthening of our hands, and of our faith for that which is behind.* And then, having given us those marvellous dispensations among other ends—for that was a most principal end—as to us, in this revolution of affairs and issues of those successes God was pleased to give this nation and the authority that then stood, were very great things brought about—besides those dint that were upon those nations and places where they were carried on, even in the civil affairs, to the bringing offenders to justice, *even the greatest*—to the bringing the state of this government to the name, *at least, of a commonwealth*—to the searching and sifting of all places and persons—the king removed, and brought to justice, and many great ones with him; the House of Peers laid aside; the House of Commons, the representatives of the people of England, itself winnowed, sifted and brought to a handful—you may very well remember!"

Having thus obscurely reminded them of what they very clearly remembered, the lord-general went on to characterize the year 1648, more especially, as the "most memorable that ever this nation saw," by reason of "so many insurrections, invasions, secret designs, open and public attempts, quashed in so short a time by the very signal appearances of God himself." He then briefly referred to the defection of the Presbyterians, and their treasonable attempts to treat with the king, "whereby we should have put into his hands all that cause and interest we had opposed, and have had nothing secured to us but a little piece of paper." He next, in a strain of enthusiasm, recalled "what God wrought in Ireland and Scotland, until the Lord had finished all farther trouble upon the matter by the marvellous salvation wrought at Worcester." And then followed that elaborate and worthless attempt to vindicate the dispersion of the Long Parliament which has been elsewhere quoted,\* and by which the speaker could scarcely himself have hoped to mystify the apprehensions of his hearers.†

\* See *ant.*, p. 516 to p. 519.

† Twelve, as I have already mentioned, had been themselves members of the Long Parliament, but nearly all of these were tools of Cromwell. The nobler occupation of Vane, and others of the chief men of that still great though broken body, has been already glanced at in these pages. A passage from Mrs. Hutchinson's delightful memoirs will more distinctly describe the generous thoughts that supported them in their unmerited exile from power. Speaking of her husband, she says, he was travelling up from his country business, "when news met him upon the road, near London, that Cromwell had broken the Parliament. Notwithstanding, he went on, and found divers of the members there, resolved to submit to this providence of God, and to wait till he should clear their integrity, and to disprove those people who had taxed them of ambition, by sitting still, when they had friends enough in the army, city, and country to have disputed the matter, and probably vanquished those usurpers. *They thought that if they should vex the land by war among themselves, the late subdued armies, Royalists and Presbyterians, would have an opportunity to prevail on their dissensions, to the ruin of both; if these should govern well, and righteously, and moderately, they should enjoy the benefit of their good government, and would not envy them the honourable toil; if they did otherwise, they should be ready to assist and vindicate the oppressed country when the ungrateful people were made sensible of their true champions and protectors.* Col. Huch

Passing from this subject with the manner of one who had discharged an irksome and painful task, his tone suddenly changed. He addressed himself more directly to the individuals so strangely assembled before him, and declared his persuasion that they were men who knew the Lord. He congratulated them on their sudden call, and told them to be proud that it had not been of their own seeking. "Now do you know," he continued, "that what hath been done in the dissolution of that Parliament was as necessary to be done as the preservation of this cause; and that necessity, that led us to do that, hath brought us to this issue of exercising an extraordinary way and course to draw yourselves together upon this account—that you are men who know the Lord, and have made observations of his marvellous dispensations, and may be trusted with this cause. It remains—for I shall not acquaint you farther with what relates to your taking upon you this great business, that being contained in this paper in my hand, which I do offer presently to you to read—having done that which we thought to have done upon this ground of necessity, which we know was not feigned necessity, but real and true, to the end the government might not be at a loss, to the end we might manifest to the world the singleness of our hearts, and integrity, *who did those things, not to grasp after the power ourselves, to keep it in a military hand, no, not for a day, but, as far as God enables us with strength and ability, to put it into the hands that might be called from several parts of the nation*—this necessity I say, and we hope may say for ourselves, this integrity, of labouring to divest the sword of the power and authority, in the civil administration of it, hath been that that hath moved us to conclude of this course; and having done that, we think we cannot, with the discharge of our consciences, but offer somewhat unto you, as I said before, for our own exoneration, it having been the practice of others who have voluntarily and out of sense of duty divested themselves, and devolved the government into the hands of others—it having been the practice, where such things have been done, and very consonant to reason, together with the authority, to lay a charge in such a way as we hope we do, and to press to the duty, which we have a word or two to offer to you. Truly God hath called you to this work by, I think, as wonderful providences as ever passed upon the sons of men in so short a time. And truly I think, taking the

incom, in his own particular, was very glad of this release from that employment, which he managed with fidelity and uprightness, but not only without delight, but with a great deal of trouble and expense, in the contest for truth and righteousness upon all occasions." Nor can I refrain from giving another extract from the same charming book, which will show what the nature of Colonel Hutchinson's country occupations were. "He carefully attended," his wife says, in a passage which describes as well the country residences of Vane and Scot, "to the administration of justice in the country, and to the putting in execution of those wholesome laws and statutes of the land provided for the orderly regulation of the people. And it was wonderful how, in a short space, he reformed several abuses and customary neglects in that part of the country where he lived, which being a rich, fruitful vale, drew abundance of vagrant people to come and exercise the idle trade of wandering and begging; but he took such courses that there was very suddenly not a beggar left in the country, and all the poor in every town so maintained and provided for as they never were so liberally maintained and relieved before nor since."

arguments of necessity (for the government must not fall)—take the appearances of the will of God in this thing—I am sure you would have been loth it should have been resigned into the hands of wicked men and enemies. I am sure God would not have it so. It comes, therefore, to you by way of necessity; it comes to you by the way of the wise providence of God, though through weak hands; and therefore I think, it coming through our hands, though such as we are, it may not be taken ill if we offer to you something as to the discharge of that trust which is incumbent upon you. And although I seem to speak that which may have the face of a charge, it is a very humble one; and *as that speaks it means to be a servant to you* who are called to the exercise of the supreme authority—to discharge that which he conceives is his duty, in his own and his fellows' names, to you, who will, I hope, take it in good part. And truly I shall not hold you long in that, because I hope it is written in your hearts to approve yourselves to God; only this scripture I shall remember to you, which hath been much upon my spirit: Hosea, xi., ver. 12: 'Yet Judah ruleth with God, and is faithful among the saints.' It is said before, 'Ephraim did compass God about with lies, and Israel with deceit.' How God hath been compassed about with fastings, and thanksgivings, and other exercises and transactions, I think we have all to lament. Why, truly, you are called by God to rule with him and for him, and you are called to be faithful with the saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call! 'He that ruleth over men,' the Scripture saith, 'he must be just, ruling in the fear of God.'"

One very cool inference may be detected in the midst of all this enthusiastic heat. It is clear that, in so emphatically divesting the sword of all power and authority, he meant it to go forth to the world that, in the event of any unexpected dissolution of the present "supreme authority," it would be impossible for the "council of officers" again to consider itself competent to provide for the weal and happiness of the nation. Some new government must then be formed, of a nature till then untried. He had himself appeared in the council-chamber that day to separate the sword forever from the retention of power over the state, and to profess that his fellow-officers as well as himself were thenceforward only servants to an authority more supreme.

Proceeding to that "humble charge," which now included all the duty that he and those officers, servants of the state, had to offer to its governors, he enforced the great advice, which still and always, in his worst temper, as in his most worthy, declared the greatness of his mind. He would pray, he said, that they might "exercise the judgment of mercy and truth," and still be "faithful to the saints," however those saints might differ respecting forms of worship. "It is better," he continued, "to pray for you, than to counsel you in that, that you may exercise the judgment of mercy and truth! I say it is better for you to do it than to advise you; better to ask wisdom from heaven for you, which I am confident many thousands of saints do this day, and have done, and will do, through the permission of God, and his

assistance to advise you! Only, truly, I thought of a scripture likewise, that seems to be but a scripture of common application to every man as a Christian, wherein he is counselled to ask wisdom; and he is told what is that wisdom that is from above: 'it is pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy.' And my thoughts ran thus upon this, that the executing of the judgment of truth, for that is the judgment that you must have wisdom from above for, and that is pure, and that will teach you to execute the judgment of truth; then, if God give you hearts to be easy to be entreated, to be peaceable spirits, to be full of good fruits, bearing good fruits to the nation, to men as men, to the people of God, to all in their several stations—this wisdom will teach you to execute the judgment of mercy and truth; and I have little more to say to this; I shall rather bend my prayers for you in that behalf (as I said before), and I know many others do also. Truly, the judgment of truth will teach you to be as just towards an unbeliever as towards a believer; and it is our duty to be so. *I confess, I have often said it foolishly, if I would miscarry, I would rather do it to a believer than to an unbeliever; perhaps it is a paradox; but let us take heed of doing it to either, exercising injustice to either.* If God fill our heart with such a spirit as Moses and Paul had, which was not only a spirit for the believers among the people of God, but for the whole people (he would have died for them; and so Paul to his countrymen according to the flesh, he would have died for them), truly, this will help us to execute the judgment of truth, and mercy also.'

In the same truly beneficent spirit, however confusedly expressed, of religious toleration—that first and most sacred principle of civil government—Cromwell added this earnest and touching exhortation: "I hope, whatever others may think, it ought to be to us all matter of rejoicing, that as one person, our Saviour, was touched with our infirmities, that he might be pitiful, I do think this assembly, thus called, is very much touched with the common infirmity of the saints; and I hope that will teach you to pity others, that so saints of one sort may not be our interest, but that we may have respect unto all, though of different judgments; and if I did seem to speak anything that might seem to reflect upon those of the Presbyterian judgment, I think, if you have not an interest of love for them, you will hardly answer this faithfulness to his saints. I confess, in my pilgrimage, and some exercises I have had abroad, I did read that scripture often, in Isaiah, xli., 19, when God gave me and some of my fellows what he would do there and elsewhere, which he performed for us; and what would he do! To what end! 'That he might plant in the wilderness the cedar, and the shittah-tree, and the myrtle-tree, and the palm-tree together.' To what end! 'That they might know, and consider, and understand together that the hand of the Lord hath done this;' and that the Lord hath created it; that he wrought all salvation and deliverance, which he hath wrought, for the good of the whole flock; therefore I beseech you (but I think I need not), have a care of the whole flock; love all the sheep, love

the lambs all; and tender all, and cherish all, and countenance all, in all things that are good; and if the poorest Christian, the most mistaken Christian, should desire to live peaceably and quietly under you, soberly and humbly desire to lead a life in godliness and honesty, let him be protected! . . . I think I need as little advise you concerning the propagation of the Gospel, and encouraging such ministers and such a ministry as are faithful in the land, upon whom the true character is; men that have truly received the spirit for such a use; which Christians will be well able to discern, and do; men that have received gifts from him that ascended on high, and led captivity captive, for the work before mentioned. And truly the apostle, Romans, xii., when he hath summoned up all the mercies of God, and the goodness of God, and hath discoursed of the foundations of the Gospel, and of the several things that are the subject of his discourse, in the eleven first chapters; after he hath besought them to offer up their souls and bodies a living sacrifice to God, he beseecheth them not to esteem more highly of themselves than they ought; but that they would be humble, and sober-minded, and not stretch themselves beyond their line, but they would have a care to those that had received gifts to the uses there mentioned. I speak not—it is far from my heart—for a ministry, deriving itself through the papacy, and pretending to that which is so much insisted upon to be succession. The true succession is through the spirit, given in that measure that the spirit is given; and that is a right succession. But I need not discourse of these things to you; I am persuaded you are taught of God in a greater measure than myself in those things; indeed, I have but one word more to say, and that is (though in that, perhaps, I shall show my weakness), it is by way of encouragement to you to go on in this work."

But most striking and characteristic of all were the closing passages of this extraordinary address, where, kindling into an apparent passion of enthusiastic fervour, Cromwell spoke as if Futurity had suddenly revealed her secrets to his soul. The only war in England hereafter, he exclaimed, should be that of the Lamb against his enemies! To the very threshold of the door, to the edge of the promises and prophecies, they had come at last! Out of the depths of the sea God was about to bring home his people—even the very Jews themselves he would bring home to their station out of the isles of the sea! And all this was to be the work of the men he saw before him, who he probably never seen each other's faces till that day, but who had answered a divine and miraculous call—who had owned Jesus Christ, and whom Jesus Christ had owned! No man living would have thought, three little months before, to have seen such a company taking upon them the supreme authority! But they had been called with a high call, and would do all that the good English people wished to bring them to their liberties! I subjoin in detail these singular passages. They express, to its utmost depths, the character of Cromwell, in its most startling phases of profound artifice and profounder self-delusion. No one, with a knowledge of the result that followed on so fast, can

fail to discover in them the violent self-seeker, alternately quieting his nerves and encouraging his passions with a selfish religious creed, but yielding, in the same instant, to just so much of sincere delusion as the faith in his own immense power was likely to generate in such a man, and to just so much of real enthusiasm as can never be wholly separated, even in its falsest phrensies, from a mind of that peculiar order. Still be it kept in view, that through all, whether true or false, there yet sprang up his own advantage and advancement. There was no danger to him in revealing a false futurity, since by his own side he held fast the key of the true one; but how dangerous to those elect legislators, that they should be made responsible for blessings, over the generation of which they were soon to have no control, and that the people, to whom they were to give a new life of power and love, should speedily be fated to discover them incapable of common self-existence! In that mean position they were placed by these rhapsodies from Cromwell, to which they listened this day, no doubt, in unsuspecting gratitude.

*"I confess I never looked to see such a day as this, it may be nor you, when Jesus Christ shall be owned, as he is this day and in this world. Jesus Christ is owned this day by you all, and you own him by your willingness in appearing here; and you manifest this (as far as poor creatures can) to be a day of the power of Christ by your willingness. I know you remember that scripture in Psalm cx., 3. The people shall be willing in the day of thy power. God doth manifest it to be a day of the power of Jesus Christ!"*

"Having through so much blood, and so many trials as have been upon these nations, made this to be one of the greatest issues thereof, to have a people called to the supreme authority upon such an avowed account, God hath owned his Son by this; and you, by your willingness, do own Jesus Christ; and therefore, for my part, I confess I did never look to see such a sight. Perhaps you are not known by face one to another; but we must tell you this, that indeed we have not allowed ourselves in the choice of one person in whom we had not this good hope that there was faith in Jesus Christ, and love unto all his saints and people. And thus God hath owned you in the face and eyes of the world; and thus, by your coming hither, you have owned him, as it is in Isaiah, xliii., 21. It is a high expression, and look to your own hearts whether now or hereafter God shall apply it to you. 'This people,' saith he, 'I have formed for myself, that they might show forth my praise.' It is a memorable place, and, I hope, not unfitly applied; God apply it to each of your hearts. I shall not descant upon the words; they are plain. *You are as like the forming of God as ever people were.* If any man should ask you one by one, and should tender a book to you, you would dare to swear that neither directly nor indirectly did you seek to come hither. You have been passive in coming hither, in being called hither, and that is an active word—'This people I have formed.' Consider the circumstances by which you are called together; through what difficulties, through what strivings, through what blood,

you are come hither. *Neither you nor I, nor no man living, three months ago, had a thought to have seen such a company, taking upon them, or, rather, being called to the supreme authority, and therefore know now your call!*

"Indeed I think, as it may be truly said, that never was a supreme authority, consisting of so numerous a body as you are, which, I believe, are above one hundred and forty, ever in such a way of owning God and being owned by him, and therefore I say also, *never a people formed for such a purpose (so called), if it were time to compare your standing with those that have been called by the suffrages of the people. Who can tell how soon God may fit the people for such a thing, and who would desire anything more in the world but that it might be so? I would all the Lord's people were prophets—I would they were fit to be called, and fit to call; and it is the longing of our hearts to see them once on the interest of Jesus Christ.* And give me leave to say, if I know anything in the world, what is there more like to win the people to the interest and love of God—nay, what a duty will lie upon you, to have your conversation such as that they may love you, that they may see you lay out your time and spirits for them! *Is not this the most likely way to bring them to their liberties? And do you not, by this, put it upon God to find the time and the season for it, by pouring forth his spirit; at least by convincing them that, as men fearing God have fought them out of their thralldom and bondage under the royal power, so men fearing God rule them in the fear of God, and take care to administer good unto them? But this is some digression. I say, own your call, for indeed it is marvellous, and it is of God, and it hath been unprojected, unthought of by you and us; and that hath been the way God hath dealt with us all along, to keep things from our eyes, that what we have acted we have seen nothing before us, which also is a witness, in some measure, to our integrity. I say, you are called with a high call! And why should you be afraid to say or think that this way may be the door to usher in things that God hath promised and prophesied of, and to set the hearts of his people to wait for and expect? We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb against his enemies. They shall be a people, called, chosen, and faithful; and in the military way (we must speak it without flattery), I believe you know it, he hath acted with them and for them, and now in the civil power and authority; and these are not ill prognostications for that good we wait for. Indeed, I do think something is at the door; we are at the threshold; and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads, and to encourage ourselves in the Lord; and we have some of us thought: it our duty to endeavour this way, not vainly looking on that prophecy in Daniel, 'And the kingdom shall not be delivered to another people.' Truly God hath wrought it into your hands by his owning, and blessing, and calling out a military power; God hath persuaded their hearts to be instrumental in calling you, and this hath been set upon our hearts, and upon all the faithful in the land; it may be that it is not our duty to deliver it over to any other people, and that scripture may be fulfilling now to us. But I may be beyond my line.*

resignation had been accompanied with all the forms that could declare it final and irrevocable. A fixed term was named for the existence of the present authority, and in the nomination of their successors he had reserved no personal control. Nay, more: a majority of those into whose hands he had just placed the Instrument of Government were men, as the result soon after proved, of whom his personal knowledge was little, and his means of personal influence or control still less. Finally, he had not reserved to himself a seat in their councils, nor cared to stipulate that even his officers should sit there. He had submitted in all things, and exacted in nothing. As lord-general of the army, he remained, indeed, servant to the state. In a political sense, he was nothing more than the brewer's son of Huntingdon.

Yet, if the majority present had only thought more of earth and less of heaven, it might have been manifest to all that Cromwell stood in that room on the threshold of his most ambitious designs, that his golden dream was wellnigh out, and that the glittering bawble he had so long set his heart upon was at last settling itself upon his head. There had been something in his manner, while he offered all these humble sacrifices, which half betrayed the secret of his soul. As his fancy kindled into the later and more passionate raptures of the exhortation, a characteristic incident was noted, which Lord Leicester has recorded in his journal. "He grew very hot," his lordship writes, "and put off his cloak, and gave it to one of the colonels, who took it, and held it like a servant. This was done as the king would sometimes do in great assemblies, but no man else."

The colonels, indeed, knew it all—every man who had been nominated by Cromwell himself to that convention knew it—and each had his part to play. A still larger body of honest men remained, and honest and enthusiastic as they were, they too had *their* parts to play. The instruments of Cromwell's ambition were as often sincere as false. His favourite policy was to win open trust, and pay it back with secret treachery. But such trust is most frequent in the true, and it was accordingly yet more by means of the honest than of the base that he strode into his throne. Here was a majority of honest and not unwise fanatics. He could rely upon their mode of action. He knew that they would conduct their proceedings as if the Divinity himself had, indeed, called them to their office. He had nothing of stratagem to fear from them. He knew that with himself they would keep the faith of honest men, if not of politic ones. He had in any case provided, besides, a secret current of counteraction against them in a formidable minority of their own body—a safety-valve in the moment of danger, which with his own hand he could shut or open. Their first legislative efforts, he was well aware, would raise formidable discontents in the people against them; the divine call he had imposed upon them was a death-warrant to class-interests, which would at once range themselves in fierce opposition; the lawyers, from the commonest scrivener up to the Lord-commissioner Whitelocke, would be called to arms for their fees; the ecclesiastical ministry and their patrons would be summoned forth in de-

fence of advowsons and of tithes; the officers would have good reason to tremble for the security of their recent endowments; and what protection would all these think of in their hour of alarm, if not of that which he could afford them? He knew himself their sole refuge. Thus would vanish the last solid resistance to his daring project—and he had found far more conscientious resistance to it, even among his own relatives and creatures, than he had been at all prepared for—and he might ascend the chair of the Protectorate as indeed the saviour of the state, the protector of her interests, the sole apparent refuge of her civil and religious institutions, the composer of her quarrels and confusion, the harbinger of order and of peace. And this was the grave cheat of the 4th of July, 1653.

When Cromwell and his officers had left the room, it was merely voted that the Convention should meet on the following morning at eight o'clock, in the old Parliament House at Westminster. There and then they met accordingly, and devoted the greater part of the day to prayers.\* "And the service," one of the body relates to us, "was performed by the members among themselves, eight or ten speaking in prayer to God, and some briefly from the word; much of the presence of Christ and his Spirit, appearing that day, to the great gladdening of the hearts of many; some affirming they never enjoyed so much of the spirit and presence of Christ in any of the meetings and exercises of religion in all their lives as they did that day."†

After this auspicious commencement of their legislative duties, they elected a speaker in the person of Mr. Francis Rouse, a Devonshire man, of very good fortune, and provost of Eton College. They then separated for that day.

The record of the second day's proceedings has a more business-like aspect. After prayer, much more brief, which, according to the author of the "Exact Relation," "was daily performed by one member or other, as they were found free to perform it, they proceeded to call over the House; read and laid up the instrument of their empowering; chose a clerk,‡ and after a sergeant-at-arms; and chose a committee to consider what offices and attendants were necessary to be taken in, and to consider of the fees and salaries of such as should be employed; which, accordingly, was done and confirmed by the House." Their next action tended to show the correctness of the judgment formed by Cromwell. They sent a deputation, headed by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, to invite the lord-general himself,§ the three major-generals, Harrison, Desborough, and Lambert, with Colonel Thomlinson, to assist in their deliberations as members of the House. This invitation was of course graciously accepted.

On the following day they voted that all ad-

\* This fervent religious exercise lasted from eight o'clock in the morning till seven o'clock in the evening. The Dutch delegates then in London, however, carnal self-seekers as they were, transmitted to their Republic no other note of the prayers preferred than that one member prayed for a peace with the high and mighty states, their constituents.

† Exact Relation.

‡ Scobell was continued in this office, and Birkhead, elected sergeant-at-arms.

§ They renewed to the lord-general also the offer of the palace of Hampton Court, in exchange for his house at Newhall.

it shall stand; and let every one take heed of fighting against God. This is all we say. If it be from God, let him prosper and bless it; *but if not, let it fail, though we fall before it.*"

In the same spirit of exalted humility and faith they thus concluded. "However it shall please the Lord," they said, "to do by us or to deal with us, yet we humbly desire that ourselves and all the people of God may be still faithful and fervent with him, wrestling in prayers and supplications till he shall fully raise up his own tabernacle, and build his temple with his own spirit, which he hath promised to pour upon all flesh! and raise up governors after his own heart, and teachers after his own will, to make exactors peace, and officers righteousness! that he may overcome the evil of the world with his goodness, and fill the whole earth with his glory! that his will may be done on earth as now in heaven! that righteousness may spring out of the earth, and may dwell here, and righteousness and peace may kiss each other! that all his people may have one lip, one heart, one consent, and one shoulder to bow down and worship him! that the envy of Judah and Ephraim may be taken away, and that they may be one of the same fold with one shepherd! *that all wars may cease to the ends of the earth, and that all nations may turn their swords and spears into ploughshares and pruning-hooks! that the wolf may feed with the lamb, and that the earth be full of the knowledge of God as waters cover the sea! that upon every house or assembly may be a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night, as is promised, and was of old upon the tabernacle! that every one may be holy, and the pots, nay, the bells upon the horses, may be holiness to the Lord! and that in peace and joy we may all wait, expect, and long for his glorious coming, who is King of kings and Lord of lords, our hope and righteousness; who is still to ride on prosperously, conquering and to conquer, till he hath subdued all his enemies, and at length come to deliver up the kingdom to his Father, that God may reign, and be all in all.*"

The day after the issue of this extraordinary address was famous for the first movement in the House against tithes—that grand and primary source of contention, which stood in the way of the universal peace they promised. For several successive days the discussion on the subject was continued, but without any fixed result,\* and the matter was at last referred to a special committee. The law and its grievances were doomed next, and, in entire realization of all that was anticipated by Cromwell, the work of provoking class-hostilities went indeed bravely on.

On one day alone, the 20th of July, eleven

\* The author of the "Exact Relation" describes what the chief difference was, and marks also the wise and sober judgment which relieved even the wildest projects of these singular men. "Whereas all the House, for the most part, were sensible that tithes was a grievance fit to be removed, the difference was, some would not give way to the removal of it till some other thing were provided to be set in the room of it [this was precisely the state of the question on the dissolution of the Long Parliament]; others would have it removed as a grievance in the first place, and then to make provision as God should direct. In the debate, difference was made betwixt impropiators and that which was otherwise; and all seemed free and willing that impropiators should be satisfied the value; and therefore, upon the choosing of a committee for tithes, only that of incumbents was to be considered."

important questions were referred to as many committees. Two of these committees, for the affairs of Ireland and Scotland, had been named on the ninth, but they were now organized afresh, with some trifling alterations, and the names of Cromwell and Lambert inserted in the first, which had before stood only in the second. The other committees were for the law, the army, the revenue, petitions, trade and corporations, the poor and commissions of the peace, public debts and frauds, prisons, and the advancement of learning. The names of Cromwell and Lambert were in none of these. Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was the first person named on the committee of the law. He was also on the committee for the advancement of learning. Barbone, represented by all the histories to have been so active and forward in everything, that he was, in fact, the "all in all" of the assembly, was only of the committee for petitions. A committee on the great subject of tithes had been named on the day preceding. The committees varied in the number of their members from twelve to nineteen.\*

Leaving them for a while to their memorable duties, it is right that we should now record the incidents which marked the interval between the issue of the writs and their meeting in obedience to them, while the military council still held supreme power. These councils, as we already have had occasion to state, divided among themselves and their great chief all the necessary acts of government. They appointed a committee of five to finish the treaty begun by the statesmen with the Portuguese ambassador, Don Pantaleon Sa. To the same committee it was referred to consider of the treaty with the resident from France, M. de Bordeaux. The agent of the Duke of Tuscany was met by another committee, similarly appointed. But the main occurrences of the time were their reception of, and their negotiation with, the ambassadors of the United Provinces, who came, after a new battle of the 2d of June, to solicit peace, and their conduct on the sudden return of John Lilburne.†

One of the noblest of the legacies left by the Long Parliament to their destroyer was the great and well-appointed fleet by which they had already, in all essential respects, broken the strength of the Dutch, and one of Cromwell's first acts of power was the substitution of Monk for Blake in its chief command.‡ Distrusting the stanch Republicanism of Blake, he obviously apprehended some hostile movement from him when he should hear of the deed that had

\* The author of the "Exact Relation" says, "Then the House was methodized into several committees, for the better despatch of business, so as none might be idle, but all employed in public service. Besides the council of state, six or seven committees were chosen and set to work—the committee for the army, the committee for prisons and prisoners, the committee for regulating the law, the committee for justices and for the poor, the committee for public debts, the committee for the Scots and Irish affairs, the committee for petitions—which committees sat daily, and took great pains, morning and evening, almost every day in the week, to despatch business, and make things ready for the House; and many things were fitted and prepared."

† See ante, notes to p. 531, 522.

‡ Clarendon thus describes the three admirals. "Blake, a man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to Cromwell; Monk, whom he called out of Scotland as his own creature; and Dean, a mere seaman, grown from a common mariner to the reputation of a bold and excellent officer."

reign of power did this remarkable man demonstrate a rare administrative capacity. His unexampled honours to the memory of a commander so beloved, who had sprung from among the common sailors, and was venerated in an especial manner by all classes of the people, won for himself no little sympathy and gratitude: his repulsive treatment of the Dutch ambassadors propitiated the general pride.

Some circumstances connected with this Dutch embassy should not be omitted. As soon as Blake's great victory off the Isle of Portland became known in Holland, a general importunity had risen for peace, not less in the merchant classes than among the common people. Ambassadors for the management of a treaty were accordingly named. With the dissolution of the Long Parliament, however, and the tidings of hope it carried to all the enemies of England, hope revived in Holland also,\* and the embassy was temporarily suspended. Again these anticipations fell when it was seen that Blake and the seamen had not deserted the new government, but accepted service under Monk; and again the Dutch implored their States for peace. It was accordingly resolved that the ambassadors formerly named should proceed to discharge their mission; but before they arrived in London, Van Tromp had provoked Monk to engage, with the disastrous result I have described; and, instead of presenting themselves on their arrival as men who might reasonably, from the chief of a new government, demand a fair and honourable peace, they appeared in the pitiful posture of suppliants, who deprecated fiercer rage than they had experienced yet, from a more triumphantly victorious conqueror. It is, under these circumstances, right to keep in mind that the presence of these pacific negotiators from the proud government of the United Provinces was a confession of the invincible capacity and energy of the statesmen of the Long Parliament, and not, as it has been esteemed, a tribute to the instant supremacy of Cromwell. When the lord-general seized the power of the state, he may be said to have inherited a well-appointed navy of upward of 100 sail, and the fruits of one of the noblest maritime victories on record: yet, when Van Tromp first appeared in the Channel, the committee of the Admiralty had only twenty sail in the Downs. All else had followed, with sundry victories in its course, from the exertions of Blake and Vane.

Cromwell, surrounded by his military council, received the Dutch delegates with a haughty pride. Their first proposition was, that, pending the present negotiation, all hostilities should cease. This he peremptorily refused. Their next had relation to what they termed the exorbitant demands formerly made by the Long Parliament, when St. John was ambassador at the Hague,† and some abatement of

which, they contended, must form the basis of any new treaty. This proposition met with no better fate than the first. Cromwell refused to stir one jot from the ground taken up by his predecessors. Three weeks passed fruitlessly thus: the Dutchmen, in despair, demanded their passports, and would have gone at once, had not Cromwell condescended, for special purposes he had privately in view, to cajole and humour them: now he would chide them reproachfully for their impatience, and now, with tears in his eyes, for their carelessness of the miseries of war! The Convention meanwhile assembled, and it then favoured his purposes to represent himself as their servant merely, and the humble representative of a supreme power in the state. Two months at least passed in continual agitation of new proposals, and the transient glitter of new hopes, when he announced to them, on the behalf of "the Parliament of the Commonwealth," at an audience they had claimed from its new council of state, that England would waive her claim of pecuniary compensation from Holland, provided Van Tromp were for a while removed from the command of their fleet, in acknowledgment of his having been the aggressor; and provided, also, the States would consent to the incorporation of the two countries into one great maritime power, to be equally under the same government, consisting of individuals chosen out of both.\* The last condition proved, as it was probably intended, a stumbling-block to the Dutch negotiation. It was a subject not embraced in their instructions. Ultimately, three of their number left London for the Hague, to procure larger powers: Beverningk, the representative of the States of Holland, alone remained.

But it was now the close of July, and exactly two days before the departure of the Dutchmen, another battle had been fought at sea, and another victory won for England. During the whole of the negotiations I have described, Van Tromp and De Witt had exerted themselves with unrelaxing zeal to retrieve their last disgrace, knowing well how little chance there is of honourable peace after ill-fought war. Tromp complained of the insubordination of his officers, and De Witt of the inadequacy of his ships. Tromp even threatened to withdraw from the command, while De Witt is recorded to have addressed, after this fashion, both the States-General and the States of Holland: "I am here before my sovereigns: of what use is it to dissemble? the English are our masters at sea, and things must so remain till we have ships built on a different scale."† To both the admirals a most respectful attention was at once paid. Full power was given to Van Tromp

\* Whitelocke adduces various letters to prove that "the Dutch much rejoiced at the dissolving of the Parliament, hoping for some disabling of the English fleet thereby; but, being disappointed thereof, the common people were earnest for a peace with England."

† This was before the victory of Worcester in 1651. The embassy was admirably discharged by St. John, who, as soon as he saw a disposition in the States to trifle with England, threw up his mission in these memorable words: "I perceive," he said to the States-General, "that you are wanting the issue of our war with the Scotch; and some

members of our Parliament advised that we should first finish that business—as we soon shall—and then expect your envoys on our shores. I thought better of you, and have misjudged; but trust me you will soon repent your rejection of the offers which we have made you." The statesmen kept their words. The equipment of a noble fleet, and the passing of the Navigation Act, were the immediate results of St. John's abrupt return.

\* A vast number of papers will be found in Thurloe having reference to these negotiations. See, for example, in the first volume only, p. 268, 284, 302, 308, 315, 316, 340, 362, 370, 672, 381, 382, 394, 401. And see, for the best popular statement of these results, Dr. Lingard's History, vol. ii., p. 219-223.

† Thurloe, vol. i., p. 341; Le Clerc, vol. ii., p. 333, 334.

The Parliament vied with Cromwell and the council of state in showering honours and rewards on the victorious English admirals. A grand dinner was given in the city of London to celebrate their return, at which Cromwell was requested to invest them with sundry gold chains and medals, which had been voted in commemoration of their exploits. Nor did this Parliament vent its gratitude in mere partial and unsubstantial honours: they gave orders, we ascertain from the papers of the time, "for taking care of necessaries for the relief of the sick and maimed seamen and soldiers." They also resolved that a *convenient house should be provided in or near Dover, Deal, or Sandwich, for their accommodation*; that one moiety of all the hospitals for sick throughout England be reserved for the service of the navy; and that *provision be made for the wives and children of the captains and sailors slain in this engagement, who were also admitted to make probate of their husbands' and fathers' wills, without payment of any fees.*"

But the case of Lilburne claims brief mention before the striking course of Parliamentary policy is resumed.\* Banished from England for life in 1652, he had taken refuge in Holland, allied himself to the Royalists there,† and made formal proposals to them for the destruction of the Long Parliament and the then council of state, and for the murder of Cromwell, all of which he undertook to accomplish in six months, on the payment of ten thousand pounds.‡ His

\* A passage from the "Exact Relation" may yet be subjoined, descriptive of matters already partly referred to, and which will not require farther statement. "By this time (the opening of August) many matters were fitted and prepared by the committees, who made their daily reports. The council of state having the pre-eminence to be first heard, divers things were offered by them, some of which had been considered of by them in the interval of Parliament. Many things passed, and were despatched, of what they reported, and which other committees did likewise report, which spent not a little time. Business came on so fast from committees, which did cause striving which should be first heard, and much time lost thereby. There were many particular things ordered and despatched by the House, as 'The relieving the sufferings of many by fires in many parts of the nation; some their grievances redressed; some their petitions and desires granted; some obstructions in all their purchases removed by the House.' The business of providing moneys (all other things ever giving way to that) occasioned expense of much time, and great debate of ways and means to that end. The fights at sea coming to knowledge by letters; the reading of them; the acknowledging God's goodness; and praising his holy name; the taking care to provide for the sick and maimed; the relieving the widows of such whose husbands were slain; the honouring with rewards the chieftains and commanders; with the bestowing several sums of money on the widows and children of such captains as were slain in the fight, in consideration of their loss of such husbands and fathers; all which were things just and honourable, but not done without expense of time. The despatch of ambassadors to foreign parts, as to Turkey and to Sweden, their letters of credence, and commissions signed and sealed, the receipt of letters from Switzerland and other free states, the reading of them and returning answers, may be reckoned into the expense of time. The council of state chose a second time by the box or glass, where every one put in his paper of names, and those that had most votes carried it, spent more time than one whole day."

† This is not denied even by himself. According to his own "Defensive Declaration," he entered into familiar intercourse with the Duke of Buckingham, Sir John Colepeper, Sir Ralph Hopton (distinguished followers of Charles the First, and who had been created peers by him in 1644), Bishop Bramhall, and other eminent Royalists.

‡ When asked how he proposed to effect all this, he replied, by papers that he would print in Amsterdam, and send over and get dispersed by his agents in England. He affirmed that he had a numerous party in his native country, and that the majority of the army would easily be brought over to his views. It is fair to add that Lilburne has denied this part of the charges. His character and

proposals, made in the autumn of 1652, were rejected, after some deliberation; yet he remained in Holland, where, on the 3d of May, 1653, the news of the dispersion of the statesmen reached him. Seeing the opportunity for disorder, he wrote at once and offered his allegiance to Cromwell, with the prayer that he might be allowed to return to England, to call to account the deceased authority that had banished him. The letter was loaded with abuse of the Parliamentary leaders—especially of Scot, whom it styled secretary of state—and with quiet hints of conciliation and respect for Cromwell, but unavailingly. The lord-general avoided double-edged tools, and had profited by his old experience of Lilburne. The letter passed unanswered.

Lilburne then resolved on the daring step of an unsanctioned return to England. He supposed himself safe in the disorders and uncertainties of the time. The Duke of Buckingham is said to have accompanied him as far as Calais;\* and it is certain that the council of state had received information, which left them little doubt of the desperate intentions with which he came. He arrived in the middle of June, was arrested the day after his arrival at a lodging in Little Moorfields, and shortly after committed to Newgate. The determination had at once been taken by Cromwell to send him to trial on the act which banished him, and which affixed to his unpermitted return the penalty of death. It was a case, moreover, wherein he thought he might safely trust a jury. The only matter submitted to their decision would be the simple proof of identity, since the felony was clearly established and declared. Thus would he, at the same instant, not only drive from his path a troublesome demagogue, but in all probability, by his very means of doing it, win the popular sympathies and regards. The result was another proof of his miscalculation. Nor of that only. It furnished decided evidence of that general condition of confusion and uncertainty which was the follower of his act of usurpation.

habits, however, are a formidable support to it; and the informations, perfectly agreeing as to the facts, are sworn to by four persons, Isaac Berkenhead, Captain John Titus, Captain John Bartlett, and Richard Foot. In the evidence of the latter person some curious circumstances are stated. Describing the interval between the despatch of Lilburne's first letter to Cromwell and his subsequent departure in defiance of permission, Foot illustrated it by the following scene. "On Sunday, the 29th of May, Lilburn and Jamot being at a tavern called the Conserge, with one Captain Whittington and Colonel Layton, both of the king's party here in England, and two merchants, one of the company asked him what he would say if this pass came not; he said that, 'if my pass come not, and I find that it is Cromwell that hinders it, as it must be, for it lies in his power, I will either kill him myself, or send one to do it.' Then one of the merchants asked him how he could do such a thing with conscience: he answered, 'Tell me not of conscience in this case, for if that I am banished without law, conscience, or equity, and deprived of my natural air to breathe in, which is every man's birthright (with such like expressions), I may justly right myself if I can. If I would take a hare or a deer, I ought to give him fair play, because they are beasts of game; but if a fox or wolf, I may use what device I can to kill him; so if Cromwell keep himself above the law, that I cannot have my right by the law, I may kill him how I can.' Then presently his letters came, and after he had read them, and saw his pass was not come, he said, 'I am resolved to have one thing more at Cromwell.' Further he said, that 'Cromwell hath been an atheist these seven years, and that his design is and hath been to make himself king.'

\* Thurloe, vol. i., p. 200. Several Informations, p. 18.



As soon as Lilburne discovered the resolute front opposed to him, he took up his own old positions with all his accustomed obstinacy.\* He set to work his friends to petition, and his own wits to baffle by all kinds of technical objection the legal proceedings already instituted. His first endeavour was to obtain a respite of the trial till the meeting of the Convention that had been summoned, and in this he succeeded. Cromwell was not unwilling to share with them the responsibility of some portion of what he had resolved to do. Within four or five days of their meeting, petitions were accordingly poured in upon the Parliament—petitions from Lilburne himself—petitions from Lilburne's wife—petitions from Lilburne's native county—petitions from London apprentices, who thought Lilburne a great man. It is instructive to know how much may be done, or, rather, how much always seems to be done, by one active person, during the inaction of everybody else. Several discussions arose on these petitions, and many divisions were taken. "Some members of the House," according to the author of the "Exact Relation," "earnestly moving to have had his trial suspended, and the act called in question by which he was banished and made a felon, that the merit of the cause might be looked into; which they professed, again and again, they did not do so much in favour of Mr. Lilburne, as in the right of themselves and their posterities, and all Englishmen, which they judged highly concerned therein; but other gentlemen of note being very opposite, nothing came of the whole but expense of time." The real fact was, that the evidence of Lilburne's intentions, laid before the various members by the council of state, was, at last, too strong to be resisted.† His intrigues with the Royalists

had become too clear, and his intemperate style of abuse through all the proceedings had weakened what little sympathy remained for him. Parliament refused to interfere, and his trial was ordered to proceed. He was arraigned at the sessions in the middle of July, on the capital charge of having violated the statute of his banishment.

But to this statute he refused to plead; and for five successive days, with all the genuine accomplishments of a first-rate demagogue, he kept prosecutors and judges\* at bay. He left not an inch of ground unfought; and at every turn in the case, covered every one opposed to him, not excepting the judges themselves, with charges of rascality and tyranny. First, he demanded counsel: that point was at once conceded, and, among others, he named Glyn, Maynard, and Hale, of whom Maynard, who lived to dabble in the blood of the regicides, took up his case with a real and very hearty zeal. Three days of the trial had meanwhile been exhausted. On the fourth, returning to the charge with renewed vivacity, Lilburne tended a bill of exceptions.† The court refused it unless signed by counsel, and gave him till evening to repair the defect. But the majority of the counsel he had named were out of town, and his friends only narrowly achieved the good fortune of finding Maynard, who was himself on the point of setting out when they arrived. He signed the bill at once, and procured the signature of Norbury, a Welsh judge, who had recently been dismissed by Cromwell. The crafty lawyer sent, at the same time, a message to Lilburne of still greater value than his signature: he would baffle his judges most effectively, he told him, if he insisted on his *oyer*: a specification under the great seal of the statute on which he was tried, of the judgment of banishment given against him, and of the crime or crimes on which that judgment was founded.

Lilburne received this hint with becoming gratitude, and on the sixth day of the proceedings formally demanded his *oyer*. Maynard's anticipations proved correct. The court knew not how to refuse the request, since it was claimed as of right and necessary to defence; power as he had, and greater too, and am as good a gentleman, and of as good a family."

\* Chief-baron Wild presided, assisted on the bench by the Lord-commissioner Keble, Judge Warburton, the Recorder Steele, and, by some strange and unintelligible compromise with decency and justice, Attorney-general Prioleau.

† These exceptions were, first, that it did not appear on the face of the act that it was an act of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, or the Parliament sitting at Westminster, and might as well be an act of a Parliament in Naples, or any other country. Secondly, it did not appear that there was any judgment given upon which the sentence was founded. Before a judgment there must be indictment, presentment, or information; the party accused must appear, or must be outlawed for not appearing; he must either confess or plead; all of which circumstances were wanting, the least of them being enough to annihilate the proceeding. Thirdly, the act spoke of his not being allowed to remain in England, Scotland, or Ireland, after twenty days, but the vote of the House upon which the act was bottomed specified thirty days. Fourthly, the indictment now preferred against him was against John Lilburne, gentleman, while the act of banishment was against Lieutenant-colonel Lilburne; no proof being rendered that he was the person named in the act. He denied that he had been a lieutenant-colonel at the time of passing the act. There were several persons in England whose names and designation were John Lilburne, gentleman, and they might as well hang any one of these as hang him, under this act.

\* See note, *ante*, p. 521, 522.

† Thurlow, vol. i. p. 387.

‡ An amusing passage, from the examination of Captain Titus, will describe in detail a part of Lilburne's interview with the Duke of Buckingham in Holland. Independent of the entire corroboration it received from others, nothing can more exactly or characteristically express the style and manner of "free-born John." "This examinant farther saith, that at this same time the said Lilburne proposed to the said duke, that if he, the said duke, could but procure him £10,000, he, the said Lilburne, would have a piece of him nailed upon every post in Bruges, if he, the said Lilburne, did not overthrow and destroy those damnable villains in England; 'I mean,' said he, the said Lilburne, 'the Lord-general Cromwell, the Parliament, and that monstrous council of state.' To which the said duke replied, 'I pray you, sir, let me hear which way you will do this.' The said Lilburne replied, 'My lord, I'll tell you how: first I'll set my press on work (for which purpose I have bought one with letter at Amsterdam, which cost me thirty pounds), and then I'll send my papers over into England, which by my agents shall be spread all over the nation, and by my agents (for I have enough) my papers shall be brought into the army there (where I have double interest); and now every trooper begins to understand his own privilege, and so soon as these papers are spread, they'll fly in the faces of their officers, so that, with the help of my particular interest, the soldiery shall do all themselves, and I'll do nothing but sit in my chair and use my pen.' To which the duke replied, 'Sir, you may observe that in all your attempts the general outwitted you, and broke your business in the bud; besides, you may see, that on all occasions the soldiery hath been obedient unto his officer, so discreetly hath the general ordered his army.' 'Why, then,' saith the said Lilburne, 'I perceive you take the general for a wise man.' 'Yes,' said the duke; 'let the world read his stories, and they'll find him so.' 'No,' said the said Lilburne, 'I know him to be otherwise, for heretofore all his business was managed by Ireton, and is since by others; and for the general himself, he is as false a perfidious false-hearted rogue as ever lived in the world. And I know no reason why I should not vie with Cromwell, since I had once as great a

and assuredly they knew still less how to grant it, since no record of the charge or judgment was known to exist. They granted a specification of the act, and adjournment to the next sessions.

The proceedings were resumed in the middle of August by two days' argument on Lilburne's exceptions, and his right to the *oyer*. He consented to plead at last, under threat from the court that they would enter up judgment against him as contumacious. A jury was empanelled to try him on the 18th of August, and the trial lasted three days. The court was crowded within and without by the city apprentices, of whom Lilburne was the hero; some hundreds of them were said to have provided themselves with arms for his rescue if he should chance to be condemned; and threatening papers were dropped about in various directions (printed, no doubt, at the demagogue's own printing press!), to declare that if Lilburne perished, twenty thousand Englishmen would perish with him! Cromwell unwisely elevated these circumstances into an importance they could never themselves have claimed—for the great mass of the people were in truth looking indifferently on—by taking measures to strengthen and encourage the court. Two companies of soldiers were posted in the immediate vicinity; three regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, were quartered in the city; and a considerable force without the gates received orders to march towards London.

The details of the trial itself, which lasted three days, have not been preserved. It is only known that the counsel for the prosecution restricted themselves to bare evidence of the prisoner's identity with the Lilburne named in the act of banishment; that the court charged the jury, in the same strain, that they had nothing to do but with the act of Parliament in question; and that Lilburne himself made a long and passionate speech, in which, among a vast variety of topics of argument and abuse, the chief were these: he denied the legal authority of the late Parliament to banish him, because it had in law expired with the death of the king, and because in no circumstances can a House of Commons assume the functions of a court of justice; he urged upon the jury, with elaborate vehemence, that they were judges of the law as well as of the fact; he maintained that they could not possibly, if they had any regard to justice or the peace of their own consciences, adjudge a man to death for a thing not done or proved, but merely because other men had ordered certain words to be written down on paper or parchment; \* he finally adjured them to remember that an act of Parliament which was evidently unjust was essentially void, and that jurymen who pronounced according to it, and not according to their oaths, would have

one day a heavy reckoning to answer. It was late in the night of the third day of the trial when the jury returned their verdict, and the shout of the apprentices in celebration of Lilburne's acquittal rang clamorously up Whitehall\* to the residence of Cromwell.

I have thus glanced at this close of the wayward career of Lilburne, because in the marked distinction which separates it from his previous trials, a striking characteristic of the time may be noted. The plain and simple point involved in the present instance was the identity of Lilburne with the victim of the act of banishment. But with whom had that act of banishment originated, of which Cromwell now sought so vigorous an enforcement? It was peculiarly the work of the statesmen, whose authority, within the last four months, Cromwell had himself destroyed, and whose motives he had branded with the vilest and most insulting imputations. The act of banishment was, in fact, no other than a special assertion of that authority, no other than a terrible resentment of Lilburne's reckless disregard of its injunctions. But with the substance the shadow perished; doubts arose between the justice and the thief; the question of identity became a question of indifference; and in the same proportion as Cromwell might be held to represent the authority by which he claimed the forfeit life of Lilburne, did the shouts of the apprentices of London represent the voice of the English people. The true England was silent as the true statesmen. Yet Cromwell was troubled when those shouts reached him in Whitehall. It is the unhappy consequence of a great man's playing a mean part, that mean men may become suddenly, though for a brief space, respected and respectable. A lion in the skin of an ass gives propriety and elevation to an ass in his own skin.

Within a few days after the result of Lilburne's trial, measures for the establishment of a high court of justice were pressed forward in Parliament by Cromwell's partisans, for every instant, to them, seemed teeming with a new Lilburne. The time groaned, meanwhile, with much heavier dangers. The real indifference, languor, and incertitude of the people made themselves known in a more formidable shape.

\* A few words will suffice to close Lilburne's career. The result of an examination of the judges and jurymen before the council of state; of the evidence of a certified copy of certain opprobrious expressions used by Lilburne in his defence; and, finally, of additional proof of his Royalist intrigues, was an order from the Parliament that, notwithstanding his acquittal, he should be confined in the Tower; and that no obedience should be paid to any writ of *habeas corpus* issued from the Court of Upper Bench in his behalf. These measures were loudly complained of by sensible and well-judging people, who had taken no interest in Lilburne, and stoutly resisted also by a minority in the Parliament. They were carried by the plea of state necessity. It was afterward supposed that Lilburne would be brought to trial for treason, with other conspirators, before a high court of justice, but he was at length sent a prisoner by Cromwell to Elizabeth Castle, in the Isle of Jersey. Here he deported himself with the greatest contumacy. He was finally, as we are told, being far gone in a consumption, liberated from confinement, and only turned out to die, which event occurred in August, 1657, at the age of thirty-nine. It is characteristic of all his life that he is recorded to have died in the faith of a Quaker! For various circumstances connected with these latter incidents of his most unprofitable life, see Thurloe, vol. i., p. 324, 367, 368, 369, 429, 430, 433, 441, 442, 451, 453. See, also, State Trials, vol. v., p. 415-450; Whitelocke, *passim*; and the Journals of the Commons, under dates already mentioned in the text.

\* The original judgment against Lilburne was, no doubt, only defensible, on the ground of an elemental danger to society and government—both at that time in a state of revolution and transition—which the ordinary law and usage were incompetent to meet. He was condemned in a heavy fine, with banishment for life, on the ground of a breach of privilege. It is well to recollect that a previous vote of a precisely similar description against Lord Howard, of Epsom, and Captain Wenday Oxford, had been called by Lilburne (in his *Just Reproof*, &c.) "a gallant piece of justice." Still Vane and Marten strenuously opposed his banishment.

It had been a memorable incident in the history of the statesmen, that, after the death of the king, though there had been wars with the Royalists of Scotland and Ireland, and insurrections of that party when England was invaded by the enemy, no intestine commotion ever shook their power or weakened their general authority with the people. The argument of Whitelocke will also be in the reader's recollection.\* Protesting with real or feigned sincerity against the dissolution of the Parliamentary government, he observed with admirable foresight, "The question will then be no more whether our government shall be by a monarch or by a free state, but whether Cromwell or Stuart shall be our king. And thus that question, wherein before so great parties of the nation were engaged, and which was universal, will by this means become, in effect, a private controversy only. Before it was national, What kind of government we should have! Now it will become particular, Who shall be our governor, whether of the family of the Stuarts, or of the family of the Cromwells! Thus the state of our controversy being totally changed, all those who were for a commonwealth (and they are a very great and considerable party) having their hopes therein frustrated, will desert you; your hands will be weakened, your interest straitened, and your cause in apparent danger to be ruined." Substantially this time had now arrived, and its arrival made itself known in a series of Royalist conspiracies.

Its first herald, as we have seen, was Lilburne's arrival, under the tender escort, as far as Calais, of his grace the Duke of Buckingham. Then followed his acquittal. Then arose mysterious talk, throughout London of secret correspondence and designs, and several persons of consideration were sent to the Tower.† Then, within some days after, we meet with accounts of ten or twelve colonels having been apprehended on the charge of having come over from abroad with a design to raise men in several places for the service of Charles Stuart. And at last a formal report of various conspiracies was presented to the Parliament by the council of state, with a view to expedite the proposed establishment of a high court of justice.

Cromwell saw in all this the worst disadvantages of an incomplete act of usurpation, unaccompanied by any of the strength or awe that would follow its final assertion. He began to look forward impatiently over the heads of his "faithful Commons." In a letter I have found to his son-in-law Fleetwood, who was now in Ireland with his wife, the significant humility, the discontented sanctity, the obscure anticipation, point directly at the Protector's chair. It is dated the 22d of August, 1653, and runs in these words: "DEERE CHARLES,—Although I doe not see often (as is desired by me) acquaint you howe it is with me, yett I doubt not of your prayers in my behalfe that in all things I may walke as becometh the Gospell. Truly I never more needed all helpe from my Christian friends than now. Fayne would I have my service accepted of the saints (if the Lorde will); butt it is not soe. Being of different judgments, and of

each sort, most seekinge to propagate their owne, that spirit of kindnesse that is to them all is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, my life has beene a willinge sacrifice, and I hope is, for them all. Yett it much falls out as when the two Hebrews were rebuked, you know upon whom they turned their displeasure; butt the Lorde is wise, and will, I trust, make manifest that I am no enemy. Oh how easy is mercie to be abused! Perswade friends with you to be very sober. If the day of the Lorde be so neer (as some say), how should our moderation appeare! If every one (instead of contendinge) would justifie his forme by love and meeknesse, wisdom would be justified by her children. Butt alas! I am in my tentation ready to say, 'Oh, would I had winges like a dove, then would I,' &c.; butt this, I feare, is my hast. I blesse the Lorde I have somewhat keepees me alive, some sparkes of the light of his countenance, and some sinceritie above man's judgement. Excuse me thus unbewellinge myselfe to you; pray for me, and desire my friends to doe soe alsoe. My love to thy deere wife, whom indeed I enterly love, both naturally, and upon the best account; and my blessinge (if it be worth anything) upon thy little babe. Sr. George Ascough havinge occasions with you, desired my letters to you on his behalfe; if he come or send, I pray you show him what favour you can. Indeed, his services have been considerable for the state, and I doubt he hath not been answered with suitable respect. Therefore again I desier you, and the commissioners, to take him into a very perticular care, and helpe him soe farr as justice and reason will any wayes afforde. Remember my heartie affections to all the officers. The Lorde bless you all, soe prayeth your truly lovinge father, O. CROMWELL. . . . All heere love you, and are in health, your children and all."

Another circumstance of the same date indicates the movement in Cromwell's mind. Whitelocke was suddenly sent off from London in the character of ambassador extraordinary to the Swedish queen Christina. No formidable opposition was thus removed, but many troublesome and annoying scruples. In vain poor Whitelocke struggled and objected; in vain he sought the aid and counsel of wife, of friends, of tenants. "There's no use in resisting the GREAT MAN," said one of the latter, "an ancient, sober, discreet, and faithful servant to Whitelocke and his father above forty years." Whitelocke rejoined that he was not "bound to obey" Cromwell. "I am deceived," said the shrewd old servant, "if he will not be obeyed in what he hath a mind to." "I am not under his command," retorted Whitelocke; "what can he do to me?" "What can he do!" exclaimed the experienced William Cooke; "what can he not do! Don't we all see he does what he list! We poor countrymen are forced to obey him to our cost; and if he have a mind to punish us or you, it's an old proverb that it's an easy thing to find a staff to beat a dog; and I would not have you to anger him, lest you bring danger, and trouble too, upon you and your family and state: that's the truth on't."\*

\* For an ample account of these conferences, and of Whitelocke's interviews with Christina herself, embodying many striking illustrations of Cromwell's character, see Appendix E., CROMWELL AND CHRISTINA.

\* See ante, p. 502.

† See Thurloe, vol. i., p. 441, 442, 452.

The "Parliament of saints" had meanwhile been working to Cromwell's wish. Their measures of general polity and reform now claim from us a fair recital, and will be found, indeed, well worthy of it.

Be it first observed that they began their duties by establishing in all matters appertaining to the state a system of the most rigid economy. They revised the regulation of the excise; they simplified and improved the constitution of the treasury, by reducing into one the several receipts of the revenue; they abolished unnecessary offices, and reduced exorbitant salaries; they subjected to a most rigorous scrutiny the various public accounts, and gave new facilities to the sale of the lands now considered as national property. In all these things, as in others I will shortly name, the spirit of the Long Parliament had survived the dispersion of its members; in the fanaticism of language and occasional extravagance of argument by which the truth and advantages of such a course of policy were obscured in the Convention, we must at once, in fairness, recognise the original vice of its origin. It should never have been expected that anything could supply that grave defect in the minds of the more sensible English people.

Thus deficient in the only solid support they could hope to rest on, they had at once commenced their quarrel with the formidable class interests, and with the army first. It had been with visible reluctance that they voted the monthly tax of £120,000 for the support of the military and naval establishments. They were, indeed, careful not to complain of the amount; their objections were pointed against the nature of the tax, and the inequality of the assessments; but this pretext could not hide their real object from the jealousy of their adversaries; and their leaders were openly charged with seeking to reduce the number of the army, that they might lessen the influence of the lord-general.\*

Their war with the lawyers was more daringly and openly conducted. Among the first acts they passed were those for taking away fines on bills, declarations, and original writs, and for the redress of delays and mischiefs arising out of writs of error. They passed, at the same time, an act respecting marriages, which, with several others, was sanctioned by their successors in 1656, and which declared that they should in all cases be preceded by publication of banns in church, or in the market-place on market-day; and a certificate being granted of such publication, together with the exception made, if any, that the ceremony should then take place before some justice of the peace within the county. This measure, which was strongly opposed by the clergy as well as the lawyers,† they accompanied with acts for the

registration of marriages, and also of births and burials. They prepared and introduced other bills, with less success in passing them. Among them were, for example, an attempt to constitute by enactment a *public committee for advance of trade*; a *new system of workhouses*, and *provision for the poor*; and many admirable remedies for making the law more expeditious and less chargeable.\*

Their next offence to the lawyers was not less a boon and blessing to the people, in answer to whose repeated prayers and entreaties†

should make proof, by one or more credible witnesses upon oath, that either the husband or wife had committed the detestable sin of adultery during such marriage, then the said parties might be divorced by the sentence of three justices of the peace.†

\* The author of the Exact Relation tells us that "about three days were spent in passing the excise rates, particularly, by vote. The old and new drapery, hats, caps, and tobacco-pipes, were by vote exempted from the duty of excise. The bill following, in order of the rates, was very large, of about eighty sheets of paper; spent one whole day in the hearing of it read; and there appeared so many snares and difficulties in it as to trade, as was judged no way fit to be put on a people that expected freedom at the price of their blood and treasure, by them spent in the late war; whereupon it was by a general consent waived and laid aside. There were divers bills prepared by several committees, some of which were read in the House, and others offered to have them read, but other business hindered; as, 'A bill for constituting a committee for advance of trade'; 'A bill for workhouses, and providing for the poor'; 'Divers bills for regulation of the law, and making it less chargeable to the poor, and more expeditious.'"

† I subjoin a striking extract from a petition against the system of imprisonment for debt, printed in the journals of the time. It is entitled the "humble petition of all the prisoners for debt within the several (both national and private) tyrannical dens of cruelty, called prisons, jails, counters, holes, and dungeons in this land." It opens with a laudation of the members of the Convention, as "the Lord's faithful ones," who had been called to restore England's fundamental laws, rights, and liberties. It proceeds: "In assurance of your speedy accomplishment of this so great good work, to God's glory, your country's happiness, and your own eternal fame to posterity, we are encouraged to show, though not unknown unto you, that the law of God is a law of mercy, peace, and preservation to the people, and not of strife, rigour, and destruction, as it is at this present time, in and by the chargeable, dilatory, and deceitful practice thereof; witness the numerous actions charged on men; vexatious and chargeable arrests, and dragging of men and women like dogs into holes and dungeons; false and endless imprisonment; the frequent commitments to prison, by the judges and justices, upon trivial matters; unjust decrees; false reports of masters in chancery; illegal outlawries; delay of justice; and, by the extraordinary charges in law and protraction of time, *disheartening honest men from suing for their just debts and rights*; together, also, with the most cruel usage and unreasonable exactions of bailiffs, sergeants, and jailers, to the utter ruin and destruction of thousands of families in the land; so as now, by the diabolically invented practices of the judges and lawyers, the law is become sharper than a two-edged sword, dividing the life from the body; working an endless separation between a man and his wife, children, and friends; deprivation of liberty and calling, and a total ruin of estate, to the great prejudice of this Commonwealth in general, but to the satisfaction of cruel, revengeful persons, and enrichment of lawyers and their dependants in particular. . . . That restraint of men and women's persons in jail pays no debt, but defrauds the creditor, feeds the lawyers and jailers, and murders the debtors, witness the many thousands that have thus perished miserably, as the jailer's books, coroner's records, and committory rolls do testify. . . . That imprisonment for debt is contrary to the law of God, to reason, justice, and charity, and to the law of this land, as appeareth by several statutes. The premises piously considered, your poor still enslaved brethren therefore humbly pray, that you may speedily break off this cruel, sinful yoke by the powerful rule of righteousness, justice, and mercy; that there may be no more arresting nor imprisonment for debt." The close of the petition suggested a provision in the stead of imprisonment not less just than humane—that "all able debtors might be, in some short time, enforced to satisfy their creditors out of the two-third parts of their estates, either in lands or goods; the other third part to be resolved to themselves for their support and education of their children."

\* Exact Relation, p. 10. Thurloe, i., p. 755. Dr. Lingard, vol. ii., p. 193.

† A considerable time, the authors of the Parliamentary History tell us, was taken up in agitation of it. On the 25th of August it passed the House on the question, and was ordered to be printed and published. "This extraordinary act entirely took marriages out of the hands of the clergy, and put it into those of the justice of the peace. . . . A very remarkable clause, add the compilers of the Parl. History, was proposed to be added upon the third reading, but passed in the negative. It was this: 'That if any person then married, or to be married according to this act,

it was granted by these reformers. A bill was introduced "for relief of creditors and poor prisoners for debt," the immediate operation of which, besides its effects throughout the English provinces, was to release upward of 300 distressed men who were confined in different prisons in and near London alone. A brief sketch of its provisions will illustrate the judicious and equitable temper in which these "fanatics" approached a subject which involved so many nice and difficult questions of property and humanity.

Seventeen commissioners were appointed to act as judges in the case of prisoners "in the Upper Bench prison, the Fleet, the Gatehouse in Westminster, the Counter in Surrey, or prison in Whitechapel," with power to examine, and determine in a summary way, concerning the causes of such persons' imprisonment, their escapes and their estates, and to act as commissioners of bankrupts. They were to be allowed twopence in the pound out of the money arising by the sale of such prisoners' estates, for the charges of them and their clerks. A certain number of persons were also appointed to act in the same capacity for each county in England and Wales, with an allowance of sixpence in the pound. Prisoners not paying their debts in six months were to be deemed bankrupts; and in case of settlement of any part of a prisoner's estate in trust for himself or any other person, after the debt contracted or judgment obtained, these commissioners were empowered to sell the estate, and to fine any other person aiding or assisting in such fraud. Persons not able to pay such fine were to be adjudged to the pillory or workhouse. Prisoners able to pay their debts, and refusing so to do, were, if these commissioners thought fit, to be ordered to close imprisonment. The estates of any person for whose debts another should be imprisoned, were to be sold as fully as the estate of the prisoner himself; and where a prisoner made an escape, his estate not being sufficient to discharge his debts, the jailer and his security were to make good the deficiency. In the case of prisoners, however, against whom there had not been any declarations filed, these commissioners were to discharge them, and to give them damages for such vexatious imprisonment. In order to prevent prisoners, unable to pay their debts or fines, from perishing in prison, through the cruelty or obstinacy of any obdurate creditor, the commissioners were empowered to discharge, abate, or give respite of time to any such prisoner, according as the circumstances of the case might require, and to remove to the workhouse or house of correction any obstinate prisoner, who should be found to keep in prison through his own wilful default, or to have run into debt by a vicious course of life. They were also authorized to examine into the case of persons who had fraudulently got out of jail by means of former acts for relief of insolvent debtors, and to recommit them. They were to inquire into the abuse of charities given to prisoners, and to award punishment for it; to make orders for selling wholesome provisions to the prisoners at a reasonable price; and to cause a table of moderate fees to be hung up in every prison, the transgressor of which in any particular was to forfeit fourfold

to the party injured, and to be set on the pillory. And in case of the death of a prisoner before his debts were paid, they were empowered to sell his estate for payment thereof. And though prisoners enlarged by this act were not liable to be arrested for debts due before, yet their estates were to remain subject to their creditors' satisfaction. Lastly, these commissioners were not to be responsible for their conduct but to Parliament; and in case of any difficulty, wherein they might apprehend they had not sufficient power for the relief of just creditors or poor prisoners, they were to certify the same to the House, with their opinion what farther provision was necessary to be made.

The four great votes which followed these measures sealed the fate of their unconscious originators. Before I proceed to describe them, it will be interesting to place on record a complete list of the enactments of general government and policy which were passed by the Convention. They imbody, in connexion with the four votes in question, the last effort made to gather up the fruits of the struggle it has been the purpose of this work to record, in anything like a permanent result or legislative action on the people. Different scenes await us after these have passed. Scenes of mingled shame and glory; the administration of a despotism at once brilliant and mean; the oppressions it practised, the temporary honours it achieved, the few vain benefits it bestowed, the partial but glorious resistance it overcame, the serious and solemn lesson it taught to posterity; but none of those higher aims which belong to the higher provinces of statesmanship, and by which alone may be connected and consolidated the interests and the happiness of men in distant ages.

The list, compiled from the imperfect journals of the House, and the relation of one of its members, who adopts the signature of "L. D.," may be given thus: First. "An act for the committee of the army, and treasurers of war." Second. "An act for constituting commissioners for ordering and managing the admiralty and the navy." Third. "An act for settling the Court of Admiralty." "Much time," we are told, "spent in fixing on judges." Fourth. "An act for taking away fines on original writs," which, L. D. adds, "was, as some knowing gentlemen of worth in the House affirmed, to the saving of the people of this Commonwealth £120,000 per annum, only £10,000 or £12,000 thereof coming to the state." Fifth. "An act touching the several receipts of the revenue and treasuries of the Commonwealth, and the bringing them into one treasury." Sixth. "An act for marriages, and the registering of them; as also births and burials." "Much time," subjoins our relator, "spent in the debate about marriages, there being many niceties and difficult cases relating to that subject." Seventh. "An act for the more speedy bringing in of the arrears of the excise, and settling commissioners to that end." Eighth. "An act concerning the planters of tobacco in Gloucestershire and elsewhere." Ninth. "An act to continue the receipts of the excise till the 29th of December next." Tenth. "An act, additional and explanatory, for the sale of the remaining fee-farm

rents, and finishing the whole business." Eleventh. "An act for settling Ireland, and making it a part of the Commonwealth, and satisfying the adventurers and soldiers with lands;" which act, we are told, "being very large and comprehensive, took many days' debate before it could be passed as a law." Twelfth. "An act for the relief of creditors and poor prisoners." "The fruit of it," L. D. observes, with a justifiable pride, "hath shown the worth of it, 300 poor starving souls having been freed thereby in and about London: a law so just and honourable as England hath few better; which passed not without serious debate." Thirteenth. "An act for accounts, and clearing public debts, and for the discovery of fraud, and concealment of anything due to the Commonwealth." Fourteenth. "An act for empowering the committee of the army to state and determine the accounts of all soldiers and others employed by them, for moneys by them received from the 26th of March, 1647, until the 25th of July, 1653." Fifteenth. "An act for redress of delays and mischiefs arising by writs of error, and writs of false judgment, in several cases." Sixteenth. "An act for repealing of a branch of an act of the late Parliament, intituled 'An act for subscribing the engagement,'" which was made, L. D. quietly adds, "to the ease and profit of the people, and to the loss of the lawyers." Seventeenth. "An act for the regulating the making of stuffs in the county of Norwich and Norfolk." Eighteenth. "An act for a high court of justice." Upon this, L. D.'s remark is characteristic: "It cost," he says, "indeed but one day's time, the reading, debate, and passing for a law, by reason of the great haste some gentlemen made, pretending great danger to themselves and the Commonwealth, so as no reasons could prevail to have it recommitted, as some desired; or that the acts for treasons might be read which the commissioners were to proceed upon, as others moved to have them; nor yet that the bill might be engrossed, being to be a law that concerned life, for then it could not have passed till the next day, when some that were perceived that day absent (being praying at the Blackfriars') might be present, and hinder, as it is likely to be feared, the passing of it; which had they done, they had saved much the credit of the council, for to wise men it seemed a very weak piece. And experience hath (thanks be to God) shown there was not that sudden danger as some gentlemen suggested, who did not let to say (in answer to those that would have had it engrossed against the next morning) 'that they knew not but by that time they might have their throats cut.'" In explanation of this, the case of Lilburne need only be recalled. Nineteenth. "An act for deofforisation and improvement of the forests, and of the honours, manors, lands, and tenements within the limits and perambulations of the same, heretofore belonging to the king, queen, and prince." This was, we are told, "a very large act, and comprehensive in the particulars, wherein the old farmers of the custom-house, that lent the old king money to make war with the Scots, were admitted to have their old debts made public faith, to double on, to the sum of two hundred seventy-six thousand pounds, to the

end to be sure to have money against the spring. It was complied with; and some very eminent and wise gentlemen made others believe there was no question but the money would be provided ready against the times; other members of less note [no doubt our present informant] told the House what they thought, even as it is come to pass." Twentieth. "An act confirming the purchasers of Sir John Stowel's lands, what they had purchased of the state." Twenty-first. "An act for an assessment at the rate of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month, for six months, for the maintenance of the armies and navy of this Commonwealth."\* Twenty-second. "An act for continuing the privileges and jurisdiction of the county of Lancaster." Twenty-third. "An act touching idiots and lunatics." Twenty-fourth. "An act for enabling commissioners of Parliament for compounding with delinquents to dispose of two parts of the lands and estates of recusants, for the benefit of the Commonwealth." This act, we again learn from L. D., "cost much time in the debate of it; for that some gentlemen fearing it amounted to the toleration of popery, did strongly oppose it, and caused it to be so modelized as that it was never like to attain the end aimed at, as some then declared; of which experience now can best declare and speak." Twenty-fifth. "A second act for the constituting commissioners for ordering and managing of the Admiralty and navy." Twenty-sixth.

\* "This," says the author of the *Exact Relation* (the curious pamphlet I have already quoted), "was a very large act, and took up many days in the debate and passing of it, there being a desire, if possible it might have been, to have abated something of that sum, and that it might be laid equally. Many votes passed, and very sharp debates, by reason of the great inequality that was evident in the laying of the tax, some countries bearing beyond their proportion, and some much less, which made the burden more grievous than otherwise it would be. When, after many days spent in the modeling of the bill, and it came to be passed, some gentlemen gave their reasons why they could not give their yea to pass it for a law, for the unrighteousness that was in it (and something else), which had been laid forth in the debate: the great inequality betwixt country and country, city and city, hundred and hundred; and so of particular estates, some paying but two or three shillings in the pound, and others four and five, yea, some ten or twelve shillings for their real estate, besides what they paid for their personal; some of London passionately complained of being overrated, they paying £8000 a month, the fifteenth part of the whole assessment of the Commonwealth, when, as they with great confidence affirmed, they were not the fortieth part of the Commonwealth in value, as their case now was. The act engrossed, and the question being put, the noes (as to the making it a law that very day), had they been prosecuted to the pole, had hazarded the passing of it, it having been earnestly pressed that it might be amended at the table, or recommitted to be amended against the next day. A gentleman that first moved to have the House give up that morning they were dissolved, made this one of his reasons why he could sit no longer with his fellows, because of their dealing so disinclinedly with the army, some other gentleman having spoken to the same account; but as to this, those that gave their noes against the then passing of the bill upon the account before, can say, they never were in arms against the Parliament and army, nor were ever in Oxford, or any other garrison that stood in opposition to them. And for their constant cordial affection to them, they may safely say, without boasting, they have been but a very little behind them that have been the highest and best affected in the nation, whatever those gentlemen please to say. To endeavour to have the assessment equally-laid and borne tended much to the army's good rather than hurt, whereby they might continue to enjoy the love and affection of the people unto them." So began, as I have already observed, the quarrels and contentions, which in the four concluding votes received their final consummation. The writer of this passage seems to have taken a decided part himself.



"An act for the better and more effectual discovery of thieves and highwaymen." We have to add, in concluding the list, that "there was also a bill brought in and read, and debated, for the uniting of Scotland to the Commonwealth of England, as a part of it, with equal privileges, which spent two or three days' debate in a grand committee of the House, before it was ordered to be engrossed; being a thing of very great weight and concernment: being engrossed, it lay ready on the table to be read and passed; but the Highlanders putting the country into distemper, it was not put to be passed for a law while the House continued."<sup>s</sup>

\* It is scarcely worth while nowadays to refute the calumnies which Lord Clarendon so notoriously indulged against his opponents; but after this list, it may amuse the reader to hear the noble historian coolly observe that "these men who took upon themselves the supreme authority of the nation, and continued to act in that capacity near six months, to the amazement and even mirth of the people, never entered upon any grave or serious debate that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness and animosity against the clergy, and against all learning, out of which they thought the nation itself to be still would grow. They looked upon the function of the people, as anti-Christian, the persons to be absolute plebeians, and the requiring and paying of tithes to be abolished Judaism, and so thought fit that they should be abolished together. And that there might not, for the time to come, be any race of people who might revive these pretences, they proposed that all lands belonging to the universities, and colleges in those universities, might be sold, and that the money arising thereby should be disposed of for the public service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions." It is unnecessary to observe that no shadow of any such motion or proposal relating to the universities was ever made in the House. The only attempt that carried even the smallest tendency that way was a scheme for abolishing of tithes. "And this project," as we are assured by a member, "was so far from being intended to the prejudice of the parochial clergy, that the design was only to take away the manner of maintenance by tithes as unequal, burdensome, and being the occasion of litigious law-suits; and that a bill was offered, on the day of the Parliament's resignation, for rendering the revenues of the clergy more certain and equal, by reducing benefices of £200 a year and upward, and advancing those of the widows and income, and also for making a provision for the charge against children of ministers; but that this equitable proposal was refused a reading, and that therefore the charge against one part of the House, of an intent to destroy the ministry, was a groundless reproach, cast upon those who endeavoured only to take off oppressions and grievances." The truth of this assertion is the less liable to be controverted, after the statement already proved in this work that the Long Parliament, when they abolished episcopacy, and sold the temporal revenues of the bishops, deans, and chapters, &c., made an express reserve of all their impropriations, which were to be applied to the increase of the revenues of the parochial clergy and heads of colleges. The same reserve of impropriations was made in the act passed by this Convention for enabling delinquents to compound for their estates. In connection with these calumnies, it is only fair to add what is said on the subject by the author of the Exact Relation. "The House," he observes, "was at least not altogether idle, nor at a stand in their work, so as there was no need to have them dissolved on that score; indeed, much more might have been done and proceeded in, if there had not been something that did let. The two great grievances of the law and tithes had such friends in the House, as that, when either of those things came into debate, the House was as divided into two parts: the one very indulgent, still pleading and making defence in their behalf; the other endeavouring and making redress of them. Great counsels agree not in all things presently: yet is that no good ground of their dissolution. That the House was not idle, nor at a stand, nor in an incapacity to do the work of the nation, though so divided as aforesaid, may, besides what appears already, be farther taken knowledge of by these ensuing votes, which follow. There were four great votes that passed in the time of the sitting of the House, which some interests were much displeased at, and they passed not without great debate. First, a vote for a new body or model of the law; 2dly, a vote for a new body or model of the law; 3dly, a vote to take away the power of patrons to make presentations; 4thly, that innocent negatived vote of not agreeing with the report of the committee for tithes, touching what they reported, as the best way to

The first of the four famous votes which alone remain to be mentioned was a declaration that the Court of Chancery should be totally taken away and abolished. In almost every recent petition of the people to the supreme authority of the nation, complaints had been made of the Court of Chancery; of its dilatory proceedings; of the enormous expense which it entailed on its suitors; and of the suspicious nature of its decisions, so liable to be influenced by the personal partialities and interests of the judge. At last this "little Parliament" grappled with the mighty evil. The debate, which was filled with interest and excitement, lasted two days. The enemies of the court mustered all their force against and, on the main question, the resistance of friends was feeble. It was beyond a doubt, movers of the vote affirmed, the greatest ableness, and a faculty of bleeding the people in the purse-vein, even to their utter peril and undoing, it might compare with, and surpass, any court in the world. It was suddenly asserted by persons of great weight there were depending in that court 23,000 cases, some of which had been going on for ten, twenty, and thirty years! that there had been spent therein thousands of pounds, ruin, nay, utter undoing, of many of the sea of the law, but, first or last, if that port, where it suffered so much the remedy was worse than the disease what was ordered in it one day was dictated the next, so that in some cases had been 500 orders or more; and when the purses of clients began to and their spirits a little cooled, the reference to some gentleman in the cause came to be suddenly ended word, that the Court of Chancery was than "a mystery of wickedness and cheat."† The friends of the court, in these arguments, reserved their more difficult question of detail brief and ineffectual resistance Court of Chancery to be "vote. Then arose that question of give to the vote the shape and—how, in other words, to dispend actually pending in the court, a less objectionable tribunal was referred to the committee but the first bill they prepared. Its provisions were deemed proper arrangement of what after the court was abolished es actually before it. A second the same fate. A third was thors of the vote to have lawyers themselves in its

eject scandalous, prophane, and on which presently followed the

\* Whitelocke's Memorials.

† The debate is so described in

‡ How did good people re-

time, "when they heard of this

rowful were the lawyers and c-

of their great Diana, may be re-

joy in making bonfires and dri-

delivered from their fears by

Parliament!"

' remedies it prescribed were imagined worse than the disease." It was, without hesitation, rejected. Term now approached; and the members who had taken foremost part against the lawyers and "their great Diana," resolutely put forth a bill to suspend all chancery proceedings for one month, till an effectual provision could be made to meet every difficulty. To this, however, the lawyers and their partisans offered the most determined resistance they had yet ventured to make. Cromwell openly assisted them;\* and, taking advantage of the absence of some of their more strenuous adversaries from town, they managed to fling the measure out † Exasperated to conduct as extreme, the reformers in turn collected all the power they could command in the House, brought up their absent members, prepared themselves for a final rally against what they termed the "nuisance of the nation," and within a few days presented a fourth bill! In this, the defects of all the previous attempts, and particularly of the first bill, were remedied, provision being made in it, in particular, for a proper conclusion to suits now in hand, as well as for the termination of such causes as were ordinarily brought into chancery, so that they should be decided in a short time, and for the most part at an expense of thirty or forty shillings! All opposition to this bill was overborne. It was read twice in one day, and committed, and would most certainly have passed, had not subsequent proceedings been cut short by the dissolution of the Parliament.

But the Court of Chancery was only one stall in the Augean stable of the law, and in this little Parliament had the very soul of a Hercules sprang forth against all such impurities of the time. Their second great vote to be recorded was for a general revision and new modelling of the whole body of the law. That design, which the greatest jurists and philosophers of our country, from Bacon to Bentham, have won fame by merely propounding and shaping forth in theory, has alone been boldly and practically grappled with by this so-called mean and ignorant assembly! What, they asked, made up the law? A voluminous collection of statutes, many of them almost unknown, and many inapplicable in existing circumstances; the dicta of judges, perhaps ignorant, frequently partial and interested; the reports of cases, but so contradictory, that they were regularly marshalled in hosts against each other; and the usages of particular districts, only to be ascertained through the treacherous memories of the most aged of the inhab-

itants. Englishmen had a right to know the laws by which they were to be governed; it was easy to collect from the present system all that was really useful; to improve it by necessary additions; and to comprise the whole within the shape and compass of a single reasonably-sized volume. A debate was accordingly held, which lasted, in the midst of very great excitement and a furious opposition, for two days. The result was a vote to express the necessity of the measure, and to refer its details to the committee already appointed, of whom, as I have said, Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterward lord-high-chancellor of England, was a chief member. The committee began with crimes—treason in the first place, and secondly murder. The plan was, that this "new body of law," when formed by the committee, was to undergo the patient revision of the House, and, as they should see cause, to be in each of its parts adopted or rejected.

Meanwhile the opposition was tremendous, and every inch of ground without and within the House was fought indeed desperately, and with all the basest expedients of faction. The first point laid hold of after the vote was an error of the clerk of the House in wording it. "The clerk," says the author of the *Exact Relation*, "in drawing up the question, put the word body instead of model, which some members, for the passing of the vote before and after, desired to have altered; but others, lovers of the law as now it is, *opposed the alteration of the word*, being very angry at the vote; and so it went as it was, with some seeming disadvantage by means of the word body, which some of those aforesaid, being angry, would need fancy, and accordingly reported, as if it were intended to *destroy the law, and take away the laws we had been fighting for all this while as our birth-right and inheritance*; and such a noise was made about it, that made many believe that the House was modeled of *monsters rather than men of reason and judgment*." The writer adds that, notwithstanding, "there were very sober and moderate gentlemen in the account of all men, that concurred heartily in this vote, and upon whom little blemish will stick." And no doubt, being such, these hard words did not much affect them, since all reformers must wear that epithet of monsters till they transfer it finally to the abuses they have resolved to overthrow.

Cromwell assisted, with all his energy, the outcry raised against the vote, and, strengthened by his authority, there arose from out of the courts and purlieus of Westminster such a multitudinous and tumultuous clamour of voices and of pens, that the like had not been heard before, to "protect from ruin the venerable fabric of English jurisprudence." The presumption of these ignorant and fanatical legislators was ridiculed by every device of falsehood; the design was ascribed to them of substituting the law of Moses for the law of the land; and the people were earnestly conjured to unite in defence of their "birthright and inheritance," for the preservation of which so many miseries had been endured and so much blood had been shed. This charge of an intention to overthrow all custom and common sense

\* Godwin, vol. iii., p. 572.

† When Cromwell, however, had fairly settled himself in power, he did not scruple, in the year following, to act upon the vote he thus opposed! In 1655 he issued an ordinance, consisting of sixty-seven articles, "for the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the High Court of Chancery." The commissioners of the great seal, Widdrington and Whitelocke, with Lenthall, the master of the rolls, informed him by letter, on its appearance, that they had sought the Lord, but did not find themselves free to act according to the ordinance. But, alas for them! the slightest good-will from the people had become more important to the Lord Protector than the most potent sanction of the lawyers; and therefore Cromwell, without the smallest delay or scruple, took the seals from the first two, and gave them to Fiennes and Lisle. Lenthall opportunely overcame his scruples, and remained in office. See Scobell, p. 324, for the ordinance.



in favour of the law of Moses was afterward frequently insisted on by Cromwell. It rested altogether on a single expression used in the debate, that neither the infliction of the punishment of death for theft, nor the sparing the lives of men for murder, under the notion and name of manslaughter, ought to be sanctioned in the new code, because no such things were to be found in the "law of God" or the sanction of "right reason."

But a vindication of the purpose and necessity of this vote, and of the intentions of its originators, has been left on record by one of themselves, and possesses too much interest and value to be here omitted. The main grounds for it, he tells us, as rested upon in the debate, were the "intricacy, uncertainty, and incongruity of the laws as now they are. First," he continues, "that whereas the laws ought to be easy, plain, and short, so that they who were to be subject to them, and have benefit by them, might be able to know and understand them in some good measure, they are now so voluminous, and thereby intricate and uncertain, dark and concealed, as few are able to come to the knowledge of them. Those of the profession of the law differ, in very many cases, what the law is, and are of several opinions about this thing and the other; and then how should others, though highly concerned, be able to understand them, and their interest therein contained, there being so many law-books of great bulk, so many old musty records, reports, and book-cases, as that, after the time spent in school-learning, the rest of the time of the flower of a man's years would be little enough to read them over and peruse them; and besides, those records and book-cases are very ill guides or lights to go by, for who knoweth the circumstances that did attend them, which often alter the whole case? Who knoweth whether, in those cases, bribery did not make the judgment; or the love or hatred of the some great man; or the love or hatred of the judge; or the negligence or corruption of the advocate? And, besides, in those law cases, some precedents are directly contrary to others; and an advocate or counsel allegeth one case or report, and another another; and then the judge followeth which he pleaseth. How arbitrary is the law in this case! And at what uncertainty are the great interests and proprieties of men! . . . Besides, how various are the customs which, notwithstanding, pass for law! usually unknown but to some old man of the place, which, though it be ever so unrighteous and unreasonable, time out of mind carries it. How bulky and voluminous are the statutes-books! and of so great a price that few are able to buy them; and so large that few can spare time to read them, to know their right, and how they are concerned in them; and yet they must be judged, and stand or fall by them. And many times some musty statute, of a hundred years old and more imprinted, is found and made use of by some crafty lawyer, to the undoing of an honest man that meant no hurt, nor knew anything at all of the danger."

The wisdom and humanity of these arguments are surely not to be disputed. The writer afterward goes on to describe the measures adopted in realization of them. "Upon something," he says, "held forth to this effect, the

vote was first carried for a new body or model of the law; and a committee chosen to that end, who met often, and had the help of some gentlemen of worth, that had deserved well of their country, being true patriots; who liked well the thing, as very useful and desirable; it being not a destroying of the law, or putting it down, as some scandalously reported, but a reducing the wholesome, just, and good laws into a body, from them that are useless and out of date; such as concerned the bishops and Holy Church, so called, and were made in favour of kings, and the lusts of great men, of which there are very many. If the law of God be eyed, and right reason looked into in all, there be some laws that are contrary to both, as the putting men to death for theft, the sparing the lives of men for murder, under the notion and name of manslaughter—a term and distinction not found in the righteous law of God; and that unreasonable law, that if a wagon or cart, &c., driven by owner or some other, with never so much care, fall and kill any person, the owner, though were his own son or servant, that could not help it, shall lose his horse and wagon by profane and superstitious name of deed, and the owners of the goods shall lose also upon the same account, though they as innocent as Abel. Other instances also be given. The way the committee in order to their work, which must be elaborate, was, by reducing the several their proper heads to which they did belong, modelizing or embodying of them; and what edge of the nature of them, and how agree of God said in the case, and how agree right reason they were; likewise holding the punishment was to the offence, and wherein there seemed anything deficient or excessive, to offer a supply, in order to rectifying the whole. The committee began with criminals. Considering the highest, they considered the of; what was meet to be adjudged a free commonwealth, and what to be the punishment of grand and petty. Then they proceeded to murder, it, and what was to be so adjudged punishment thereof. The like concerning theft, and, after, to burglary and secured property; as also part of the law, so as a person to part with one property to serve another, as now it is; persons lose the property of their cow, property of their horse, or one parcel serve and keep another. Then when modelized, was to be House to be considered of, as they should see cause; a way and of high esteem with much fruit and benefit that would which means the huge volume would come to be reduced to a pocket-book, as it is proper England and elsewhere. A worth and benefit as England of, nor likely in a short time as to enjoy. And this being endeavour of those members that committee, it is submitted and rational man in the

most falsely and wickedly reported and charged upon persons acting in so much love to their country, their endeavours tended to destroy the whole laws, and pulling them up by the roots."

The appeal will be honestly answered at last, even though deferred till now. Nor are there many rational men among us who, while they offer their hearty sympathy to the honourable motives and exertions of this writer and his associates, will not also avow, in shame and regret, that the design they had thus commenced two hundred years ago was indeed a thing of so great worth and benefit that England is not yet worthy of it, nor likely in a short time to be so blessed as to enjoy it!

The soldiers and lawyers having thus been thoroughly roused by the first two of these famous votes, it was reserved for the remaining two to provoke the parsons and the patrons of livings. The third great vote, for example, involved the subject of presentations to benefices. It assaulted "Satan himself" in his "stronghold" of advowsons. Nothing could certainly be more adverse to that religious spirit—call it fervent or fanatical, seek it among Independents or Presbyterians—now in undoubted prevalence with a majority of the English people, than these rights of presentation and advowson, where in the first case the possessor of a certain property claimed the power of naming the priest of the parish where his property lay, and in the second (as the term is used in ordinary acceptance), for a given sum of money disposed of that right to another, against the first vacancy that should occur. It was, the originators of this vote contended, contrary to reason that any private individual should possess the power of imposing a spiritual guide upon his neighbours, and therefore they argued that presentations should be abolished, and the choice of the minister be vested in the body of the parishioners, who might thus have the power, in selecting a preacher that was to lead them in the ways of eternal life, to secure one whose modes of thinking coincided with their own, and whose temper, general carriage, and habits of life were agreeable to them. Meanwhile, the question had deeply interested and aroused vast numbers of patrons of livings and influential men of that class, who sought against Parliamentary oppression the "protection" of the lord-general; and an earnest stand was accordingly made in their favour. The vote was carried, however, on the 17th of November, that the right of presentation to benefices should be taken away, and the people in the several parishes be authorized to choose their own instructors. A bill to that effect was at the same time ordered to be brought in.

The last and most fatal of all the votes involved the much-vexed question of tithes, and was somewhat strangely brought, as by a "side wind," before the House. The result of a "large debate" at the commencement of the session had been an understanding or agreement that tithes ought to be abolished, and that in their stead a compensation should be made to the impropiators, and a decent maintenance provided for the clergy. We have seen, accordingly, that one of the committees which were named for the discussion and arrangement of many of the most important

questions of public policy was chosen to examine into tithes, with a special instruction to inquire into the alleged sacredness of the property which was thus constituted. Great were the fluctuations and vicissitudes of the Parliament during the subsequent months; and it was not till the 2d of December that the committee made its report; nor is it supposed, indeed, that the report would even then have been presented, but with the hope of arresting, in some sort, the farther agitation of the question of advowsons. The report was entitled "respecting the method of rejecting scandalous, and settling godly ministers;" but its chief article was a distinct opinion of the committee appended to it as a sort of second section, that incumbents, rectors, and impropiators had a property in tithes. This report provoked a most earnest and singular debate of five days,\* and when the question was put

\* The author of the "Exact Relation" gives a detailed description, which is as correct as it is vivid, of the circumstances of this debate, and of the real bearing of this celebrated vote. "The fourth vote," he says, "whereupon followed the dissolution of the Parliament, was that harmless negative of not complying with the report of the committee, touching what they offered as the best way to eject ignorant, profane, and scandalous ministers, and encouraging them that are good, &c.; of which two things, and so an end of this discourse: first, of the proceed to it, and in the debate of it, and then that which followed after it, till the House was dissolved. The proceed was shortly this: after the aforesaid vote had passed, and some of the gentlemen of the House were in readiness to offer the bill, the committee for tithes, to counterwork and keep that off, as some thought, did on Monday morning offer this report, and many were for the taking of it on; others were against the meddling with it at that time; some moving to have the bill taken in concerning presentations, some to fall on things of more present concernment, as the bill for uniting Scotland to England. Reasons were offered on every side, and after one o'clock the House rose, and nothing fastened on. The next morning, those that were for the report to be taken in the day before moved again, and the other not opposing, it was taken in, but not without being put to the vote whether the House would take it in, which was carried in the affirmative; and so the debate began, and continued day after day, till after one o'clock each day, the speaker being aged, and not able to sit longer. The debate was managed day by day with very great seriousness, many arguments, and scriptures being alleged. The House being evenly poised, and great attendance been given by the members, waiting the time of the vote; and though any member might, by the rules of the House, have spoken every day as long as the debate continued, yet such was the modesty showed, that hardly any on all the five days spake twice; very little of heat or passion being showed all that time; only one gentleman or two that were for the report, seeing themselves and their party so engaged, flew out a little, complaining of the expense of time, to have given a check to the going on of the debate. But the orders of the House being called for by some of the other side of the speaker, he declared it to be the right of every one to be heard, and that the question could not be put so long as any would speak to it; withal, those gentlemen were told of their restlessness to take on the debate, and how they wanted patience to wait the issue of it. After three or four days, a member that was against the report offered an expedient, but was not accepted. At last, on Saturday, towards noon, the question drew near, as did also the end of the Parliament; some members that were against the report having not spoken, and essaying to speak, were persuaded to forbear, who only gathered the issue and result of the whole, and left it to the House; which was, whether, upon the whole, this which is in the report was the best expedient for that end? which some on the other side, that were for the report, perceiving the stress of the question put there, moved that the word 'best' might be put out; but it was not admitted, having been in the report all the time of the debate; so about one of the clock the vote passed, and upon dividing the House was carried in the negative. A debate of that nature and length, in so great a council, hardly ever passed with such soberness, and little heat or passion. The business was in statu quo as to any one's being either better or worse: the report was laid aside, for that the first part of it, whereon the other part depended, was rejected; to wit, that the best way to eject ignorant, profane, and

himself to sit in that House; and he moved that the continuance of this Parliament, as now constituted, would not be for the good of the Commonwealth, and that therefore it was requisite that the House, in a body, should repair to the lord-general, to deliver back into his hands the powers which they had received from him. His motion was seconded by Sir Charles Wolseley.

One of the most eloquent of the reformers (his name has not been preserved by the reporter of his speech) then rose and earnestly protested against the motion. He defended the character of the Parliament so unnaturally deserted by its own members; he challenged every statement made by Sydenham on the question of tithes. What had been proposed, he said, was so far from being intended to the prejudice of the parochial clergy, that its express object was to render the revenues of the clergy more certain and equal, by reducing benefices of £200 a year and upward, by increasing those of smaller income, and also by making a provision for the widows and children of ministers. As the Long Parliament, when they abolished Episcopacy, and sold the temporal revenues of the bishops, deans, and chapters, made an express reserve of all impropriations, which were to be applied to increase the revenues of the parochial clergy and the universities, so had a precisely similar reserve been made by the present assembly in their act for enabling delinquents to compound for their estates. He then enumerated the various measures conducive to the public advantage that were in progress, and extolled in the highest terms the disinterestedness and diligence of the Parliament and its committees. He protested, in conclusion, with passionate earnestness, against a measure fraught with such incalculable calamity as the dispersion of that Parliament would prove. Several other reformers followed on the same side with equal warmth, and the debate promised to be of considerable duration. Other reformers, who had been sent for, were now also fast arriving, and the issue seemed at the least doubtful. The number of Cromwell's partisans might be about forty; the reformers had by this time mustered between thirty and thirty-five.\*

\* This is according to the double evidence of the author of the *Exact Relation* and of the *New Narrative of the Dissolution*. A letter from one of the members to his brother, contained in Thurloe, gives the same number to the Cromwell party, and says, that when the latter had left, only twenty-seven reformers stayed behind. The other eight, no doubt, felt that any farther resistance would be idle. I subjoin this letter, from Bussy Mansel to Edward Pritchard, which derives its interest from the fact of its writer having been present. "Since I writ my last to you, and some days before, we were about a report from the committee of tithes, about sending commissioners to the several circuits to cast out all that they judged to be unfit to be ministers, and to put in all they judged to be fit upon the last day of the week. This power and its appurtenances came to the question, and it was carried in the negative. Hereupon those gentlemen that were for the report came sooner than their usual hower upon Monday to the House, and there spoke of the unlikelihood of doing good, and instanced in several things that they judged evil that was done, and therefore desired that they would goe, and returne that power they had from whence they received it; and thereupon about forty, and the speaker, went to the generall, and did accordingly. Twenty-seven stayed in the House a little time speaking to one another; and going to speak to the Lord in prayer, Col. Goffe and Lieut.-col. White came into the House, and desired them that were there to come out. Some answered that they were there by a call from the

All doubt, however, was suddenly ended by the extraordinary conduct of the speaker, Francis Rouse, who had become one of Cromwell's most thorough-going tools. Acting on an evidently preconcerted plan, he suddenly rose and left the chair. The sergeant took up the mace and carried it before him as he quitted the hall; even the clerk rose and went out at the same instant; while as many members as were favourable to the motion followed, and repaired at once to Whitehall, to demand admission to Cromwell. Some few reformers left also, in hopelessness and disgust. Twenty-seven of the more fervent and enthusiastic remained, gazing on each other in wonder at what had passed, insufficient in numbers to make a House, and without a speaker had they been so inclined. Harrison appears to have been one of these, as well as one of the orators in the debate that had preceded. They continued thus for some time, in helpless consultation as to what was to be done, and had just proposed to fall to prayers, when two officers, Colonel Goffe and Major White,\* suddenly entered, and requested them to withdraw. Harrison demanded by what warrant, and Major White called in a file of musketeers. No farther resistance was offered; the House was expeditiously cleared, and the keys left with the guard.

The speaker, meanwhile, preceded by the mace, and followed by Sydenham and his party, walked through the streets to Cromwell's residence at Whitehall. Some few members, who were on their way to the House, joined him, in curiosity, as he passed; some few, in fear. Having arrived at Whitehall, they withdrew into one of the apartments, and placed a few hurried lines on paper expressive of the resignation of their power into Cromwell's hands. This was as hastily engrossed by the clerk, subscribed by the speaker and his followers,

generall, and would not come out by their desire, unless they had a command from him. They returned noe answer, but went out and fetched two files of musketeers, and did as good as force them out, amongst whom I was an unworthy one."

\* A vulgar piece of pleasantry, on the part of this Major White, has been suffered to creep into history. He is said to have asked, on his entrance, "What they did there?" to have been answered by Harrison, "That they were seeking the Lord;" and to have rejoined, "Then you may go elsewhere, for to my knowledge he has not been here for several years past." The anecdote rests on the authority of a piece of Royalist scurrility, in which the circumstance of the dissolution is described after this fashion: "In the mean time, Rouse, the speaker, with the mace before him (and his followers), came to Whitehall, and there resigned the instrument he gave them, by which they were constituted a Parliament, and gave them likewise to understand how they had left their fellows. Their surrender was kindly received by Oliver, and they thanked for the pains they had taken in the service of the Commonwealth, however he and they had miss'd of their intentions of the good should thereby have come to the Commonwealth, which a strange spirit and perverse principle in some of the members had solely hindered; and as to them yet sitting in the Parliament House, he despatched away Lieutenant-colonel White, a confidant of his, to dislodge them, who accordingly, with a guard of red-coats, came thither, and entering the House, demanded them, in the name of the general, to depart, for the Parliament was dissolved; who, replying to the contrary, and telling him they were upon business, and ought not thus to be disturbed, he asked, 'What business?' They answered, 'We are seeking of God.' 'Pugh!' said he, 'is that all! That's to no purpose, for God hath not been within these walls these twelve years;' and so forth, compelled them out, muttering with the same words, 'sorrowful looks back as those that had sat thirty the same term, and could have almost pleaded prescriptive



It lay there three days, and, though only signed at first by Sydenham's party, it is said to have exhibited, at the close of the third day, very nearly eighty names—a majority of the whole assembly; nor do I find any distinct authority that questions this. In what way these signatures were obtained, or whether they were in all respects genuine, is a matter scarcely worth discussion. The existence of the Convention sprang out of cheat and delusion; and though its career was elevated into respect by the unlooked-for gravity of its counsels and the wise determination of its measures, its abrupt

\* It seems hardly credible that such hypocrisy as this could have been attempted; but Cromwell had now lost, in matters of this kind, all sense of ingenuousness or shame. His tools and creatures would seem to believe anything; and the pleasure, in being duped, of duping others in turn; and he himself would seem ready to say or do anything at all times, only to show his power of doing or saying it. He had the deliberate effrontery, for example, to repeat the present farce of falsehood to the first Parliament manner, Protectorate, whom he assured, in the most solemn manner, "that he was so far from having any hand in the project, that he was an absolute stranger to the design, till the speaker, with the major part of the House, came to him with the instrument of their resignation." It was in the same speech, I may add, that he used the characteristic expression, "I have appealed to God before you already; I know that it is a tender thing to make appeals to God." I do not insult the possibility of sincere self-delusion here. Setting aside the plain course of his policy, from the first moment of the existence of this Parliament to its last deliberation with his officers before its fall, will any rational person believe that a file of musketeers could be marched into the House of Parliament, without the knowledge of the door of the House locked, without the knowledge of the lord-general? I subjoin an extract from Ludlow, in corroboration of the views already urged in the text. "The perfidious Cromwell having forgot his most solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the mask, and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his pride and ambition, under colour of taking upon him the peace of the nation, and to restrain men in order to keep the peace of the nation. One difficulty yet remained to obstruct his design, and that was the Convention, which he had assembled and invested with power, as well as earnestly solicited to reform the law, and reduce sufficiently alarmed them, he informs them that all things are dangerous to the Convention, the confusion of those in authority, they cannot be ignorant of the confusion of those in authority, brought into by the immediate matter might be reduced if permitted to go on—possibly, said he, to the utter extirpation of law and Gospel from among us; and therefore advised that they would join their interests to his, in order to prevent this inundation. His proposition was readily embraced by the corrupt part of the lawyers and clergy, and so he became their protector, and they the humble supporters of his tyranny. But that his usurpation might seem less horrid, he so contrived it, by his instruments, that some of the Convention must openly manifest divers specious pretences against their own proceedings, and under whose instrument put a period to Cromwell, 'his aid he lifted up his eyes with astonishment, and with no less seeming modesty refused to receive it; but at length, through the importunity of Major-general Lambert and others, representing to him that the welfare of the nation absolutely required his acceptance of the Parliament's resignation, he thought fit to comply with their request."

and iniquitous end was nothing more than the natural consummation of its monstrous origin. Some of the members, it is said, were induced to yield their signatures to the solicitations of the friends of Cromwell; some to fear, and a reluctance to incur the displeasure of the powerful; several, according to one of their own members, because certain of their companions and allies had done it already; several, happy that they might so be rid of a troublesome and thankless employment; and several, because they would not expose themselves to the charge of ambition, and an overweening love of dignity and power.\* Thus was a majority at last obtained, and within a few hours afterward came forth the new constitution of government, in which Oliver Cromwell openly stood supreme.

On Friday, the 18th of December, 1653—a ominous day—the lord-general set out in his carriage, at about one in the afternoon, from his own residence to Westminster Hall, through two lines of soldiery, composed of five regiments of foot and three of horse. When

[illegible]

arrived at the door of the Hall, a procession formed, of persons who there awaited him, and wonderfully complete were the various arrangements for an event, of the possibility of which the chief actor, only three days before, had solemnly asseverated his utter and hopeless ignorance! The aldermen entered first, then the judges, the commissioners of the great seal (Keble and Lisle), and the lord-mayor. Behind these were the two councils, of state and the army. They ascended to the court of chancery, where a chair of state with a cushion had been placed on a rich carpet, and here arranged themselves—Keble on the right hand of the chair, and Lisle on the left; the judges on both sides; the lord-mayor and aldermen on the right, and the members of the two councils on the left. It was a brilliant scene: the robes of the civilians blended with the full dress equipments of the soldiers in a most imposing picture, and excitement stirred on every face.

Cromwell entered, and every person in the hall uncovered. He advanced, and took his place next the Lord-commissioner Lisle. He was plainly dressed—a secret artifice of pride. He wore neither robes nor uniform, but a simple suit and cloak of black velvet, with long boots, and a broad gold band round his hat. As soon as he had taken his position, Lambert advanced from the circle and addressed him. He declared the dissolution of the late Parliament; observed that the exigency of the time required a strong and stable government; and prayed his excellency, in the name of the army and the three nations, to accept the office of Protector of the Commonwealth, or chief magistrate, under a new Constitution, which had been prepared by the council of the army and sanctioned by the principal officers of state.\*

\* There can be scarcely a doubt that this assertion was only part of the entire delusion, and that the form as well as details of the new Constitution had been, in fact, the entire suggestion and arrangement of Cromwell himself. Ludlow says, in the sole account preserved of its origin or authorship, that it had been in deliberation for upward of two months before this memorable day, and many other circumstances strongly corroborate this most probable assertion. Not the least striking of these, I may add, is the fact (which I have established in the Life of Vane) that the best provisions in this "instrument," relating to the establishment of new constituencies, are bodily taken out of the famous reform act of Vane, which Cromwell brought away with him under his cloak, unoccupied and unengrossed on the fatal 20th of April. Another remarkable fact which tends to prove it is, that when the idea of a new Instrument of Government was first submitted to Cromwell in private, the title appropriated to the chief magistrate in the first article would seem to have been that of king. To this Cromwell at once objected. No doubt he wished to receive the offer from a less questionable authority, and had secretly resolved, also, that the minds of the people and of his own partisans should be better prepared, before he ventured on a step so hazardous. The Dutch ambassador (see Thurloe, vol. i., p. 644) seems to have received a confused statement of this circumstance; for he says that it was Cromwell's first project to be declared king, and that he only desisted because of the reluctance of his officers. The contrary would decidedly appear (if we may trust an authority by no means indisputable) from a speech of Cromwell to the body of 100 officers, who waited on him in February, 1657, to remonstrate against the title of king. He plainly tells them that they had on the former occasion offered him the title, and that he had refused it. (MSS. Additions to Ayscough, appended by Mr. Rutt to Burton's Diary. And Bates, in his *Elenchus Motuum*, part ii., p. 166, observes on the occasion, "Yet Cromwell would not accept of the government by the title of king, though he was persuaded to it by many.") The obscure statement of the official account is merely that "the Parliament having surrendered its powers into the hands of the lord-general, from whom it had received them, he called a council of the

Lambert, as he concluded, turned to one of the clerks of the council, Jessop, and ordered him to read aloud the act or instrument in which this new Constitution was embodied. The reading of this act, entitled "the Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging," occupied upward of half an hour. It was a document of unquestionable ability, as even the brief abstract which may be admitted here will show.

Its first and most essential article was, that the supreme legislative authority should be in one person, and the people in Parliament assembled; and that the style of that person should be Lord Protector. It proceeded, that the Protector should be assisted with a council, of not fewer than thirteen, nor more than twenty-one persons; \* that all writs, processes, commissions, and grants should run in his name; and that from him should be derived all magistracy and honours; that he should order the militia and forces both by sea and land, and with his council should have the power of war

*principal officers of the army, and advised with other persons of interest in the nation, who, after three days seeking God and consulting on the subject, concluded upon the form of the government of the Commonwealth.* (Declaration of the Lord Protector." Perfect Diurnal, Dec. 19. Weekly Intelligencer, Dec. 20.) This council is said to have been opened by the lord-general with a most excellent, wise, gracious, and pious speech. (Several Proceedings, Dec. 15.) Ludlow's account, corroborating many of these points, is as follows: "After," he says, "a few days, a council of field-officers was summoned, where Major-general Lambert having rehearsed the several steps and degrees by which things had been brought to the present state wherein they were, and pressed the necessity incumbent upon the army to provide something in the room of what was lately taken away, presented to them a paper intitled 'An Instrument of Government,' which he read in his place. Some of the officers being convinced that the contents of this instrument tended to the sacrificing all our labours to the lust and ambition of a single person, began to declare their unwillingness to concur in it. But they were interrupted by the major-general, and informed that it was not now to be disputed whether this should be the form of government or not, for that was already resolved, it having been under consideration for two months past; neither was it brought before them with any other intention than to give them permission to offer any amendments they should think fit, with a promise they should be taken into consideration. The council of officers, perceiving to what terms they were restrained, proposed that it might be declared in this instrument that the general of the army should, after their first time, be held incapable of being Protector (for that was the title given by this instrument to the chief magistrate, though some were said to have moved that it might be king), that none of the relations of the last Protector should be chosen at the next succeeding election, and that a general council of all the commission officers who were about the town should be summoned to consider thereof. To these propositions they could obtain no other answer than that they should be offered to the general, which was the title they yet gave to Cromwell. At the next meeting of the officers it was not thought fit to consult with them at all; but they were openly told by Major-general Lambert that the general would take care of managing the civil government; and then, having required them to repair to their respective charges, where their troops and companies lay, that they might preserve the public peace, he dismissed them."

\* By observing the first council appointed by the new Protector under this institute, we may fairly make out Cromwell's chief creatures and most favourite advisers through all the recent extraordinary scenes. Of the twelve original counsellors named by him in the preceding April, six were preserved, Lambert, Desborough, Strickland, Sydenham, Philip Jones, and Sir Gilbert Pickering; and six omitted, Harrison, Tomlinson, Stapley, Carew, Moyer, and Bennet. To the six preserved were added seven from among those who had been named by the Parliament on their meeting, Lord Lisle, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Charles Wolseley, Fleetwood, Montague, Richard Major, and Henry Laurence. To these counsellors were now first added by Cromwell, Major-general Skippon, and Francis Rouse, the late speaker.

and peace; that no law should be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, but by the authority of Parliament; and that a Parliament should be summoned in every third year. It directed that the summons to Parliament should be by writ under the great seal, and that, if the Protector should neglect to order these writs, the keeper or keepers of the seal should issue them on their own authority, under pain of high treason. Also, in case of similar neglect in these officers, the sheriffs of the counties were to proceed in the election in the same manner as if the writs had been issued, under the like penalty. Each Parliament was to sit five months; and if an intermediate Parliament was called by the Lord Protector, it was not to be prorogued or dissolved within three months, unless by its own consent. In case of war with any foreign state, a Parliament was to be summoned immediately. The institute determined that every person possessing an estate, real or personal, to the value of two hundred pounds, should have a vote at the election of members of Parliament, excepting such as had been concerned in the war against the Parliament or in the rebellion in Ireland. It ordered, that all bills passed by the Parliament should be presented to the Lord Protector for his assent, and if he did not assent within twenty days, the Parliament might declare his neglect, and the bills should then become law notwithstanding. The army was limited not to exceed ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. It was also directed, in an article which disclosed the secret and naked despotism which lurked beneath it all, that, till the meeting of the first triennial Parliament in September, 1654, *the Protector and council might have power to raise money for the public defence, and to make such laws and ordinances as the welfare of the nation should require.* No member could be removed from the council but for corruption, or such other miscarriage as should be judged by a committee from the Parliament and the council, together with the keeper or keepers of the seal; the removal during the intervals of Parliament to be made by the council itself, with the consent of the Protector. The institute farther ordered that the keeper or keepers of the seal, the treasurer, the admiral, the chief justices of the two benches, and the chief governors of Scotland and Ireland, should be nominated by Parliament, and in the intervals of Parliament by the Protector and council; that, as soon as might be, a provision should be made for the maintenance of the clergy, less subject to scruple and contention, and more certain, than the way of tithes; and that no person should be compelled to conform to the Established Church; nor should any be restrained, but all protected, in the profession and exercise of his religion, with an exception of the adherents of popery and prelacy. It was one article in the Institute of Government, that Oliver Cromwell should be declared Lord Protector for life, and that, in case of his demise, the council of state should assemble to the number of not fewer than thirteen, and immediately elect his successor. This clause was generally supposed to have been inserted to conciliate Lambert, and to feed him with the hope of being second lord protector. It was altered in the subsequent Petition and

Advice, and the power surrendered to Cromwell. The plan for the future representation of the people was, as I have already endeavoured to show, in all its essentials, copied from the celebrated act which was on the point of passing into a law on that fatal twentieth of the preceding April. The representatives for England were to be four hundred. All petty boroughs where there was scarcely a single house were suppressed, and the representation, as nearly as might be, proportioned to the amount of taxation. Of these, 251 were to be county members, besides six for London, two for the Isle of Ely, two for the Isle of Wight, and two each for Exeter, Plymouth, York, Colchester, Gloucester, Canterbury, Leicester, Lincoln, Westminster, Norwich, Lynn, Yarmouth, Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Taunton, Bristol, Ipswich, Bury, Southwark, Coventry, Worcester, and Salisbury, one each for the two universities, and one each for all the towns and boroughs that were thought proper to be represented, among which Manchester is named. In addition to these, there were to be 30 representatives for Scotland, and 30 for Ireland; the distribution of the counties, cities, and places represented, and the number of their representatives respectively, being to be determined by the Lord Protector and his council previously to issuing the writs.

When the reading had closed, Lisle turned to Cromwell to administer to him his oath as Lord Protector of the Commonwealth; but even at this instant the habit of dissimulation prevailed over every other, and scruples appeared, and a wonderful humility and a most touching reluctance, which only gave way at last to an assent more touching still, in its seeming sacrifice of every selfish wish to the interests of his country! Then, raising his right hand and his eyes to heaven with great solemnity, Cromwell swore to observe, and cause to be observed, all the articles of the Instrument; and Lambert, falling on his knees, offered to the Lord Protector a civic sword in the scabbard, which he accepted, laying aside his own, to denote that he meant to govern by constitutional, and not by military authority! He then seated himself in the chair of state provided for him; put on his hat while the rest still stood uncovered; received the great seal from the commissioners, the sword of state from the lord-mayor, formally delivering them back again; and, having exercised these acts of sovereign authority, returned in procession to his carriage, and drove back to his palace at Whitehall with the state and majesty of a king.

In the evening of the same day proclamation was made in every quarter of London—accompanied by all the ceremonies that had hitherto been used on the accession of a new monarch—of the establishment of a new government by means of a chief magistrate and triennial Parliaments; and the people were called upon to offer their allegiance and obedience in all things to

OLIVER CROMWELL,  
LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH.

Cromwell's first act was to revive the forms of monarchy. He issued new patents to the judges, as on the occasion of a succession to

the crown.\* He then completed the arrangements of his council, as named in the Instru-

\* It appears from the order-books and law records that the first law-term of the year commenced on the 23d of January: and, accordingly, four days before, a fresh patent was issued to Rolfe, chief justice of the upper, and Atkins, one of the puisne judges of the common bench; on the first day of term, a similar patent was granted to St. John, chief justice of the common bench; and before the end of the month, patents were made out to Aske, a puisne judge of the upper bench, and Thorpe, a baron of the Exchequer. At the same time, Matthew Hale (I borrow many of these details from Mr. Godwin's *Researches*) was made a judge of the common bench, and Robert Nicholas, who had previously been a judge in the upper bench, was added to Thorpe in the Exchequer. Wild, who had been made chief baron in the year before the king's death, was desirous of being continued in his office, but could not obtain that favour from the Protector. Shortly after these appointments, a list was formed of twelve persons to hold the assizes at the principal towns of England for the spring circuit. Secret instructions were at the same time given to such as the new Protector could rely on, that they were "to take especial care to extend all favour and kindness to the Cavalier party." (Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 489.) Rolfe and Glyn were named for the western circuit, St. John and Atkins for the Oxford, Aske and Richard Newdigate for the home, Thorpe and Richard Pepys for the midland, Nicholas and William Conyers for the Norfolk, and Hale and Hugh Windham for the northern. Five of these persons, Glyn, Newdigate, Pepys, Conyers, and Windham, had not received patents as judges, and must therefore have officiated merely *pro hac vice*. Hale, Pepys, Newdigate, and Windham were called to the degree of sergeant at this time, together with Steele, the recorder, Maynard, Thomas Fletcher, and Thomas Twisden. Glyn and Conyers had been made sergeants in August, 1648. The names of Glyn and Maynard are emphatic proofs that these wily men anticipated a brilliant prospect for their detestable principles under this reign of Cromwell. Attorney-general Prideaux had a fresh patent from the Protector (docket-book of the Crown Office), January 23, 1654, and William Ellis was made solicitor-general (ibid.), May 24. The appointment of St. John is curious when we recall his own defence of himself under Charles the Second, and instead of corroborating that defence, would go to prove an extreme interest and confidence reposed in him by Cromwell. "It is said that I was the dark lantern and privy counsellor in setting up and managing affairs in the late Oliver Protector's time. This wholly denied, and the contrary true, and many witnesses of my manifesting my dislike. In October I fell sick so dangerously, that from that time till the end of May my friends expected death; I think in December or January he was set up, when I was at the worst." But I have already given abundant proofs of St. John's servile assistance to his great relation in all his worst designs. I cannot suffer the more honourable name of MATTHEW HALE to pass even in a note without giving (from Burnet's *History of his own Time*) two memorable instances of the way in which he discharged the functions of that office, to which it is one of the greatest merits of Cromwell to have appointed him. "Not long," says the bishop, "after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the king's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder, which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said it was contrary to an order which the Protector had made, that none who had been of the king's party should carry arms, and so he would have forced it from him; but as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him, and lie in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun, which he refusing, the soldier struck at him, and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his back, of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried. Against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burned on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder; and though Colonel Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged that the man was killed for disobeying the Protector's orders, and that the soldier was but doing his duty, yet the judge regarded both his reasons and threatenings very little, and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve, which he believed would have been obtained if there had been time enough granted for it. An-

ment of Government, in the mode best fitted to promote his aims.\* Colonel Henry Lawrence was nominated president for a month, reappointed at its expiration till farther orders, and, in fact, retained the office during the whole of the Protectorate. Thurloe, a man of thorough fitness for the work, was named secretary to the council, or, as he is frequently styled, secretary of state; and Walter Frost, the secretary under the Commonwealth, was appointed to an office which was called treasurer for the council's contingencies. Philip Meadows was chosen secretary for the Latin tongue, the office held under the statesmen by Milton; and Milton's name was entered in the order-book along with these, but unaccompanied with any specification of salary, or of the business in which he was to be employed.†

other occasion was given him of showing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the Protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under sheriff; and having next asked the under sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he showed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause; upon which the Protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, told him in anger he was not fit to be a judge; to which all the answer he made was, that it was very true."

\* The following is the list, as published officially, of the names of the councillors: Philip Viscount Lisle; Charles Fleetwood; John Lambert; Edward Montague; John Desborough; Walter Strickland; Henry Lawrence; Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart.; Sir Charles Wolseley, Bart.; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Bart.; William Sydenham; Philip Jones; Richard Major; Francis Rouse; Philip Skippon. To these were added, February 7, 1654, Humphrey Mackworth; April 27, Nathaniel Fiennes; and June 30, Edmund Sheffield, earl of Mulgrave. The salary of each councillor was £1000 per annum. (See Thurloe, vol. iii., p. 581.) One of the first orders issued was, that the council should sit on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, in the morning, and on Friday both morning and afternoon, and not at other times without special direction from the Lord Protector. The sittings were to commence at nine, and not to continue after one; and each member who did not appear at nine, and was absent without reasonable excuse, was to forfeit two shillings and sixpence.

† Mr. Godwin has directed special attention to the constitution of this council. The members, he would have us recollect, were named in the Act of Government, which was always represented by Cromwell himself as of such paramount authority, that even the Parliament itself was not entitled to call it in question. No one of them could be displaced but for corruption or other miscarriage in his trust; and in that case the Parliament was to appoint seven of its members, and the council six, who, together with the lord-chancellor, lord-keeper, or commissioners of the great seal for the time being, should have power to hear and determine such corruption or miscarriage, and to award and inflict such punishment as the nature of the offence might deserve, which punishment should not be pardoned or remitted by the Lord Protector: the major part of the council, with the consent of the Protector, being part of the council, in the intervals of Parliament, to suspend any of their number till the accusation against him could be heard and examined in the manner prescribed. The councillors appointed by the act were fifteen; and the Protector, with the advice of his council, might increase their number to twenty-one; but, in case of death or other removal, the Parliament was to nominate six candidates for the vacant place, out of which the council might name two, between whom the Protector was to elect the successor. All this may be quite true, and such a boon was naturally enough given at first setting out to the restive and selfish officers, who were to believe that the new form of government was as much an aristocracy as oligarchy as a monarchy. But Cromwell was not known for teaching them their mistake. He only wanted to be firmly planted in his chair, and then did not scruple to proceed in the most important matters without the council, and, as it should seem, without even common assessors of state.



While the council arrangements proceeded, the most extravagant rumours became rife in London. The new Protector had already been secretly crowned; Lambert was commander-in-chief and a duke, Oliver St. John lord-treasurer, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper lord-chancellor, and Lord Say chamberlain of the household.\* The peerage of England was to be restored; the various lords were to repair immediately to London, and submit to the new government; plays and players were to "go up" again, and all was to jog merrily on once more in the old road.† This was a little too fast for Cromwell. He went to work in a more gradual way. His next actions were directed, indeed, to that most miserable result, but though they argued more than the power of monarchy, they were as yet content to fall somewhat short of its forms. He proceeded to exhibit in practice that monstrous clause in the act of his authority which gave, before the assembling of Parliament, absolute legislative as well as executive power to him and his council‡

One of his first ordinances was, in a manner, to abolish the Commonwealth he had been called in to protect. It publicly repealed the memorable engagement imposed on the English people by the statesmen, to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as then established, without king or House of Lords.§ A second ordinance significantly declared the new offences that were to be taken and adjudged for treason. These were, to compass or imagine the death of the Lord Protector; to raise forces against the present government; to deny that the Protector and the people assembled in Parliament are the supreme authority of the nation, or that the exercise of the chief magistracy is centred in him; to affirm that the government is tyrannical, usurped, or illegal, or that there is any Parliament now in being; and, finally, the effort to proclaim, or in any wise to promote, any of the posterity of the late king to be king or chief magistrate of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or any of the dominions thereunto belonging.

Other ordinances, either of this or a somewhat later date, may also claim mention here. Various duties and imposts, as those of excise, were continued for a certain term, and one of

\* Thurlow's papers give a variety of rumours of this kind.

† "His highness is not yet come to Whitehall; £200,000 is settled upon him yearly; he is choosing officers of state. It is thought that the lords will be sent for to attend him at court, to acknowledge and submit to the government; and we hear that plays are going up again, and that things had been coming to the old road."—Thurlow, vol. II., p. 8.

‡ It provokes only laughter and contempt when we observe, from the order-book of the Protector and his council, that when they passed bills, the forms were exactly copied that were used in the two Houses of Parliament! Every bill is read twice; then referred to a committee, which committee ordinarily consists of three persons, of whom two are a quorum; afterward read a third time; and lastly presented to the Protector as the advice of the council, and by him passed for a law, and ordered to be printed and published. Yet the council, when full, only amounted to fourteen, as Fleetwood continued in Ireland. What a mean and base imputation of hypocrisy is here!

§ I may mention that Ashley Cooper had made an unsuccessful effort to effect this in the Barbours Parliament. On the 20th of October, 1653, a bill was brought into that Parliament from a committee, and presented by Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, for annulling the engagement, but was rejected. An act for taking away one of the penalties on non-subscribers was, with some difficulty, substituted in its room.

two acts which had been brought to their last stage of completion by the statesmen of the Long Parliament now received the efficacy of law. Among these were the ordinance of union between England and Scotland, and that of grace and oblivion to the people of Scotland,\* which formed its proper companion. The same course was adopted also with regard to a few acts of the little Parliament, as in that which brought the public revenue into the treasury; and that which was designed to compromise the question of chancery reform by simplifying the process of the court, and reducing its expenses.† Two ordinances passed at the same time for the distribution of persons to be chosen to serve in Parliament for Scotland and Ireland; one for commissioners to approve of public preachers; and one for the ejection of scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers.

The latter ordinances had been in some sort clamoured for by sections of the people, and were wily instances of Cromwell's power of coercing, while he seemed to be most freely giving way. A slight description of them will show of what good they were capable, and of how much monstrous evil. The commissioners under that for the approval of preachers were thirty-eight, nine of whom were laymen, and the rest divines. At their head was Cromwell's convenient old friend and counsellor, Francis Rouse, the provost of Eton. With him, among others, were associated Owen, Goodwin, Caryl, and Lockyer, Cromwell's favourite preachers; Hugh Peters, Philip Nye, Peter Sterry, Marshal, Manton, and Major-general Goffe. They were empowered to examine the qualifications of such as should be named to benefices, as well as of such as had been presented since a certain recent date. The ordinance for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers was, however, infinitely more extensive, and projected a thorough purgation of the Church Establishment of insufficient and unworthy clergy, at whatever period they might have been inducted into their livings. It appointed commissioners, from fifteen to thirty in each county,‡ to carry the ordinance into execution; to hear complaints against all clergy; and to deprive such as should be proved guilty of maintaining the principles condemned in the act against atheistical, blasphemous, and execrable opinions; or of profane cursing and swearing, and perjury; or of adultery, fornication, drunkenness, common haunting of taverns and alehouses, and frequent playing at

\* From this grace were excepted nine earls, two viscounts, and five barons. † See *ante*, p. 555, and p. 559.

‡ From those commissioners, at the same time, though the majority were tools of Cromwell, it was found impossible to exclude various men, the most distinguished in their counties, who had opposed the usurpation of Cromwell. I find, among other names, those of Lord Fairfax, Lord Wharton, Lord Say, Samuel Browne, Thomas Scot, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Sir Robert Harley, and Robert Blake, together with those of most of the members of the council, Henry Lawrence, Viscount Lisle, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Sir Charles Wolseley, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Lambert, Skippon, Sydenham, and Major. The names of Richard lord Cromwell and Henry lord Cromwell, sons of the Protector, were also in the commission. The ordinance named eight or ten clergy besides for every county, who were to be joined to the lay commissioners in all questions of ignorance and in the principal of these was Owen. The cele-  
Baxter, the Presbyterian, was likewise in



cards or dice; also to incapacitate such as should publicly and profanely scoff at the profession or professors of religion and godliness, or should encourage and countenance Whitsun-ales, wakes, morris-dances, May-poles, and stage plays; such as should hold or maintain popish doctrines, or frequently and publicly read the Book of Common Prayer, or should have declared by writing, preaching, or otherwise, their disaffection to the present government; and such as should be non-resident, or should be accounted negligent, and omit the duties of praying and preaching. These ordinances worked as Cromwell wished. Some good was done by them, and much evil. Among the most celebrated men who suffered under them, and were with difficulty restored, may be named the most learned man of the day, Pocock, the Oxford professor of Hebrew and Arabic; and Fuller, the famous Church historian.\*

By such means, before the possibility of interference on the part of any Parliament, Cromwell proceeded to settle himself firmly in his new seat of power. He had not been careless, meanwhile, of his old enthusiasts for a visionary republic, his foremost friends and dupes of the saints' reign. Within a few days after his inauguration, he sent to ask Harrison if he would own, and act under, the new power; and, on that honest fanatic's refusal, his major-general's commission was at once stripped from him. Messrs. Christopher Feakes and Vavasor Powell† shared a similar fate. At the first Blackfriars' meeting after the 16th of December, these headlong zealots had devoted special denunciations against Cromwell, calling him, by name, a perjured villain, and desiring that, if any of his friends were present, they would go to him, and tell him in their name that his reign would be short, and his end more tragical than that of the great tyrant, the last Lord Protector of England.‡ The message was delivered, and as promptly answered.

\* I quote from a letter of Oliver to Secretary Thurloe (vol. viii., p. 281). "There are," he writes, "in Berkshire some few men of mean quality and condition, rash, heady, enemies of titles, who are commissioners for the ejecting of ministers. These alone sit and act, and are at this time casting out, on slight and trivial pretences, very worthy men; one in especial they intend the next week to eject, whose name is Pocock, a man of as unblameable conversation as any that I know living, of repute for learning throughout the whole world, being the professor of Hebrew and Arabic in our University; so that they do exceedingly exasperate all men, and provoke them to the height." Nor was Owen content with making this complaint. He went before the commissioners themselves, took three eminent divines with him (Wilkins, Wallis, and Ward, afterward Bishop of Salisbury), and expostulated with so much warmth, indignation, and success, that Pocock was restored. The case of Fuller was of the same character, and is told thus by his biographer. He received sudden notice that he should be cited before the commissioners, and in this emergency applied to his friend, John Howe, chaplain to Cromwell, and one of the most eloquent writers of his time, to know how he should conduct himself. "You must have observed," said Fuller, "that I am a pretty corpulent man, and I am to go through a passage that is very strait; I beg that you will be so kind as to give me a shove, and help me through." Howe accordingly suggested to him the most suitable advice; and when the commissioners came to propose the question, which formed the pith of their examination, "Whether he had at any time experienced a work of grace on his soul?" Fuller replied, "That he could appeal to the Great Searcher of hearts that he had on all occasions made conscience of his very thoughts;" with which answer the commissioners expressed themselves satisfied.

† See ante, p. 562.

‡ Richard III.

Feakes and Powell were flung into the Tower first, and afterward sent prisoners to Windsor Castle. One of their colleagues, named Sympson, imprisoned at the same time, was only released on making submission. Harrison was also sent, by peremptory mandate from the council board, into a watched retirement in his native county of Stafford.

The same vigorous measures were pursued in every quarter where there was reason to fear resistance. Cromwell everywhere transferred the chief army commands to men in whom he could best confide, and quartered troops most effectively against the various chances of insurrection. As an additional security, he sent his son Henry into Ireland, and Monk into Scotland, to deal upon the spot with any sudden defections.

Henry Cromwell had inherited the largest share of his father's genius dispensed to his children. He had risen rapidly to the rank of a colonel, by purely honourable service in the Irish campaign; acquitted himself with great ability in the "little" Parliament; and was generally supposed to have no mean share in his father's confidence and counsel. A special part of his instructions on the present mission appears to have been, to observe in the various counties through which he travelled from London to Holyhead, as well as in Ireland, how the people, and the army in particular, stood affected to the present government.\* When he arrived in Dublin, he found Fleetwood in some anxiety and alarm; and but for his sudden appearance, the enthusiasm with which he was received, and the courteous address, singular skilfulness, and admirable good sense with which he treated all parties he found, it is more than doubtful whether the Protectorate could have been quietly established there. When, about a month before, it had been put to the vote, at a meeting of the commissioners of government, with three or four principal officers of the army, whether they should proceed without delay to proclaim the Lord Protector, it was only carried in the affirmative by a single voice.† From that time, Ludlow informs us in his memoirs, he entirely withdrew himself from the civil government, and continued to act in his military capacity alone.‡

\* Several Proceedings, p. 149, 162.

† Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 482.

‡ Yet Henry Cromwell produced even a considerable effect on this stately Republican. Their interview, as recorded by himself, has various very interesting points in it, characteristic of the artifices of the Lord Protector, and also of the honest and sincere distinctions that were wisely drawn by such men as Ludlow between the power of the sword before and after the death of Charles the First. "He sent," says Ludlow, "his second son, Col. Henry Cromwell, into Ireland, to feel the pulse of the officers there touching his coming over to command in that nation, where he arrived, attended only by one servant; and landing near my country house, I sent him my coach to receive him, and to bring him thither, where he stayed till Lieut.-gen. Fleetwood, with several officers, came with coaches to conduct him to Dublin. Having made what observations he could of persons and things in Ireland, he resolved upon his return; of which having given me advice, I desired him to take my house in his way, and to that end dined with him on the day of his departure, at the lieutenant-general's in the castle. After dinner, we went together to my house at Mountown, where, after a short conversation in the garden, I acquainted him with the state of the nation, which I assured him was no sort personified in me, as he had heard me that his father looked upon me.



when he took the power into his own hands; since that looked like a step to kingship, which Goodwin had long represented as the great anti-Christ that hindered Christ being set on his throne. To these he said, and, as some have told me, with many tears, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the Protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a show of greatness; but he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the nation from falling into extreme disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy, and therefore he only stepped in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, in that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle; and he assured them that then he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that show of dignity. To men of this stamp he would enter into the terms of their old equality, shutting the door, and making them sit down, covered, by him, to let them see how little he valued those distances that for form sake he was bound to keep up with others. These discourses commonly ended in a long prayer."

With Royalists, again, Cromwell held a different way, concerning which the bishop is able to proffer some information also. In proportion as a single life seemed alone to stand between them and power, he knew that assassination would become more and more their policy.\* He declared, therefore, in quarters from which he was aware it would speedily be repeated in their places of chief resort, "he declared," according to the bishop, "often and openly, that in a war it was necessary to return upon any side all the violent things that any of the one side did to the other. This was done for preventing greater mischief, and for bringing men to fair war; therefore, he said, assassinations were such detestable things, that he would never begin them; but if any of the king's party should endeavour to assassinate him, and fail in it, he would make an *assassinating war of it*, and destroy the whole family: and he pretended he had instruments to execute it, whosoever he should give order for it. The terror of this was a better security to him than his guards."

To such of the Royalists, at the same time, as in any way proffered him allegiance, he had nothing but courtesy and favour, while from such as were at all detected in plots against his government or person, he would not consent to avert the law's heaviest arm. He had judged rightly in ascribing the first place in Royalist hopes and resolves to schemes of assassination. Within a brief space after the declarations recorded by Burnet, a project of this kind, unparalleled for its shameless atrocity, had been set on foot in Paris.

In Paris Charles Stuart still lived, in the mimic state of a king, with his Lord-keeper

\* He had, in point of fact, already had experience of this. Within a fortnight of his inauguration a plot came before his council. The conspirators were all Royalists. It was a wild and foolish scheme, but its groundwork was supposed to be the feasibility of assassinating Cromwell as he went into the city. Eleven of the plotters were arrested at a tavern in the Old Bailey, the most distinguished of whom were a Mr. Thomas Dutton and a son of Bunce, who was one of the four aldermen impeached by the Independents in 1647, and was now in exile with Charles Stuart. They were sent to the Tower, and kept imprisoned there.

Ormond, his Chancellor of the Exchequer Hyde, his privy councillors and officers of household. It will naturally be supposed that Hyde had a sinecure in his office. This pitiful court was in truth in a villanous condition of beggary. A clean shirt was a rarity, and a good dinner a thing long remembered.\* Surrounded by such sordid wants, Charles Stuart yet spent his monthly allowance of six thousand francs from the French king with a profligate and reckless profusion while it lasted, in which no beggar or pensioner has before or since excelled him. But suddenly the rise of the Protectorate—of the renewed government by a single person—shed rays of unaccustomed hope upon his ragged courtiers, and he was induced to turn aside for a time from the embraces of Lucy Walters, to listen to the lively project of a general muster of murderers from Ormond and Hyde.

In a short space, a proclamation had obtained extensive circulation through private channels in Paris and London, which began thus: "By the king, Charles the Second, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, to all our good and loving subjects, peace and prosperity. Whereas a certain mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, hath, by most wicked and accursed ways and means, against all laws, both divine and human, most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over our said kingdoms. . . . these are in our name to give freedom and liberty to any man whomsoever, within any of our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other ways or means whatsoever, to destroy the life of the said Oliver Cromwell, wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men." The proclamation farther promised, "in the faith of a Christian king," to the perpetrators and his heirs, a reward of five hundred pounds a year forever, and the honour of knighthood; and "if he is a soldier, the office of a colonel, with such other honourable employment as may render him capable of attaining to farther preferment corresponding to his merit."† Copies of this infamous proclamation, which has been attributed,‡ on excellent authority, to the ready pen of Sir Edward Hyde, were speedily, as I have said, and very largely circulated; but solemn secrecy was at the same time preserved, and they were, of course, communicated to none but those from whom good faith, perhaps engagement in the purposed enterprise, was thought beyond question sure.

But what is good faith among assassins! Cromwell had already begun a system of espionage, which kept in nearly every Royalist or fanatic circle "a servant feed." The very

\* There is not a particle of exaggeration in this. "I do not know," says one of them (Clarendon's State Papers, vol. iii., p. 174), in a letter dated the 27th of June, 1653, "I do not know that any man is yet dead for want of bread, which really I wonder at. I am sure the king owes for all he hath eaten since April, and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket. Five or six of us eat together one meal a day for a pistole a week; but all of us owe, for God knows how many weeks, to the poor woman that feeds us." In another letter, of the date of the 3d of April, 1654, we find this passage: "I want shoes and shirts, and the Marquis of Ormond is in no better condition. What help, then, can we give our friends?" Many similar proofs might be quoted.

† Thurler, vol. ii., p. 248-9.

‡ See Godwin's Commonwealth, vol. iv.





demned with four of his accomplices, and though three of the latter were pardoned,\* no influence or argument, no threat or inducement, could prevail with Cromwell in favour of the chief offender. To demonstrate still more openly to the world of Europe the fearlessness and power of the new authority in England, he so arranged that the morning of the day appointed for the execution of Pantaleon should he fixed for the final settlement of the Portuguese treaty. Within a few hours after the ambassador had signed that treaty,† his brother's head fell for the crime of murder upon a public scaffold—the same scaffold on which had perished, one hour before, that very Gerard, in connexion with whom the crime may be said to have begun—amid the approving shouts of an immense crowd, who had gathered to witness the scene of terrible retribution.‡

The statesmen had already taught habits of respect and fear to the foreign powers of Europe, and Cromwell thus early showed that he would improve upon that lesson. It is certain that the wily Mazarin, then prime minister of France, had been induced at its commencement to favour Gerard's plot in Paris,§ and that one of

he was an ambassador, and therefore answerable to no one but his master; and, 2d. That he was a person attached to the embassy, and therefore covered by the privilege of his principal. But the instrument which he produced in proof of the first allegation was no more than a written promise that he should succeed his brother in office; and in reply to the second, it was maintained that the privilege of an ambassador, whatever it might be, was personal, and did not extend to the individuals in his suite. At the bar, after several refusals, he was induced, by the threat of the *peine forte et dure*, to plead no guilty; and his demand of counsel, on account of his ignorance of English law, was rejected on the ground that the court was "of counsel equal to the prisoner and the Commonwealth."

\* The fourth was Pantaleon's immediate retainer, who was proved to have been foremost in the deed. He was hanged at Tyburn on the day of his master's execution.

† I can adduce an eminent authority in praise of this treaty, which was, as I have said, the work of the statesmen. No less a person than Lord-chancellor Hyde, in his speech to both Houses, May 8, 1661, calls it "in very many respects the most advantageous treaty to this nation that ever was entered into with any prince or people." And again, in the same speech, he says, "Every article in it but one [a liberty given to Portugal to make levies of ten thousand men for their service] was entirely for the benefit of this nation, for the extraordinary advancement of trade, for the good of religion, and for the honour of the crown."—*Lives of the Lord-chancellors*, vol. ii., p. 172.

‡ I grieve to have to subjoin that, by an execution of a different kind some short time before, Cromwell had sought, and not unsuccessfully, to propitiate the Presbyterians. I was not acquainted with the circumstances till I saw them described in Dr. Lingard's History. Colonel Worsley had apprehended in his bed a Catholic clergyman of the name of Southworth, who, thirty-seven years before, had been convicted at Lancaster, and sent into banishment. The old man (*he had passed his seventy-second year*), at his arraignment, pleaded that he had taken orders in the Church of Rome, *but was innocent of any treason*. The recorder advised him to withdraw his plea, and gave him four hours for consideration. But Southworth still simply owned that he was a Catholic and in orders. Judgment of death was pronounced; and Cromwell, notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of the French and Spanish ambassadors, resolved that he should suffer. It was not that the new Protector approved of sanguinary punishments in matters of religion, but that he had no objection to purchase the good will of the fierce, sordid Presbyterians by shedding the blood of a priest. Whether it were through curiosity or respect, two hundred carriages and a crowd of horsemen followed the hurdle on which Southworth was drawn to the place of execution. On the scaffold he spoke with satisfaction of the manner of his death, but at the same time pointed out the inconsistency of the men who pretended to have taken up arms for liberty of conscience, and yet shed the blood of those who differed from them in religious opinions. He suffered the usual punishment of traitors.—*Lingard*, vol. ii., p. 211, 212.

§ This was in his doubt as to the real condition of things

his confidential emissaries, De Baas, had favoured it in London; but the execution of Gerard, and the as ignominious return of De Baas, convinced the cardinal of his error, and nothing hereafter checked the servile desire of favour with which "all the kings of the earth prostrated themselves before this idol."\* Ambassadors and envoys from most of the princes of Europe crowded to the court of the Protectorate, and the anterooms of its palace were filled with their hopes and fears. In receiving them he abridged no jot of the state of a sovereign. He had now removed all his family—including his aged and excellent mother, who passed her few remaining days and nights in continual alarm for her dear son's safety; his wife, "who seemed at first unwilling to remove thither, though afterward she became better satisfied with her grandeur;"† and his favourite daughter Claypole, whom, though married, he could not bear to see separated from his side; his gentle and even handsome likeness of himself, Mary; and his mirthful youngest Frances—from their old apartments in the Cockpit, to share the splendours of his palace at Whitehall. The latter had been newly furnished for their reception in a most costly and magnificent style; and in the banqueting-room was placed a chair of state on a platform, raised by three steps above the floor. Here the Protector stood to receive the ambassadors. They were instructed to make three reveren-

in England—a doubt for which even the crafty Italian may be well excused. The Royalists told him, it would seem, and naturally enough, that nothing could be more precarious and uncertain than the government of the Protector; that he was almost without friends; that the Anabaptists had deserted him; that the Republicans hated him; and that even the army was divided respecting him; while, on the other hand, the bulk of the English nation, the old Royalists, and the Presbyterians, looked with earnest impatience for the restoration of the house of Stuart. Mazarin, startled at last into some belief of this, despatched an emissary named De Baas, ostensibly to assist Bordeaux in his negotiations for a treaty, but in reality to confer with the Gerard conspirators, to inquire out the malecontents, and, if he found the schemes that were in contemplation feasible, to favour them to the extent of his power. But all this, as soon as conceived by Mazarin, was known to Cromwell, and shortly after De Baas's arrival in London, Cromwell sent for him, confronted him with one of the conspirators, and having heard him fully in his own vindication, overwhelmed him with indignation, his employer with scorn, and so dismissed him. Bordeaux, at the same time, lost no favour; he had not known anything of the plots, but continued admirably affected to the Protector.

\* Wicquelin, Ambassador and his Functions, p. 17.

† It is very strange, that about the only really illiberal passage to be found in Mrs. Hutchinson's delightful memoirs has relation to Cromwell's family. Had the woman's jealousy against woman—of which as little as ever lodged in heart may confidently be attributed to Lucy Hutchinson—anything to do with this? This is her remark: "His wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, *he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped*. His daughter Fleetwood was humbled, and not exalted with these things; but the rest were insolent fools. Claypole, who married his daughter, and his son Henry, were two debauched, ungodly Cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness. His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable, because they had not yet quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them. *True religion was now almost lost even among the religious party, and hypocrisy became an epidemical disease*, to the sad grief of Col. Hutchinson, and all true-hearted Christians and Englishmen." There is great power, and a most melancholy truth, in the last observation. I may subjoin, from a minute in the council-book, that the quarterly expenditure of the Protector's household amounted to £35,000. See entry of March 14, 1655.

‡ Ludlow, vol. ii., p. 488.

It was stipulated that neither Commonwealth should harbour or aid the enemies, rebels, or exiles of the other; but that either, being previously required, should order such enemies, rebels, or exiles to leave its territory, under the penalty of death, before the expiration of twenty-eight days. The main provisions of the treaty belong to history, and I need only here relate the other article to which I have referred. This was, that the same respect which had been paid to the flag of the king should be paid to that of the Commonwealth. The Dutch did not object, and the majority of the English people, not so thoroughly understanding the points surrendered as this which they had achieved, were loud in their rejoicings at this close of so long and terrible a war.

Peace was proclaimed with great solemnity, and "that same day, at night," says one of the Dutch ambassadors, Jongestall, in an interesting despatch to Frederic of Nassau, the "guns went off at the Tower, and aboard the ships three times, and bonfires made, according to the customs of the country, before Whitehall, and up and down the city. *We did the like on the back side of our house, towards the river, and burned near eighty pitch barrels, and we had trumpeters and others to play all the while. The river was so full of boats that there was hardly any water to be seen; at the same time, several lords and ladies of quality came to see us, whom we treated. In sum, all things were done here in great solemnity. Yesterday, at noon, we were invited to dinner to his royal highness the Lord Protector, where we were nobly entertained. Mr. Strickland and the master of the ceremonies came to fetch us in two coaches of his highness, about half an hour past one, and brought us to Whitehall, where twelve trumpeters were ready sounding against our coming. My Lady Nieuport and my wife were brought to his highness presently, the one by Mr. Strickland, and the other by the master of the ceremonies, who received us with great demonstrations of amity. After we stayed a little we were conducted into another room, where we found a table ready covered. His highness sat on one side of it, alone; my Lord Beverningk, Nieuport, and myself, at the upper end; and the Lord-president Lawrence, and others, next us. There was in the same room another table covered for other lords of the council and others. At the table of my Lady Protectrice dined my Lady Nieuport, my wife, my Lady Lambert, my Lord Protector's daughter, and mine. *The music played all the while we were at dinner. The Lord Protector had us into another room, where the Lady Protectrice and others came to us, where we had also music and voices, and a psalm sung, which his highness gave us, and told us that it was yet the best paper**

draw the demand; but he still intrigued, through the agency of Beverningk, with the leaders of the Louvestein faction, and obtained a secret article, by which the States of Holland and West Friesland promised never to elect the Prince of Orange for their stadtholder, nor suffer him to have the chief command of the army and navy. But the secret transpired; the other States highly resented this clandestine negotiation; complaints and remonstrances were answered by apologies and vindications; an open schism was declared between the provinces, and every day added to the exasperation of the two parties. The ultimate result was decidedly to strengthen the claims of the young Prince of Orange, and to baffle Cromwell.

*that had been exchanged between us. And from thence we were had into a gallery next the river, where we walked with his highness about half an hour, and then took our leaves, and were conducted back again to our houses, after the same manner as we were brought. My Lord Protector showed a great deal of kindness to my wife and daughter in particular.*" This is certainly a pleasing picture of Cromwell's courteous habits, and the at once dignified and graceful conduct of his household.

Nor did the muses refuse to give their aid to the dinners, the trumpets, and the pitch-barrels, in celebration of this peace. Cambridge and Oxford combined their choicest flowers of Greek and Latin verse into one rich garland for the brow of the Protector. The Cambridge vice-chancellor, Seaman, led the way: Arrow-smith, Tuckery, and Horton, men who were famous then; Whichcote and Cudworth, men famous still, followed after him.\* The elder and more venerable school of Oxford supplied names and tributes more memorable still. Doctor Owen, Doctor Zouch, Professor Harmer, Doctor Bathurst, Leonard Lichfield, and Doctor Bushy, joined one chorus of praise to Cromwell for his deeds in war and peace, and his generous patronage of learning.† It proved a good rehearsal for Charles II. Then a more modest voice from a greater than these, John Locke, at that time an accomplished student of Oxford, arose to dignify the theme.‡ Passing them with this allusion merely, I have been unable to pass one name which occurs towards the close of the list, subscribed to verses which transcend all the rest in a vile extravagance of praise. "Tu Dux," exclaims this fervent flatterer, in very pitiful phrases,

" . . . Tu dux pariter Terre Dumitorq; profundis,  
Componant ludes cuncta elementa tuas.  
Cui mens alta subest pelagus; profundior ipso,  
Cujus fama sonat, quam procul unda sonat.  
  
Tu poteris solus motos componere fluctus,  
Solut Neptunum sub tua vincula dare.  
Magna simul fortis vicisti et multa: Trophæis  
Ut mare, sic pariter cedit arena tuis.  
Nominis pacifico gestas insignia pacis,  
Blandaq; per titulum serpit Oliva tuos."

and the flatterer was Doctor South, who afterward earned a bishopric by calling Cromwell a bankrupt beggarly fellow, of threadbare coat and greasy hat!§

\* Other names of eminence in their day are also found among the authors of the Cambridge tributes, which were published with the title of "Oliva Pacis. Ad Illustrissimum Celsissimumque Oliverum, Reipub. Angliz, Scotiz, et Hiberniz Dominum Protectorem; de Pace cum Federatis Belgis feliciter sancita, Carmen Cantabrigiense."

† The Oxford men styled their effusions thus: "Musarum Oxoniensium 'ΕΛΛΗΘΕΨΤΑ. Sive, ob Fœdera, Auspicus Serenissimi Oliveri Reipub. Ang. Scot. et Hiber. Domini Protectoris, inter Reipub. Britannicam et Ordines Fœderatos Belgii Fœliciter Stabilita, Gentis Tutata ad Vada Isidis Celestina Metricum."

‡ The reader may be interested to see this early poetical effusion of the young philosopher and lover of toleration and liberty. Here it is:

"Pax regit Augusti, quem vicit Julius orbem:  
Ille ego factus clarior, ille togâ.  
Hos ana Roma vocat magnos et numina credit,  
Ille quod sit mundi victor, et ille quies.  
Tu bellum et pacem populis des, unus utraq;  
Major es; ipse orbem vincis, et ipse regis.  
Non hominem è cœlo missum Te credimus;  
Sic poteris binos qui superare deos!"

§ In another discourse he called him "a Jeroboam," and had the impudence to say that ecclesiastics of the University in Cromwell's

But the new Lord Protector of England had a nobler congratulation, and in better Latin, addressed to him at this period, with a name attached to it, which, though humble then, and kept down by the pressure of the world, has now risen higher than his own, or than that whole world itself, into the clearer region of immortality. Milton published his "Defensio Secunda," and thus addressed him. The Latin is noble, but it translates into still nobler English.

"Consider frequently," said this wise but too partial counsellor, "in thy inmost thoughts, how dear a pledge, from how dear a parent recommended and intrusted (the gift liberty, the giver thy country), thou hast received into thy keeping. Revere the hope that is entertained of thee, the confident expectation of England; call to mind the features and the wounds of all the brave men who under thy command have contended for this inestimable prize; call to mind the ashes and the image of those who fell in the bloody strife; respect the apprehension and the discourse that is held of us by foreign nations, how much it is they look for in the recollection of our liberty so bravely achieved, of our Commonwealth so gloriously constructed; which if it shall be in so short a time subverted, nothing can be imagined more shameful and dishonourable: last of all, REVERE THYSELF, so deeply bound, that that liberty, in securing which thou hast encountered such mighty hardships, and faced such fearful perils, shall, while in thy custody, neither be violated by thee, nor any way broken in upon by others. Recollect that *thou thyself canst not be free unless we are so; for it is filly so provided in the nature of things, that he who conquers another's liberty, in the very act loses his own*; he becomes, and justly, the foremost slave. But, indeed, if he, the patron of our liberty, and (if I may so speak) its tutelar divinity—if he, of whom we have held that no mortal was ever more just, more saintlike and unspotted, should undermine the freedom which he had but so lately built up, this would prove not only deadly and destructive to his own fame, but to the entire and universal cause of religion and virtue. The very substance of piety and honour will be seen to have evaporated, and the most sacred ties and engagements will cease to have any value with our posterity, than which a more grievous wound could not be inflicted on human interests and happiness since the fall of the first father of our race. Thou hast taken on thyself a task which will probe thee to the very vitals, and disclose to the eyes of all how much is thy courage, thy firmness, and thy fortitude; whether that piety, perseverance, moderation, and justice really exist in thee, in consideration of which we have believed that God hath given thee the supreme dignity over thy fellows. To govern three mighty states by thy counsels, to recall the people from their corrupt institutions to a purer and nobler discipline, to extend thy thoughts and send out thy mind to our remo-

when this poem was printed), that "Latin was with them a mortal crime, and Greek, instead of being owned for the language of the Holy Ghost (as in the New Testament it is), was looked upon as the sin against it; so that, in a word, they had all the confusions of Babel among them without the diversity of tongues."

test shores, to foresee all and to provide for all, to shrink from no labour, to trample under foot and tear to pieces all the snares of pleasure, and all the entangling seducements of wealth and power—these are matters so arduous, that in comparison of them the perils of war are but the sports of children. These will winnow thy faculties, and search thee to the very soul; they require a man sustained by a strength that is more than human, and whose meditations and whose thoughts shall be in perpetual commerce with his Maker."

Admitting the premises on which this counsel is founded, as freely as though under the immediate influence and persuasiveness of Cromwell himself, to which alone, on the sacred lips of such a man as Milton, they are fairly attributable, the time now approaches in which a test will be applied to it, and to the faith it rests upon, at once final and irrevocable. The Instrument of Government had fixed the 3d of December for the meeting of the first Parliament of the Protectorate, but in the writs now issued Cromwell inserted the 3d of September instead. That was his FORTUNATE DAY, his day of Dunbar and Worcester; and with a sense of how much good fortune he needed in the battle he was about to fight, he selected the 3d of September for his first meeting with this formidable enemy!

Meanwhile Whitelocke returned from Sweden with the ratification of a most favourable treaty of commerce between England and that country, and a prohibition of protection and favour to the enemies of either. It detached Sweden from the interest of France, and engaged it to maintain the liberty of trade in the Baltic against Denmark, which was in the interest of Holland. The news of Christina's extraordinary resignation of her crown followed hard upon his return, but her successor, Charles X., at once confirmed the treaty.\* This was no

\* Whitelocke has given so interesting and graphic a mention of Cromwell's style of receiving the ambassador who brought the confirmation and assent of Charles the Tenth, that the reader will thank me for inserting it here. "His (the ambassador's) people," says the memorialist, "went all bare, two and two before him in order, according to their qualities: the best men last; the master of the ceremonies next before him; I on his right hand, and Strickland on his left hand. They made a handsome show in this equipage, and so went up to the council chamber, where the ambassador reposed himself about a quarter of an hour, and then word being brought that the Protector was ready in the Banqueting House, he came down into the court again, and in the same order they went up into the Banqueting House. Whitehall court was full of soldiers in good order, the stairs and doors were kept by the Protector's guards in their livery coats, with halberds; the rooms and passages in very handsome order; the Banqueting House was richly hung with arras, multitudes of gentlemen in it, and of ladies in the galleries. The ambassador's people were all admitted into the room, and made a lane within the rails in the midst of the room. At the upper end, upon a foot-pace and carpet, stood the Protector, with a chair of state behind him, and divers of his council and servants about him. The master of the ceremonies went before the ambassador on the left side; the ambassador in the middle, betwixt me and Strickland, went up in the open lane of the room. As soon as they came within the room, at the lower end of the lane, they put off their hats: the ambassador a little while after the rest; and when he was uncovered, the Protector also put off his hat, and answered the ambassador's three salutations in his coming up to him, and on the foot-pace they saluted each other as usually friends do; and when the Protector put on his hat, the ambassador put on his as soon as the other. After a little pause, the ambassador put off his hat, and began to speak, and then put it on again; and whensoever in his speech he named the king his master, or Sweden, or the Protector, or England, he moved his hat, especially if he mentioned anything of God,



sooner done than the King of Denmark hastened to conciliate Cromwell also, and entered at once into a treaty that the English traders should pay no other customs or dues than the Dutch, and that thus they should be enabled to import on the same terms those naval stores which before, on account of the heavy duties, they had been content to buy at second-hand of the Dutch. Thus had the Lord Protector already signed four treaties favourable to England, on the part of four great countries to which she had been opposed, while France and Spain, held to have been the two proudest nations of the earth, inveterate foes to each other, were struggling in a mean rivalry as to which should first obtain his favour.

"Each knew that side must conquer he would own,  
And for him fiercely, as for empire, strive."

It is yet singular to observe, in one of his private letters of the time, that he puts on to his most confidential associates an appearance of infinite humility, a regret for his poverty of resources, and a reluctance to provoke too much of the attention of men to his personal and private doings. It is an answer to a request from the father of Richard Cromwell's wife, apparently a request for co-operation in some design of bestowing a new establishment on Richard and his wife, becoming their new rank as eldest son and daughter to the Lord Protector. But the Lord Protector is still the lord-general, and shows equal caution and care.

ДѢЯХЪ ВЪОТНѢН.—I received your loving letter, for which I thank you; and surely were it fitt to proceed in that business, you should not in the least have been putt upon anything but the trouble, for indeed the land in Essex, with some monie in my hand, and some other remnants, should have gone towards it. But indeed I am so unwilling to be a Seeker after the World, having had so much favour from the Lorde in giving me so much without seeking, and soe unwilling that Men should think me soe, which they will though you only appear in it (for they will by one meanes or other knowe it), that indeed I dare not meddle, nor proceed therein. Thus I have told you my

or the good of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the Protector still answered him in the like postures of civility. The ambassador spoke in the Swedish language, and after he had done, being but short, his secretary did interpret it in Latin. After his interpreter had done, the Protector stood still a pretty while, and putting off his hat to the ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English. This simultaneous compliment to the language of each country, unusual in these conferences, was thought highly striking at the time, and a new proof of Cromwell's affection and respect for Sweden. From another source, I present the speech of our Lord Protector, at once simple, direct, and happily turned. It is about the briefest and best specimen on record of Cromwell's eloquence in the Protectorate. "My lord ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge with thankfulness the respects and good affection of the king your master towards this Commonwealth, and towards myself in particular, whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory, and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his majesty's friendship and alliance. My lord, you are very welcome into England, and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the King of Swedland, as that which in my judgment will tend much to the honour and commoditie of both nations, and to the general advantage of the Protestant interest. I shall nominate some persons to meet and treat with your lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them."

4 D

plain thoughts. My heartie love I present to you and my Sister, and my blessinge and love to deere Doll and the little one, with love to all. I rest your loving brother,  
OLIVER, P."

Such letters may prove to us what things widely separate and apart were the private and public professions of this extraordinary man. In public he was clearly to be held as merely the organ of a higher power. Nothing was done by his "seekinge" there. It was God who spoke out in him; who elevated men or depressed them; who "rained snares" upon his enemies or blessings on his friends; who made him, Oliver Cromwell, a prince, whether he would or no, and was alone responsible for it!

"For yet dominion was not his design,  
We owe that blessing not to him, but heaven,  
Which to fair acts unsought rewards did join;  
Rewards, that less to him than us were given."†

In private it was another matter. It became him to reflect on his humility there, and do nothing that should provoke the remarks of men. He was dust, and would return to dust; and in relation to that melancholy element which merely composed himself, had only to be patient and suffer. It was the extreme rebound from this state of feeling which gave birth to his worst actions. God had taken him by the hand and given him permission to walk, when, "to show how he could walk, he strode."‡ Every new

\* It is addressed, "For my loving brother, Richard Major, Esq., at Horsley, in Hampshire." † Dryden.

‡ This is the expression of Walter Savage Landor, who says finer things, in better English, than any other writer of our time. It will be the honour and happiness of a succeeding age to discover the priceless value of his books. He has made allusions to Cromwell very lately, and though far from agreeing in all his remarks, they should find insertion not the less in every notice of our English Lord Protector. "Cromwell," says Mr. Landor, "was destitute of all those elegances which adorned the Roman dictator, but he alone possessed in an equal degree all those which ensure the constancy of fortune. . . . And was Cromwell, then, sincere and pure? Certainly not; but he began in sincerity; and he believed to the last that every accession of power was an especial manifestation of God's mercy. Fanaticism hath always drawn to herself such conclusions from the Bible. Power made him less pious, but more confident. God had taken him by the hand at first, and had now let him walk by himself. To show how he could walk, he strode. Religion, in the exercise of power, is more arbitrary, more intolerant, and more cruel than monarchy; and the sordid arrogance of Presbyterianism succeeded to the splendid tyranny of Episcopacy. The crosser of Laud was unbroken: those who had been the first in curbing it, seized and exercised it; it was to fall in pieces under the sword of Cromwell. To him alone are we indebted for the establishment of religious liberty. If a Vane and a Milton have acknowledged the obligation, how feeble were the voices of all men living if the voices of all men living were raised against it. Cromwell did indeed shed blood, but the blood he shed was solely for his country, although without it he never would have risen to the Protectorate." Mr. Landor, then, contrasting Cromwell with Napoleon, thus proceeds: "A king should never be struck unless in a vital part. Cromwell, with many scruples, committed not this mistake: Bonaparte, with none, committed it. The shadow of Cromwell's name overawed the most confident and haughty. He intimidated Holland, he humiliated Spain, and he twisted the supple Mazarin, the ruler of France, about his finger. All those nations had then attained the summit of their prosperity; all were unfriendly to the rising power of England; all trembled at the authority of that single man, who coerced at once her aristocracy, her priesthood, and her factions. No agent of equal potency and equal moderation had appeared upon earth before. He walked into a den of lions, and scoured them growing out: Bonaparte was pushed into a menagerie of monkeys, and faintest at their grimaces. . . . Rudeness, falsehood, malignity, and revenge, have belonged in common to many great conquerors, but never to one great man. Cromwell had imputed to the least vile of these; but on his assumption of power recollected that he was a gentleman. No but, no rally of ribaldry, no expression of contempt, was ever heard from the Lord Protector. He



accession to his power was, in other words, a new manifestation of God's mercy, and the very extravagance of his ways at last became only the fullest demonstration of his and of God's uncontrollable sovereignty! It is not hard to say what term we should apply to this, in any other case than that of Cromwell. Meanwhile, we see the disadvantages under which it placed his immediate associates, relatives, dependants, and followers, who had the man they knew in private to contrast with the man the public knew.

Between the issue of the writs and the meeting of Parliament, the Lord Protector was entertained in the city. Attended by his council, the principal officers of the army, and many persons of quality, he paraded in the midst of his life-guards from Whitehall to Temple Bar. Here the lord-mayor and aldermen were waiting for him, when the former, advancing to his coach, presented the city sword. This being returned, the recorder, in an inflated city speech, pronounced the compliments which are usually paid to sovereigns, to "which learned harangue the Lord Protector returned for answer 'that he was greatly obliged to the city of London for this and all former testimonies of respect;' and then, mounting his horse of state, rode in a kind of triumph through the principal streets, the several companies, in their livery gowns, being placed on each side thereof, in scaffolds erected for that purpose; the lord-mayor carrying the sword bareheaded before him to Grocers' Hall, where a most magnificent entertainment was provided. After dinner his highness knighted the lord-mayor, and made him a present of his own sword from his side, which was the first instance of the Protector's assuming this piece of regal grandeur. The bells rang all the day; the Tower guns were fired at his highness's taking leave of the city; and, about seven in the evening, he and his attendants returned back to Whitehall in their coaches."\* Ludlow has a striking remark, in his memoirs, on the result of this city visit. The exhibition, he says, was contrived to let the world see how good a "correspondence" prevailed between the Protector and the capital, but among discerning men it had a contrary effect. It was perceived to be an act of force rather than of choice. This appeared in the great silence and little respect that was given to the Lord Protector in his passage through the streets, although he, to invite such respect, rode bareheaded the greatest part of the way.

conciliate, or spell-bind the master-spirits of his age; but it is a genius of a far different order that is to seize and hold futurity; it must be such a genius as Shakspeare's or Milton's. No sooner was Cromwell in his grave than all he had won for himself and his country vanished. If we must admire the successful, however brief and hollow the advantages of their success, our admiration is not due to those whose resources were almost inexhaustible, and which nothing but profligate imprudence could exhaust, but to those who resisted great forces with small means, such as Kosciusko and Hofer, Hannibal and Sertorius, Alexander and Cæsar, Charles of Sweden and Frederic of Prussia. Above all these, and above all princes, stands high Gustavus Adolphus, one of whose armies, in the space of six weeks, had seen the estuary of the Elbe and the steeples of Vienna; another, if a fever had not wasted it on the Lake of Como, would, within less time, have chanted Luther's hymn in St. Peter's. . . . Signal as were Cromwell's earlier services to his country," ends Mr. Landor, with a terrible and indisputable truth, "he lived a hypocrite, and died a traitor."

\* Parliamentary History, vol. xx., p. 274.

"Some of his creatures had placed themselves at the entrance of Cheapside, and began to shout; yet it took not at all with the people." The people had not, in truth, in any way recovered their indifference, notwithstanding all the efforts of the last twelve months to propitiate and excite them. It remained to be seen what a Parliament would do.

At last arrived the eventful 3d of September. It happened to be Sunday, but Cromwell still adhered to his resolve that the new members returned to serve in Parliament should meet that day. Many things were strong in him, but none so strong, with all his earnest submission to the hand of God in human affairs, as a superstitious sense of destiny and fortune. Upward of three hundred representatives of the people met accordingly, on Sunday afternoon, in the abbey church of Westminster, and thence repaired to the House of Commons at about four o'clock. Here a message was sent, that the Lord Protector awaited them in the Painted Chamber, where he had arrived by water from Whitehall. Thither they went accordingly to his highness, who, "standing bare, upon a pedestal erected for that purpose," told them that, having met, he desired they would now adjourn, since he had things to communicate to them "not so fit to be delivered that day," and would, if they so pleased, meet them on the morning of the day following, in the abbey church of Westminster. The members bowed obedience, returned to their House, and formally adjourned.\*

It must have heavily taxed Cromwell's faith in his fortunate day to withhold from sad forebodings as he returned that evening to his palace. He could have little hope from those three hundred English representatives, among whom he had seen steadily gazing upon him, as he spoke in the Painted Chamber, the well-remembered faces of Scot, of Hazlerig, and Bradshaw! Still Vane was not among them; nor Harry Marten, nor Algernon Sidney, nor Edmund Ludlow. There was in that no indifferent consolation. He had also succeeded in his efforts to exclude some few of the more fierce Republican officers, for all the power of his government had been put forth to influence the elections; and, not content with this, the various returns had been officially examined by a committee of his council, under pretext of seeing that the provisions of the "Instrument" were observed. It was this pretext which sufficed to exclude Major Wildman, Lord Grey of Groby, and a few others, while Harrison and the more violent Anabaptists were again placed under positive restraint. He had also secured the election of all his council, his principal officers, and his household, excepting the Lord-viscount Lisle. His sons Richard and Henry were returned, and Fairfax and Blake. Many of the nobility had been rejected, but the Earl of Stamford, the Earl of Salisbury, and a few others, had secured seats. Judges Hale and Thorpe, Sergeant Glyn, and the Oxford vice-chancellor Owen, sat also in this celebrated assembly, than which no authoritative body, with greater

\* Parl. Hist., vol. xx., p. 317.

† Vane's motives for withholding from public exertions at this crisis have sufficiently been touched on in his memoir, with the other incidents which marked his career as such after the Protectorate.

claims to respect and attention, had sat down in England since November, 1640. Returned, for the most part, under a fair working of many admirable provisions out of Vane's reform bill, it represented, beyond a doubt, the sense of at least one large and most respectable portion of the influential English people. The small boroughs, the places most exposed to influence and corruption, had been disfranchised. Of the four hundred members of which the Parliament consisted, two hundred and fifty-one had been chosen by the counties, and the rest by London and the more considerable corporations. The meanest of the people, too, had been excluded from the elective franchise, a property of two hundred pounds having been required to qualify any one to vote. One most considerable limitation had, indeed, been placed on all this freedom, which was, that the plan of electing the sixty members who were to represent Scotland and Ireland not being thoroughly fixed, they were in a particular degree subject to the influence of the court. In addition to this, it is only needful to observe, that all persons who had in any way aided and assisted in the civil war against the Parliament, together with their sons, were disqualified to vote. The Lord Protector had at least no pretence to say that out of factional hatred to all authority save their own, Royalists, Republicans, and Presbyterians had, for once, consented to act together.

At ten o'clock on the morning of Monday, the 4th of September, Cromwell proceeded in great state from Whitehall to the Abbey of Westminster. He was preceded by two troops of life-guards; then rode some hundreds of gentlemen and officers, bareheaded, and in splendid apparel; immediately before the state carriage walked the pages and lackeys of the Protector in rich liveries, and on each side a captain of the guard; behind it came Claypole, master of the horse, leading a charger magnificently caparisoned; and Claypole was followed by the great officers of state and the members of the council. All eyes were fixed on Cromwell himself, a striking and proud contrast to the gorgeous parade of the procession. He was dressed in a plain suit, after the simple fashion of a country gentleman; but he wore his hat, while Lambert, who occupied the opposite seat of the carriage, sat splendidly attired, and bareheaded. After sermon, all the members hurried over to the Painted Chamber, and seated themselves uncovered, on benches ranged around the walls. The Lord Protector then entered, and took his place in the chair of state, from which he soon afterward rose, removed his hat, and addressed the assembly in a speech which lasted three hours.

This speech was at once artful and able: very forcibly and simply expressed where he had any case to lodge against the policy of his adversaries; most involved, obscure, and villainously verbose where he affected to disclose his own purposes: it was profound in its various points of craft and dissimulation; pious and fervently enthusiastic to the saints; modest and lowly to the Republicans.

He began by telling them that they were met on the greatest occasion their country had ever witnessed. He dwelt on those evils with which England had lately been menaced; he craftily

referred to the dangerous principles of the Levellers, striking, as he said, at the root of all property; and, safe in the sympathy of his audience on that head, he denounced the wild spirit of the various sects of Fifth Monarchy men, which, he asseverated, aimed at directly extirpating the very existence of the clerical order, on the pretence that it was Babylonish and anti-Christian. Alluding, then, with a cold and deliberate hypocrisy, to the proceedings of the Barbone Convention, he asserted that projects and conspiracies had been extensively formed among its members for the subversion of all those laws which had been produced by the revolution of property and the manners of our ancestors, and for substituting in their stead the law of Moses. He next, with a view to propitiate the Independents and Republicans who listened to him, threw out subtle allusions to the difference between liberty of conscience as that convention would have established it, to the overthrow of all government and ministry, and the liberty of conscience he would substitute in its stead. "Such considerations and pretensions," he observed, "of liberty of conscience and liberty of subjects, two as glorious things to be contended for as any God has given us; yet both these also abused for the patronising of villainies, in so much as that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm, that it was *not in the magistrate's power*; he had nothing to do with it; *not so much as the printing a Bible in the nation for the use of the people, lest it be imposed on the consciences of men*; for they must receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the power of the magistrate, if thus received. The aforementioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us. *The axe was thus laid to the root of the ministry*: it was anti-Christian—it was Babylonish. It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth of it is, as the extremity was great on that, I wish it prove not so on this hand. The extremity *was*, that no man having a good testimony, having received gifts from Christ, might preach, if not ordained. So *now*, many on the other hand affirm, that he who is ordained hath a nullity or anti-Christianism stamped upon his calling, so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard. I wish it may not too justly be said that there was severity and sharpness—yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these; denying liberty to those who have earned it with their blood—who have gained civil liberty, and religious also, for those who would thus impose upon them."

In a still more artful passage of most accomplished dissimulation, Cromwell managed to associate the Fifth Monarchy men with the practices of the Jesuits, attributing to the latter much of the confusion that had risen. "Notions," he said, "will hurt none but them that have them; but when they come to such practices as to tell us that liberty and property are not the badges of the kingdom of Christ, and tell us that, instead of regulating laws, laws are to be abrogated, indeed subverted, and perhaps would bring in the Judaical law instead of our known laws settled among us—this is worthy of every magistrate's consideration, especially where every stone is turned to bring confusion."

While these things were in the midst of us, and the nation rent and torn, in spirit and principle, from one end to another, after this sort and manner I have now told you, family against family, husband against wife, parents against children, and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but 'overturn, overturn, overturn' (a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits), *the common adversary in the mean time sleeps not*; and our adversaries, in civil and spiritual respects, did take advantage of these divisions and distractions, and did practise accordingly in the three nations. *We know very well that emissaries of the Jesuits never came in those swarms as they have done since these things were set on foot.*"

He then resumed his general view of affairs. To add to our miseries, he said, we had been at war with all our neighbours. Contest with Holland had absorbed all the pecuniary resources, while a commercial war with France and Portugal cramped the industry of the nation. He bade them contrast this picture with the existing state of things. At last, everything having been driven to the worst, and a remedy having become indispensable, that remedy had been found; namely, the government which was instituted in the preceding December. That government had effected a happy peace with all Protestant states, with Holland, with Sweden, and with Denmark, and so had relieved us from an accumulation of ruinous expenses, and opened many salutary channels for our trade. A treaty had been signed with Portugal, also, which would place the British trader beyond the reach of the Inquisition, and another was in progress with the ambassador of the French monarch. Nor had the government been inattentive to internal advantages: they had made considerable progress in a plan for the reformation of the law, which would in due time be laid before Parliament; they had placed the administration of justice in the hands of men of known integrity and ability; they had reformed the Court of Chancery; they had taken proper measures for establishing the clerical functions in men of piety, soberness, morality, and learning, and "a stop had been put to that heady way, for every man who pleased to become a preacher." A passage from this portion of the speech will show the simplicity and plainness with which Cromwell expressed himself on the few occasions when he dared to do so.

"It hath," he said, speaking still of his government, "had some things in desire, and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the laws—I say, to reform them; and, for that end, it hath called together persons (without reflection) of as great ability and as great integrity as are in these nations, to consider how the laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the people; how to lessen expense for the good of the nation; and those things are in preparation, and bills prepared, which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. There hath been care taken to put the administration of the laws into the hands of just men—men of the most known integrity and ability. . . The Chancery hath been reformed, and, I hope, to the

just satisfaction of all good men; and, for the things depending there, which made the burden and work of the honourable persons intrusted in those services beyond their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the courts of law at Westminster."

The last assertion made by the Lord Protector on behalf of his authority on this memorable occasion was afterward remembered to his bitter disadvantage. Not the least, he said, did it rank in their claims to public gratitude that they had been instrumental in bringing together *this free Parliament*. They had thus brought the three nations by hasty strides towards the land of promise; it was for that Parliament to introduce them into it. The prospect was bright before them; let them not look back to the onions and fleshpots of Egypt. He entreated of the persons there assembled to put the top-stone to the work which they had so auspiciously begun, and make the nation happy. He said that their task was that of composing all understandings and jealousies, and he professed to them that, if this meeting did not prove healing, he was at a loss to decide what was next most advisable to be done. He spoke not as their lord, he protested, but as their fellow-servant—their fellow-labourer with them in the same good work, and would, therefore, detain them no longer, but desire them to repair to their own House and choose their speaker. This elaborate speech, we are told by its reporter, was followed by tokens of satisfaction, and hums of approbation, from various parts of the assembly.

The approbation lasted but a little time, however; for when, on the return of the members to their own House, the court officers rose and proposed Lenthall as the speaker, the opposition immediately named a rival candidate in the formidable person of Bradshaw. They did not care, however, to press the election to the vote. They did not so much object to Lenthall, as they desired to show the independent and free spirit with which they had there assembled: so Lenthall was elected: the one party glad, because they had secured in him a timid and time-serving tool; the other not sorry, because in him they saw a remnant of their old Long Parliament, and could even suppose his present election one step towards a revival of the great assembly in which he had so long presided. But no one of the court party dared propose to offer him, according to ancient custom, to the acceptance of the chief magistrate, and so, in the presence of this Parliament, for the first time since his inauguration, tumbled down the Lord Protector's claim to all the privileges of royalty.

A more significant movement followed. On the second day, Bradshaw, to the amazement and alarm of the court, moved that they should form themselves into a committee of the whole House, to deliberate on the question whether the House should approve of the system of government by a single person and a Parliament. A fierce debate followed, in which it was repeatedly asked why the members of the Long Parliament then present should not resume the authority of which they had been illegally deprived by force, and by what right

but that of the sword, one man presumed to "command his commanders;" and, ultimately, the motion was carried by a majority of *five*. Cromwell's excitement became extreme. He was but little composed by the assurance that many of those who voted in the majority had not objected to the authority of the Protector, but to the source from which it emanated—a written instrument, the author of which was unknown; and rather wished it to be settled on him by act of Parliament.\*

Bradshaw and his friends, meanwhile, moved forward undiminished. For four successive days, the 7th, the 8th, the 9th, and the 11th of September, the committee remained in discussion on this question; the debates were in the highest degree animated; and the House sat late each day. Bradshaw, Hazlerig, and Scot eminently, on all these days, distinguished themselves, and, Ludlow informs us, "were very instrumental in opening the eyes of many young members, who had never before heard the public interest so clearly stated and asserted, so that the Commonwealth party increased every day, and that of the sword lost ground proportionally." One "noble gentleman," we farther ascertain, made a speech, in which he said that the snares that were laid to entrap the liberties of the people were such as it was impossible to mistake; but that, for his own part, as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one person, so he could not endure to see the nation's rights ready to be shackled by another, whose claim to the government could be measured no otherwise than by the length of his sword.

The arguments on both sides in this very famous discussion have been happily preserved for us in the rough heads of Goddard's diary,† and may be briefly arranged and summed up thus. The Protector's party insisted that the government of the Commonwealth was to be admitted entire, such as it had been established in the preceding December; and the other party asserted the paramount authority of the Parliament, and that nothing was to be admitted as of validity that had not the sanction of the national representatives. The court retorted, under the instructions of their master, that, since it had been approved by the people, the only real source of power, it could not be subject to revision by the representatives of the people! Not so, rejoined even the most moderate members in opposition. Waving the question of ascendancy, and Cromwell's title to assume it, they still objected to the language of the Instrument, and said that, instead of affirming that "the supreme legislative authority shall be in one person, and the people assembled in Parliament," it ought to be, "in the Parliament of the people of England, and a single person qualified with such instructions as that assembly should authorize." Upon this the court fled from the "right" and took up the "expedient." They obscurely threatened. With whatever fair speeches, they said, the Protector had opened the Parliament, it could not be expected that he would divest himself of his authority, and that it would therefore be their wisdom cheerfully to yield what it was

not in their power to withhold. They added, that the co-ordinate power of legislation given him by the Instrument was merely a negative *pro tempore*, extending to a term of twenty days only; and that a milder prerogative than this it was impossible to devise. They dwelt with emphatical commendation upon the article which limited the sitting of Parliament to a period of five months, and indulged in terms of bitter reproach against that feature of the government of the Long Parliament, in which they had shown themselves disposed to prolong their authority without limitation. Such a usurpation should be carefully provided against in future!\*

While the argument rested thus, Judge Matthew Hale went down to the House on the fourth day to endeavour to effect a compromise.† He proposed that the legislative authority should be affirmed to be in the Parliament of the people of England, and a single person qualified with such instructions as that assembly should authorize in the manner suggested by the Republicans. But, to render this palatable to the executive magistrate, and practicable under the circumstances, he recommended that the military power for the present should be unequivocally given to the Protector; and, to avoid the perpetuity of Parliament, and other exorbitances in their claims of supremacy, that that officer should be allowed such a co-ordination as might serve for a check in those points.

The conduct of the Republicans at this crisis deserves especial attention: it is their final and ample vindication from the favourite charges with which history is so rife against them. They had chosen, on the issue of writs for this Parliament, to depart from the sterner principle of their great associate, Sir Henry Vane—who refused even to answer to the authority of the Protectorate as a thing under which no good could be achieved for liberty—and to offer themselves for selection by the people. The electors of Buckinghamshire at once returned Scot; those of Cheshire, Bradshaw; those of Newcastle on Tyne, Sir Arthur Hazlerig; and those of Durham, Robert Lilburne. These were all large and eminent constituencies, and altogether by such indeed were the chief portion of the Republicans returned. Having taken this step, they resolved to work it out fairly to its results. They showed themselves neither headlong nor pragmatismal, but able and most practical politicians. Waiving their sense of the superior force and virtue of a republic, they conceded the argument of the court that power might be delegated profitably to a single person. But if this is so, they said, we must control his resources for mischief, and make him indeed the servant of the people and the laws. We are not here now for the support of our own visionary theories, but we stand for the substance of solid justice, and we will have it. Fair play to the Protectorate must imply fair play to the people, or it is based upon a lie. We will make any concessions on that principle, in the faith that so long as the popular voice is heard, and its influence acknowl-

\* Thurloe, vol. ii., p. 608.

† See the *Barton Diary*—Introduction.

\* Godwin, vol. iv., p. 118.

† This was first disclosed in Goddard's *Diary* (introduction to Barton's); and see also Godwin, vol. iv., p. 118.

edged, the people will eventually be able to right themselves and their cause. They agreed to the compromise proposed by Hale, and stripped off the last pretence from Cromwell. The course now taken by the Lord Protector sets the final stamp of reprobation on his political career.

On the morning of the 12th of September, having on the previous evening rejected Hale's proposition with scorn, he commanded Lenthall to attend him in Whitehall with the mace; he at the same time ordered Harrison, whose partisans were in motion for the Parliament, to be again taken into close custody;\* he sent for the lord-mayor, and despatched three regiments to occupy the principal posts in the city; he ordered the doors of the House in which the Parliament had assembled since its meeting to be locked, and filled the avenues in Palace Yard and Scotland Yard with four companies of foot. At eight o'clock all this had been done! The members in succession repaired to the place of their sitting, but found themselves excluded, and were told that the Protector would speedily arrive at the Painted Chamber, where he proposed to receive them.

Here he received them accordingly; and laying aside at once his modesty and his mysticism, addressed them in a vigorous speech. "Gentlemen," he said, "it is not long since I met you in this place, upon an occasion which gave much more content and comfort than this doth. That which I have to say to you now will need no preamble to let me into my discourse, for the occasion of this meeting is plain enough. I could have wished, with all my heart, there had been no cause for it. At that meeting I did acquaint you what the first rise was of this government which hath called you hither, and in the authority of which you came hither. Among other things that I told you of then, I said you were a *free Parliament*; and so you are, *while you own the government and authority that called you hither; for certainly that word implied a reciprocation, or implied nothing at all.* Indeed, there was a reciprocation implied and expressed, and I think your actions and carriages ought to be suitable; but I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my office, which I have not been apt to do. I have been of this mind, I have been always of this mind, since first I entered upon it, that if God will not bear it up, let it sink. But if a duty be incumbent upon me to bear my testimony unto it (which in modesty I have hitherto forborne), I am in some measure now necessitated thereunto, and therefore that will be the prologue to my discourse."

He now proceeded to declare frankly, as the grounds on which he made this most extraordinary claim of reciprocation, that his calling was from God, his testimony from the people, and that no one but God and the people should ever take his office from him. It was not of his seeking: God knew that it was his utmost ambition to lead the life of a country gentleman; but imperious circumstances had imposed it upon him. I cannot forbear to quote these extraordinary passages, in which he rapidly, and in language of very passionate clearness, reviewed the circumstances of his life,

\* He was released after a week's detention.

and pushed to its very uttermost extreme what seems to have been the most fatal doctrine of his whole career: that since God had chosen him to be the successful champion of his holy cause, the very honour of the divinity himself had become identified with his own personal advancement, and, *safe in his first condition of grace*, any falsehood or hypocrisy would be pardoned him for the sake of the ulterior advantages which, by their means, he would achieve. There is possibly some distinction from ordinary and mean falsehood in this, so far as a pollution of the mind and heart is implied in it, but there is no distinction in its wicked results upon the world. It is entitled to consideration as a metaphysical subtlety, and in some explanation of the fact that Oliver Cromwell is very nearly, if not quite, a solitary specimen of a great man who was not also a *true one*.

"I called not myself to this place—I say again, I called not myself to this place; *of that God is witness*; and I have many witnesses who, I do believe, could readily lay down their lives to bear witness to the truth of that—that is to say, that I called not myself to this place; and being in it, I bear not witness to myself, but God and the people of these nations have borne testimony to it also. If my calling be from God, and my testimony from the people, God and the people shall take it from me, else I will not part with it. I should be false to the trust that God hath placed in me, and to the interest of the people of these nations, if I should. That I called not myself to this place, is my first assertion. That I bear not witness to myself, but have many witnesses, is my second. These are the two things I shall take the liberty to speak more fully to you of. To make plain and clear that which I have said, I must take the liberty to look back. *I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity.* I have been called to several employments in the nation—to serve in Parliament; and, because I would not be over-tedious, I did endeavour to discharge the duty of an honest man in those services, to God and his people's interest, and of the Commonwealth, having, when time was, a competent acceptance in the hearts of men, and some evidences thereof. I resolve not to recite the times, and occasions, and opportunities that have been appointed me by God to serve him in, nor the presence and blessings of God then bearing testimony to me. Having had some occasions to see (together with my brethren and countrymen) a happy period put to our sharp wars and contests with the then common enemy, *I hoped, in a private capacity*, to have reaped the fruit and benefit, together with my brethren, of our hard labours and hazards; to wit, *the enjoyment of peace and liberty, and the privileges of a Christian and of a man, in some equality with others.* according as it should please the Lord to dispense unto me. And when, I say, God had put an end to our wars—at least, brought them to a very hopeful issue, very near an end—after Worcester fight, I came up to London to pay my service and duty to the Parliament that then sat; and hoping that all minds would have been disposed to answer that which seemed to be the mind of God, viz., to give peace and rest to his peo-

ple, and especially to those who had bled more than others in the carrying on of the military affairs, I was much disappointed of my expectation, for the issue did not prove so. Whatever may be boasted or misrepresented, *it was not so, not so*. I can say, in the simplicity of my soul, I love not. I love not (I declined it in my former speech), I say, I love not to rake into sores, or to discover nakednesses; that which I drive at is this: I say to you, *I hoped to have had leave to have retired to a private life: I begged to be dismissed of my charge; I begged it again and again; and God be judge between me and all men if I lie in this matter*. That I lie not in matter of fact, is known to very many; but whether I tell a lie in my heart, as labouring to represent to you that which was not upon my heart, I say the Lord be judge! let uncharitable men, that measure others by themselves, judge as they please. As to the matter of fact, I say it is true. As to the ingenuity and integrity of my heart in that desire, I do appeal, as before, upon the truth of that also. But I could not obtain what my soul longed for; and the plain truth is, I did afterward apprehend that some did think (my judgment not suiting with theirs) that it could not well be. But this, I say to you, was between God and my soul—between me and that assembly.

*"I confess I am in some strait to say what I could say, and what is true of what then followed. I pressed the Parliament, as a member, to period themselves, once, and again, and again, and ten, nay, twenty times over. I told them (for I knew it better than any one man in the Parliament could know it, because of my manner of life, which was to run up and down the nation, and so might see and know the temper and spirits of all men, the best of men) that the nation loathed their sitting: I knew it; and, so far as I could discern, when they were dissolved, there was not so much as the barking of a dog, or any general and visible repining at it. You are not a few here present that can assert this as well as myself; and that there was high cause for their dissolution, is most evident, not only in regard there was a just fear of that Parliament's perpetuating themselves, but because it was their design; and had not their heels been trod upon by importunities from abroad, even to threats, I believe there would never have been thoughts of rising, or of going out of that room, to the world's end! I myself was sounded, and by no mean persons tempted, and addresses were made to me to that very end, that it might have been thus perpetuated: that the vacant places might be supplied by new elections, and so continue from generation to generation. I have declined, I have declined very much, to open these things to you; yet, having proceeded thus far, I must tell you, that poor men, under this arbitrary power, were driven like flocks of sheep, by forty in a morning, to the confiscation of goods and estates, without any man being able to give a reason that two of them had deserved to forfeit a shilling. I tell you the truth, and my soul; and many persons whose faces I see in this place were exceedingly grieved at these things, and knew not which way to help it but by their mournings, and giving their negatives when occasions served. I have given you but a taste*

of miscarriages. I am confident you have had opportunities to hear much more of them, for nothing is more obvious. 'Tis true this will be said, that there was a remedy to put an end to this perpetual Parliament endeavoured, by having a future representative. How it was gotten, and by what importunities that was obtained, and how unwillingly yielded unto, is well known. What was this remedy? It was a seeming willingness to have successive Parliaments. What was that succession? It was, that when one Parliament had left their seat, another was to sit down immediately in the room thereof, without any caution to avoid that which was the danger, viz., perpetuating of the same Parliaments; which is a sore now that will ever be running, so long as men are ambitious and troublesome, if a due remedy be not found. So, then, what was the business? It was a conversion from a Parliament that should have been, and was perpetual, to a legislative power always sitting; and so the liberties, and interests, and lives of people, not judged by any certain known laws and power, but by an arbitrary power, which is incident and necessary to Parliaments; by an arbitrary power, I say, to make men's estates liable to confiscation, and their persons to imprisonments; sometimes by laws made after the fact committed; often by taking the judgment, both in capital and criminal things, to themselves, who, in former times, were not known to exercise such a judicature."

And thus, he now proceeded to assert, as the Long Parliament brought their dissolution upon themselves by despotism, so the little Parliament by imbecility. On each occasion, he added, he had found himself invested in absolute power with the military, and through them over the three nations. He described what they proposed to do at the dissolution of the Barbones Convention, and then continued thus: "I denied it again and again, as God and those persons know: not complementingly, as they also know, and as God knows. I confess, after many arguments, and after the letting of me know that I did not receive anything that put me into any higher capacity than I was in before; but that it limited me, and bound my hands to act nothing to the prejudice of these nations without consent of a council, until the Parliament, and then limited by the Parliament, as the Act of Government expresseth; I did accept it. I might repeat this again to you, if it were needful; but I think I need not. *I was arbitrary in power, having the armies in the three nations under my command; and truly not very ill-beloved by them, nor very ill-beloved then by the people, by the good people; and I believe I should have been more beloved if they had known the truth, as things were before God and in themselves, and before divers of those gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you.*" But this arbitrary power, he continued, he always desired to be freed from; and if he had acquiesced in the "Instrument" of the Protectorate, it was because it made the Parliament a check on the Protector, and the Protector on the Parliament! "The next thing I promised you, wherein I hope I shall not be so long (though I am sure this occasion does require plainness and freedom), is, that I brought not myself into

this condition, as in my own apprehension I did not;\* and that I did not, the things being true which I have told you, I submit it to your judgment, and there shall I leave it, let God do what he pleaseth. The other things, I say, that I am to speak to you of, are, that I have not, nor do not bear witness to myself. I am far from alluding to Him that said so; yet truth concerning a member of his He will own, though men do not. But I think, if I mistake not, *I have a cloud of witnesses: I think so, let men be as forward as they will.* I have witness within, without, and above."

These witnesses he then summoned forth in order. He had, he said, God for a witness above, and his own conscience for a witness within. Then, for his "cloud of witnesses" without, he had all those who attended when he took the oath of fidelity to the "Instrument;" he had the officers in the army in the three nations, who testified their approbation by their signatures; the city of London, which feasted him; the counties, cities, and boroughs, that had sent him addresses; the judges, magistrates, and sheriffs, who acted by his commission; and the very men who now stood before him, for they came there in obedience to his writ, and under the express condition that "the persons so chosen should not have power to change the government as settled in one single person and the Parliament." He averred to them, finally, that he would not dispute that they were "*a free Parliament*;" free to deliberate for the general welfare; but added, that there were some things fundamental, from which they were not at liberty to depart. These were four: the government by a single

\* I have quoted this passage that I may subjoin in a note the admirable and most powerful remarks that are made with evident reference to it by the poet Cowley, in his famous Vision: "Are we then," asks Cowley—supposing Cromwell's assertion believed that he had become, by his office in the army, arbitrary in power—"are we so unhappy as to be conquered by the person whom we hired at a daily rate, like a labourer, to conquer others for us? Did we furnish him with arms only to draw and try upon our enemies, and keep them forever sheathed in the bowels of his friends? Did we fight for liberty against our prince, that we might become slaves to our servant? The right of conquest can only be exercised upon those against whom the war is declared; and the victory obtained; so that no whole nation can be said to be conquered but by a foreign force. In all civil wars, men are so far from stating the quarrel against their country, that they do it only against a person or party which they really believe, or at least pretend, to be pernicious to it; neither can there be any just cause for the destruction of a part of the body, but when it is done for the preservation and safety of the whole. 'Tis our country that raises men in the quarrel, our country that arms, our country that pays them, our country that authorizes the undertaking, and that distinguishes it from rapine and murder. Lastly, 'tis our country that directs and commands the army, and is indeed their general; so that to say in civil wars that the prevailing party conquers their country, is to say the country conquers itself; and if the general only of that party be the conqueror, the army by which he is made so is no less conquered than the army which is beaten, and have as little reason to triumph in that victory, by which they lose both their honour and liberty; so that if Cromwell conquered any party, it was only that against which he was sent; and what that was must appear by his commission." As powerfully and conclusively, though in support of unsound views, does the vigorous hand of Cowley shatter the pretences which Cromwell founds throughout this speech, on the circumstance of authority having fallen to pieces, when he was requested to reunite it. "The government was broke: who broke it? It was dissolved: who dissolved it? It was extinguished: who was it but Cromwell, who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then purchase himself of the whole house, because 'tis better that he, than that only rats, should live there!"

person and a Parliament; that Parliaments should be successive, and not attempt to make themselves perpetual; liberty of conscience, and the vesting of the power of the sword and of the militia in the single person and the Parliament. And here he paused for an instant, with a remark on one of these fundamentals, only to show the more clear-sighted of his listeners, though in reality designed to throw dust in their eyes, what little chance there was, in his thorough knowledge of what was right, that he would ever, by any mistake, diverge into it. "Is not liberty of conscience in religion a fundamental? So long as there is liberty of conscience for the supreme magistrate to exercise his conscience in erecting what form of church government he is satisfied he should set up, why should he not give it to others? *Liberty of conscience is a natural right; and he that would have it, ought to give it,* having liberty to settle what he likes for the public. Indeed, that hath been one of the vanities of our contest. *Every sect saith, Oh! give me liberty. But give him it, and, to his power, he will not yield it to anybody else.* Where is our ingenuity! Truly that is a thing ought to be very reciprocal."

These fundamentals, he added in conclusion, he had thought so plain, that he had not conceived it necessary that he should require of the members the owning of their call, and the authority which had brought them together, previously to their entering the place of their deliberations. But they had obliged him to come to another conclusion; and he had accordingly put a stop to their entrance into the Parliament House, and caused a recognition of the government to be prepared, which it would be necessary for every member to sign in the lobby before he would be allowed to advance farther. *The recognition was a simple engagement to be true and faithful to the Lord Protector and Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and not to consent to an alteration of the government, as it was settled in one person and a Parliament.*

The members left the Painted Chamber confusedly, and again repaired to the door of their own House. They found a guard of soldiers stationed there, and on a table in the adjoining lobby a parchment lying for signatures. An officer of the army had been appointed to take their subscriptions; and, one by one, as they conformed themselves to this requisition, they were to be allowed to enter. Lenthal, the speaker, at once advanced and signed. Bradshaw, Scot, and Hazlerig, with an indignant protest of defiance and scorn, turned their backs on the degrading scene, and were followed by about a hundred men. The rest, either on the spot, or after some days' inducement from the army and the court, consented to sign the recognition. These amounted to nearly three hundred. Subsequent events showed, however, that they had signed it with a mental reservation.

This Parliament now loses its claim to our respect, but, as the reader will find, not altogether to our interest. Before it resumed its deliberations, an ominous occurrence had befallen Cromwell. Among the presents he had received from foreign princes were six handsome gray Friesland coach-horses, from the Duke of Oldenburg. The humour took him

one day to dine with Thurloe under the shade of the park, and afterward to try, with his own hand, the mettle of these horses, "not doubting," observes Ludlow, with bitter sarcasm, "but the three pair of animals he was about to drive would prove as tame as the three nations which were ridden by him." The result was curious, and will be best related in the language of the time.

The Dutch ambassadors thus write to their States-General: "After the sending away of our letters of last Friday, we were acquainted the next morning, which we heard nothing of the night before, that about that time a mischance happened to the Lord Protector, which might have been, in all likelihood, very fatal unto him, if God had not wonderfully preserved him. As we are informed, the manner of it was thus: his highness, only accompanied with Secretary Thurloe and some few of his gentlemen and servants, went to take the air in Hyde Park, where he caused some dishes of meat to be brought, where he made his dinner, and afterward had a desire to drive the coach himself, having put only the secretary into it, being those six horses which the Earl of Oldenburgh had presented unto his highness, who drove pretty handsomely for some time; but at last, provoking those horses too much with the whip, they grew unruly, and ran so fast that the postillion could not hold them in, whereby his highness was flung out of the coach-box upon the pole, upon which he lay with his body, and afterward fell upon the ground. His foot getting hold in the tackling, he was carried away a good while in that posture, during which a pistol went off in his pocket; but at last he got his foot clear, and so came to escape, the coach passing away without hurting him. He was presently brought home, and let blood; and, after some rest taken, he is now pretty well again. The secretary, being hurt on his ankle with leaping out of the coach, hath been forced to keep his chamber hitherto, and been unfit for any business; so that we have not been able to further or expedite any business this week."

A second description, from another of the ambassadors now waiting in London the pleasure of the Lord Protector, shows the suspicion of falsehood which had begun to attach to whatever Thurloe and the Lord Protector were concerned in! "I have not yet anything to write unto you of my negotiation. It was referred six days ago, under pretence of an accident happened to the Lord Protector and the secretary of state, in a promenade, wherein the first took the place of his coachman; and, his horses running away with him, he was flung out of the box among the horses; and, if his shoe had not broken or slipped off, the misfortune had been entire. He got off only with some bruises, and was likewise no ways hurt with a pistol that went off in his pocket. During this disorder the secretary of state sat in the coach, who, endeavouring to get out, sprained his foot, which was all the harm that happened to him. Both of them do not forbear to keep their beds, nor to busy themselves also." A third ambassador seems infected with the same mysterious doubts. "No doubt you have heard of the accident happened to the Protector, who, being in the park in his coach, got up into the

box; and, his horses being unruly, they flung him out of his throne, and he had like to have been racked alive. This doth afford matter of speculation to some, and discourses to others. His enemies speak him to be very ill, and his friends, in health."

Finally, a mention of the circumstance in two letters of Paris Royalists to Charles's court shows the bitter hopes it had awakened there. One prophesies that as the new Protector's first fall had been from a coach, so his second would be from a cart! And a second writes more moderately thus: "We hear of a misfortune befallen the Lord Protector for playing the coachman. He had better have sat in his chair in the Painted Chamber to govern the Parliament, which is more pliable to his pleasure, than in the coach-box to govern his coach-horses, which have more courage to put him out of the box than the three hundred members of Parliament have to put him out of his chair. 'Est malum omen, et ab animalibus forsan discent exemplum; qui sedit, videat ne cadat.'"

To the general mass of the English people this accident neither taught a jest nor a prophecy, but revealed a fact of melancholy significance. The explosion of the pistol in Cromwell's pocket betrayed the dangers which beset him in the midst of all his glory—the haunting sense of insecurity which follows inordinate ambition.† In the incident itself, too, they might have seen at once the headlong desire to purchase relief from overburdened thoughts, and the fantastical tricks he would play to assume the mere power of doing anything. Cromwell had now forfeited all old claims to envy.

Even his broken Parliament—the Parliament he had forced under the muskets of his soldiery, the fragment of the free assembly he had welcomed on his fortunate day—had found strength to turn once more against him. If it showed in this, as his partisans asserted, the meanness of the worm, it at least showed no less its desperate vitality! The first thing it did on reassembling was to come to a resolution that the "recognition" did not comprehend the whole of the instrument of the 16th of December, but simply the government of the Commonwealth by a single person and successive Parliaments. Then, a few days after, with a somewhat absurd attempt to maintain what they called the dignity of the House, they converted the whole of Cromwell's base transaction into a proceed-

\* These various letters will be found in the second volume of Thurloe, p. 652, 653, 674, &c. The court newspapers never alluded to the accident.

† At a subsequent date I find one of the numberless spies employed by Thurloe thus writing to that wily secretary. He is describing one of the Presbyterian plots against the Protector. "He told me a story, which, if you were a fowler, might be of some use to you. We two, discoursing concerning the murdering of his highness, and I urging the difficulty of it, he told me it was true, indeed, he wore a private coat, as he was informed by a Presbyterian minister; but they had a way to pierce it, which was this: To take some graines of pepper (white the best), and steep them twenty-four hours in the strongest aqua vitæ, and then mix three or four graines with the powder, wherewith a pistoll is charged; and that pistoll will carry level twice as far as before, and therefore, by consequence, pierce twice as deep. This minister preached before his highness at Hampton Court; and, being invited to hear his highness exercise, he asked the boy, that waited on him in his chamber for accommodation, what was the reason his highness did sweat so much. The boy answered, that he had a close coat under his other clothes, which was the reason his highness did sweat so much."—Thurloe, vol. i., p. 708.



ing of their own, coming to a resolution that "all persons who shall be returned to serve in this Parliament shall, before they are admitted to sit, subscribe the recognition of government!" Next we find them in committee voting that the supreme legislative authority should reside in a Lord Protector and Parliament; and, the day following, with a most ridiculous affectation of independence, that Cromwell should be the Protector. Then, having determined that essential point, they proceeded to analyze the instrument itself, article by article, and occupied themselves in committee on this business to the 8th of November! One day they had the important question to vote whether the Protectorship was to be hereditary, or for life only, and in what manner, and by what authority, a new Protector was to be named; on another day, whether any law could be made, or tax imposed, for the future, except in Parliament, and in what hands the power of declaring war and making peace was to be vested! The former question, I should add, had originated chiefly in the accident just described, and which naturally led to a consideration of the probable consequences of the death of Cromwell.

The court party first started the point, and Cromwell had so managed to cajole Lambert with some secret understanding, as is supposed, for a special exception or reservation in his favour, that on the morning of the day appointed for the debate, when all the court dependants had mustered their utmost force, to the amazement of every one, who supposed it the secret aim of Lambert to strike for the Protectorate on Cromwell's death, that officer rose, and having detailed in a long and elaborate speech the miseries of an elective, and the merits of an hereditary succession, moved that the office of Protector should be limited to the family of Oliver Cromwell, according to the known law of inheritance. A long and very vivid debate followed, and closed, to the alarm and confusion of the court, in a division of two hundred for the elective chief magistracy, and only sixty for the hereditary. It was resolved, at the same time, that, on the death of the Protector, his successor should be chosen by the Parliament, if it were sitting, and by the council in the absence of Parliament.

It is clear that Cromwell, the instant after this vote, took the resolution on which he acted some three months later. He showed no sign of impatience or interference, smiled when the vote was officially communicated to him, and said that the Parliament should proceed.

They proceeded accordingly. Cromwell had insisted, the reader will recollect, on four fundamentals, and required that on these a *final negative* on the acts of the Legislature should be reserved to him; on all others, his power, under his own instrument of government, extended no farther than to suspend for twenty days their decrees from being acknowledged as law. The article concerning these negatives was the next matter taken up, and upon a point which, in its result at least, seemed to realize a farce of much ado about nothing. The opposition party insisted that the bills upon which the Protector should be entitled to this prerogative should be of a sort, containing in

them something "contrary to such matters wherein the Parliament shall think fit to give a negative to the Protector." The court party urged as an amendment that the words should be, "contrary to such matters wherein the single person and the Parliament shall declare a negative to be in the single person." The debate was ardently conducted on both sides, and closed with a majority on the side of the opposition, the numbers being 109 to 85.

Nothing could exceed the apparent distress of the court party in the House at this vote.† It had, they swore, as far as a vote could do it, deposed the executive magistrate from his office. Lord Broghill declared it was so mortal a wound to the government, that he would willingly have redeemed it with a pound of his blood. Then followed dark threats about the necessity of a dissolution, and at these the majority quailed. Next day the amendment of the court party was carried without a division! and, most ridiculous to add, three days after, the negatives were taken into farther consideration; the friends of the Protector were twice left in a minority upon questions of the same import as in the former instance; and again, on the day following these, a second amendment was carried, reversing a second time the obnoxious vote.

Their subsequent proceedings, which had about as much dignity and as much annoyance in them, may be briefly described.‡ Having brought their discussions on the Act of Settlement to a close at last, it was moved by the court party that, before the Act of Settlement was engrossed, a conference should be had with the Protector on the subject; but it was carried against them by a majority of 107 to 95. Then, with a new start of courage, they voted that this bill should be a law, without needing the Protector's consent. Next day, however, they became convinced that they had gone too far, and directed that it should be engrossed, in order to its being presented to him for his consideration and consent. As a sort of set-off to this, it was at the same time decided, that unless the Protector and Parliament should agree to the whole and every part of the bill, it should be void and of no effect.

Void and of no effect the Protector had already resolved it should be! He only waited a good opportunity for the movement he had already projected, and it soon came.

Having passed various resolutions in revision of the ordinances promulgated before they met—having canvassed in a most troublesome spirit sundry arrangements of the executive—having interfered with several assessments which had been thought by Cromwell essential to the public service, they manifested a decidedly res-

\* Godwin, vol. ii., p. 137.

† It may be explained, in some sort, by keeping in mind the doctrine of Cromwell himself, that he was, whatever concessions he might consent to make, solely and exclusively the fountain of all the government that existed, and that the Parliament derived its privileges from him and his writ. Taken in this sense, the otherwise very fine distinction between the negative "which the Parliament might think fit to give," and that "which the single person and the Parliament should declare to be already in existence," becomes clear enough.

‡ In the midst of them, it may be worth while to mention, the death of the famous Selden created much interest among those who recollected and appreciated his noble services to the cause.

off spirit in the matter of supplies. This was the opportunity for which Cromwell alone had waited. He summoned the House once more to meet him in the Painted Chamber. This was on the 22d of January, and not till twelve days later could the term of five months' existence, secured to the Parliament under the Protectorate, possibly expire. The members went up to the Painted Chamber, therefore, in the natural expectation of an angry remonstrance, but the still paramount security, that till the 3d of February, at least, they should remain a Parliament.

Cromwell, having saluted them with an expression of displeasure and contempt, at once began his address, which was conceived in the most masterly and subtle spirit of praise and flattery to the people, and of scorn and defiance to them. "GENTLEMEN,—I perceive you are here as the House of Parliament, by your speaker, whom I see here, and by your faces, which are, in a great measure, known to me. When I first met you in this room, it was, to my apprehension, the hopefulest day that ever mine eyes saw, as to considerations of this world; for I did look at (as wrapped up in you, together with myself) the hopes and the happiness of (though not the greatest, yet a very great, and) the best people in the world; and truly and unfeignedly I thought so: a people that have the highest and the clearest profession among them of the greatest glory, viz., religion; a people that have been, like other nations, sometimes up and sometimes down in our honour in the world, but yet never so low but we might measure with other nations; a people that have had a stamp upon them from God! God having, as it were, summed up all our former glory and honour, in the things that are of glory to nations, in an epitome, within these ten or twelve years last past, so that we knew one another at home, and are well known abroad."

What, he then asked, had they done as a Parliament? He never had played, he never would play, the orator, and therefore, he would tell them frankly, they had done nothing. For five months they had passed no bill, had made no address, had held no communication with him. As far as concerned them, he had nothing to do but to pray that God would enlighten their minds, and give a blessing to their labours. But had they then done *nothing*? Yes: they had encouraged the Cavaliers to plot against the Commonwealth, and the Levellers to intrigue with the Cavaliers. By their dissensions they had aided the fanatics to throw the nation into confusion, and by the slowness of their proceedings had compelled the soldiers to live at free quarters on the country. The result he thus forcibly and eloquently described.

"There be some trees that will not grow under the shadow of other trees; there be some that choose (a man may say so by way of illusion) to thrive under the shadow of other trees. I will tell you what hath thriven—I will not say what you have cherished—under your shadow; that were too hard. Instead of peace and settlement, instead of mercy and truth being brought together, righteousness and peace kissing each other, by reconciling the honest people of these nations, and settling

the woful distempers that are among us, which had been glorious things, and worthy of Christians to have proposed—weeds and nettles, briars and thorns, have thriven under your shadow. Dissettlement and division, discontent and dissatisfaction, together with real dangers to the whole, have been more multiplied within those five months of your sitting than in some years before. Foundations have been also laid for the future renewing the troubles of these nations, by all the enemies of it abroad and at home. Let not these words seem too sharp, for they are true as any mathematical demonstrations are or can be. I say, the enemies of the peace of these nations, abroad and at home; the discontented humours throughout these nations, which I think no man will grudge to call by that name, or to make to allude to briars and thorns—they have nourished themselves under your shadow."

He next referred to the question of the Protectorship, and said they supposed, no doubt, that he had sought to make it hereditary. With unblushing effrontery, and a faith in his powers of delusion, which constituted in itself a perfect miracle, he told them that this *was not true!*

"I will not presage what you have been about or doing in all this time, nor do I love to make conjectures; but I must tell you this, that as I undertake this government in the simplicity of my heart, and as before God, and to do the part of an honest man, and to be true to the interest which, in my conscience, is dear to many of you (though it is not always understood what God in his wisdom may hide from us as to peace and settlement), so I can say that no particular interest, either of myself, estate, honour, or family, are, or have been, prevalent with me to this undertaking; for if you had, upon the old government, offered to me this one, this one thing (I speak as thus advised, and before God, as having been to this day of this opinion; and this hath been my constant judgment, well known to many that hear me speak)—if this one thing had been inserted—this one thing, that the government should have been placed in my family hereditarily, *I would have rejected it!* and I could have done no other, according to my present conscience and light. I will tell you my reason, though I cannot tell what God will do with me, nor you, nor the nation, for throwing away precious opportunities committed to us. This hath been my principle, and I liked it when this government came first to be proposed to me, that it puts us off that hereditary way; well looking that as God had declared what government he had delivered over to the Jews, and placed it upon such persons as had been instrumental for the conduct and deliverance of his people, and considering that promise in Isaiah, that God would give rulers as at the first, and judges as at the beginning, I did not know but that God might begin; and though at present with a most unworthy person, yet, as to the future, it might be, after that manner; and I thought this might usher it in. I am speaking as to my judgment against making it hereditary; to have men chosen for their love to God, and to truth and justice, and not to have it hereditary; for as it is in Ecclesiastes, who knoweth wheth-

er he may beget a fool or a wise man, honest or not! Whatever they be, they must come in on that account, because the government is made a patrimony."

The motive for these desperate assertions was to enable him, after that day's action, to keep a fair appearance before the country, and their sole justification was the end he hoped one day to accomplish in behalf of God and God's people. Hence he did not scruple to add, in an expression I may not venture to characterize, that he spoke in the fear of the Lord who would not be mocked, and with the satisfaction that his conscience did not belie his assertion. The different revolutions which had happened, he then observed, were attributed to his cunning. How blind were men, who would not see the hand of Providence in its merciful dispensations! men, who even ridiculed as visions of enthusiasm, observations "made by the quickening and teaching Spirit!" After this, he went at once to the object for which he had summoned the members before them, and to the amazement of his hearers, deliberately argued on the consequences of an immediate dissolution of their authority!

It might be thought, forsooth, that without the aid of Parliament, the Protectorate could not raise money. He knew better. "I did think, also, for myself, that I am like to meet with difficulties; and that this nation will not, as it is fit it should not, be deluded with *pretexts* of necessity in that great business of raising of money; and were it not that I can make some dilemmas, upon which to resolve some things of my conscience, judgment, and actions, I should sink at the very prospect of my encounters. Some of them are general, some are more special. Supposing this cause or this business must be carried on, it is either of God or of man; if it be of man, I would I had never touched it with a finger. If I had not had a hope fixed in me that this cause and this business is of God, I would many years ago have run from it; if it be of God, he will bear it up; if it be of man, it will tumble, as everything that hath been of man since the world began hath done. And what are all our histories, and other traditions of actions in former times, but God manifesting himself, that he hath shaken, and tumbled down, and trampled upon, everything that he hath not planted! And as this is, so the all-wise God deal with it. If this be of human structure and invention, and if it be an old plotting and contrivance to bring things to this issue, and that they are not the births of Providence, then they will tumble; but if the Lord take pleasure in England, and if he will do us good, he is able to bear us up. Let the difficulties be whatsoever they will, we shall, in his strength, be able to encounter with them; and, *bless God, I have been inured to difficulties, and I never found God failing when I trusted in him: I can laugh and sing in my heart when I speak of these things to you, or elsewhere.* And though some may think it is a hard thing, without Parliamentary authority, to raise money upon this nation, yet I have another argument to the good people of this nation, if they would be safe and have no better principle, whether they prefer the having of *their will*, though it be their destruction, rather

than comply with things of necessity! That will excuse me; but I should wrong my native country to suppose this."

Necessity—that was his plea; and if it were answered that the necessity was of his own creation, he should answer, No, *it was of God! It was the consequence of God's providence!* No marvel was it, he added, if men who lived on their masses and service-books, their dead and carnal worship, were strangers to the works of God; but for those who had been instructed by the Spirit of God, to adopt the same language, and say that *men were the cause of these things, when God had done them—this, this*, he solemnly warned them, was more than the Lord would bear! But now he had simply to communicate his determination. They had sat long enough, he thought, for the benefit of England, and now, therefore, he declared them dissolved!

For everything but this his listeners were prepared. They claimed their term of five months by the Lord Protector's own law. They were answered that that term was meant to be counted as in the arrangements of military service, by calendar and not lunar months; and that, as the soldiers were paid, so should their existence be measured out. They had no reply to make to this deliberate artifice, but at once to go sullenly to their several homes, and leave their country once again to the absolute despotism of Cromwell.

And an absolute despotism he at once established. The opportune and most natural occurrence of several conspiracies against him after this third dissolution, formed what he thought would seem to be a sufficient motive, and most certainly prove a more than sufficient defence!

The conspiracies exploded from two different quarters, the Republican sections of the army, and the Royalists of the northern and western counties. The first embraced projects for the surprisal of Cromwell's person, and for the seizure of the Castle of Edinburgh, of Hull, Portsmouth, and other places of strength. But spies, paid by Thurloe, were in every regiment; and no movement occurred that was not previously known to Cromwell. All officers of doubtful fidelity were at once dismissed; every regiment was purged of its questionable men; Colonel Wildman was surprised in the very act of dictating to his secretary a declaration against the government of a most hostile and inflammatory tendency; and Lord Grey of Groby, Colonels Alured, Overton, and others, were arrested, of whom some remained long in severe and infamous confinement, while others were permitted to go at large on giving security for their peaceable behaviour. The tyrant did not yet dare to bring to the scaffold his old associates of Naseby and Marston Moor.

The Royalist plot, though more extensive, proved to be still more harmless. It was headed by Wilmot, just then created Earl of Rochester, Sir Henry Slingsby, Sir Richard Moleverer, and Colonel Penruddock; and, after a moment's occupation of Salisbury, was dispersed by a captain with only a few companies of infantry. The mass of the people were still, as I have before described them, *indifferent*.

It is, at the same time, recorded of the inhabitants of Salisbury, in particular, that they were disgusted with the brutal purpose of the Royalists (during the momentary occupation) to hang the judges of assize whom they surprised in the town. Of the prisoners, the most distinguished were executed, though they had surrendered the town under regular articles of war. The remainder were sold for slaves to Barbadoes, a favourite policy with Cromwell, pursued first in his Irish campaigns, and carried on through the whole of the Protectorate.\*

And now followed a regular and elaborate project of despotism, deliberately planned and resolutely executed. It was heralded by a few precautionary measures, which served to prepare the way for it. These were to forbid all ejected and sequestered clergymen of the Church of England to teach as schoolmasters or tutors, or to preach or use the church service as ministers either in public or private; to order all priests belonging to the Church of Rome to quit the kingdom under pain of death; to banish all Cavaliers and Catholics to the distance of twenty miles from the metropolis; to prohibit the publication in print of any news or intelligence without permission from the secretary of state;† and to place in confinement most of the nobility and principal gentry in England, till they could produce bail for their good behaviour and future appearance! Among the first who were apprehended were the Earl of Newport; Lord Willoughby, of Parham, brother-in-law of Whitelocke; and Geoffry Palmer, at once one of the most eminent and eccentric of the Royalist lawyers still residing in England, and whom the Restoration afterward revived. They were committed to the Tower. The Earl of Lindsey and Lord Lovelace were imprisoned at Banbury. Then followed the arrest of the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Northampton, Viscount Falkland, the Lords St. John, Petre, Coventry, Maynard, and Lucas, and above fifty commoners. The names of Earl Rivers and the Earl of Peterborough were subsequently added.

All this occurred within a few weeks, and was specially and openly designed by Cromwell to break the spirits of men, and to prepare them for what he had in reserve; for against the majority of the Royalists arrested thus, he did not scruple to confess afterward that he had no specific charge to make. The first part of the great despotic scheme followed rapidly,

in the shape of an ordinance, solely levelled against the adherents of the Stuarts. It declared that "all who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party, should be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of all the income or estate which they had left, to support the charge which the Commonwealth was put to by the unquietness of their temper, and the just cause of jealousy which they had administered." This was an infamous violation of every provision in the Act of Oblivion, passed with Cromwell's own most strenuous assistance by the statesmen, and an outrage upon every larger provision of natural equity or justice. But it was only the beginning of an end more terrible.

This declared itself, within a few weeks after, by a most comprehensive completion of the scheme of tyranny. While brooding over it, and all the desperate cruelty and injustice it involved, the Lord Protector found it necessary to vent what he fancied was the real lowliness and submissiveness of his honest and affectionate heart, to his son-in-law Fleetwood. He sent him, accordingly, to his government in Ireland, the following most characteristic letter. "DEERE CHARLES,—I write not often. At once I desier thee to knowe I most dearly love thee, and indeed my harte is plaine to thee as thy harte can well desier; lett nothing shake thee in this. *The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny, turn all into gall and wormwood.* My harte is for the people of God; that the Lorde knows, and I trust will (in due time) manifest; yett thence are my wounds, which, though it grieves me, yett (through the Grace of God) doth not discourage me totally. *Many good men are repininge at everythinge,* though indeed very many good, well satisfied and satisfyinge daily. The will of the Lorde will bring forth good in due time. . . *It's reported that you are to be sent for, and Harry to be Deputy, which truly never entred into my harte.* The Lorde knows, my desier was for him and his Brother to have lived private lives in the Country; and Harry knows this very well, and how difficultly I was perswaded to give him his Commission for his present place. This I say was from a simple and sincere harte. *The noyse of my beinge crowned, &c., are like malicious figments.* . . . Use this bearer, Mr. Brewster, kindly; lett him be nere you; indeed, he is a very holy, able man; trust me you will find him soe. He was a bosome Friend of Mr. Tillinghurst; ask him of him; you will thereby know Mr. Tillinghurst's spirit. This Gentleman brought him to me a little before he died, and Mr. Cradock, Mr. Throughton, a Godly Minister, beinge by, with himselfe, who cried aham. Deere Charles, my deere love to thee and to my deere Biddie, who is a joy to my harte, for what I hear of the Lorde in her. Bid her be cheerfull and rejoyce in the Lorde once and again; if she knows the Covenant thoroughly, she cannot butt doe; for that transaction is, without her, sure and stedfast between the Father and the Mediator in his Blood; therefore leaninge upon the Sonn, or lookinge to him, thirstinge after him, imbracing him, wee are his seed, and the covenant is sure to all the seed; the compact is for the seed; God is bound in faithfulness to Christ, and in him to

\* The following sad and significant extract is from a Paris letter of this date: "Here is nothing more now, but many Irish come from Ireland daily, into the service of Prince Condé, with the most sad stories of the English usage to the natives that ever I heard of: *parents taken from their wives and children, and sent into the English plantations; the children starve in wildernesses, and some knocked to death.* If all be true, it cannot be the Protector will leave it unpunished."—*Thurloe*, vol. ii., p. 160.

† Up to this time, as has been already stated, there were eight weekly newspapers, the majority in favour of the government, but two of them, in a certain degree, hostile to the measures now pursued. "They expressed their opposition, however," as Mr. Godwin very properly remarks, "for the most part in a very subdued style, and had by no means lately broken out into great intemperance." After this ordinance, which destroyed what remained of the liberty of the press, only the *Mercurius Politicus*, by Marchmont Needham, and a new one now started, called the *Public Intelligencer*, by the same writer, appear to have been published. It is, indeed, not easy to conceive a measure of a more infamous character.

us. The covenant is without us—a transaction between God and Christ—look up to it! God ingageth in it to pardon us, to write his law on our heart, to plant his fear, that wee shall never depart from him. Wee under all our sins and infirmities can dayly offer a perfect Christ, and thus wee have peace, and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant, who cannot deny himselfe: and truly in this is all my Salvation, and this helps me to bear my great burthens. . . . *If you have a mind to come over with your deere Wife, &c., take your best opportunitie for the good of the publique and your own convenience.* The Lorde bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lorde would direct and keep me his servant. I bless the Lorde I am not my own, *butt my condition to flesh and blood is very hard.* Pray for me; I do for you all; commend me to all friends. I rest, your lovinge Father,  
OLIVER, P."

Fleetwood accepted the invitation, came over to London, and never returned to his Irish government. His wily father-in-law had merely wished to see him, to effect, by his powers of persuasion, what Fleetwood would have resented with scorn and indignation if attempted in any other way. The real truth was, that Cromwell had already positively resolved that his son Henry should be Irish deputy—an office for which Fleetwood had proved himself incapable—and shortly after Fleetwood's return, Henry proceeded to Ireland!

The consummate ability with which he there administered the government of the Protectorate is not a subject for discussion in these pages. As I shall not again return to it, however, it may be as well to show, in a private letter from the Protector to his son, the relation of assistance and advice which from this period till Oliver's death subsisted between them. Shortly after his departure, the following letter was despatched to him. It refers to the disaffected, and imbibes excellent advice—"moderation and love" to Ludlow and the Republicans, caution and detention in the case of Mervin and the Royalists.

"SONN,—I have seen y<sup>r</sup> letter writt unto Mr Secretary Thurloe, and doe finde thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you towards yo<sup>r</sup>self and the publique affaires. I doe believe there may be some perticular persons who are not very well pleased w<sup>th</sup> the present condition of thinges, and may be apt to show their discontents as they have oportunitie; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that w<sup>ch</sup> for the present seemes to be hid from them; *especially if they shall see yo<sup>r</sup> moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you*; which I earnestly desier you to studie and endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be. . . . For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it, and shall not be wantinge to send you some further addition to the Councell, *as soone as Men can be found out who are fit for y<sup>r</sup> trust.* I am alsoe thinkinge of sendinge over to you a fitt person *who may comand the north of Ireland, w<sup>ch</sup> I believe stands in great need of*

one. And I am of y<sup>r</sup> opinion that Trev<sup>r</sup> and Col. Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new Rebellion; and therefore I would have you move the Councell that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own Counties the better. I comend you to the Lorde, and rest your aff<sup>r</sup> father,  
OLIVER, P."

The ex-governor Fleetwood meanwhile presented himself, with Desborough, as ready tools for the Protector's purpose in his great despotic plan. He laid the base of it in the already subsisting old English militia arrangements. It was feasible, by their means, he saw, to divide England and Wales, with little trouble, into ten or twelve districts, and to place over the militia of each of these districts an officer with the name of major-general. This plan was carried on with the utmost secrecy for more than two months, and only openly declared when ripe for execution. It was then announced, by a vote of the Protector's council, that the command of militia, in ten districts that were named, should be intrusted to Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Whaley, Goffe, Skippon, Colonel James Berry, Colonel Thomas Kelsey, Colonel William Boteler, and Major Charles Worsley. To these were afterward added Barkstead, lieutenant of the Tower, and Admiral Dawkins. The districts were, by another vote, apportioned in detail. Fleetwood had the counties of Oxford, Bucks, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge, being permitted to appoint Colonel Henry Haines as his deputy for the last four. Lambert, having received the north of England into his charge, was allowed, as a still greater man than Fleetwood, to appoint Colonel Richard Lilburne for the counties of York and Durham, and Colonel Charles Howard, afterward Earl of Carlisle, for Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland. His own name was merely reserved to give ornament and dignity to the affair. Whaley had the command of the militia of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester; Goffe, of Sussex, Hants, and Berks; Skippon, of London; Berry, of Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and North Wales; Kelsey, of Kent and Surrey; Boteler, of Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland; Worsley, of Chester, Lancaster, and Stafford; Barkstead, of Westminster and Middlesex; and Dawkins, of Monmouthshire and South Wales.

And what were the ostensible duties of these formidable major-generals? I will first give the substance of their official instructions, and then exhibit their powers in action. They were, according to the former,\* first, to endeavour to suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellions, and all other unlawful assemblies; and for this purpose, to draw together their forces and troops, and march them to such places as they should judge convenient. Secondly, to take care and give orders that all papists, and others who had been in arms against the Parliament, as well as all who were found dangerous to the peace of the nation, should be deprived of their arms, which should be secured in some neighbouring garrison, or otherwise

\* The paper was officially published as "Instructions and orders to the major-generals for preserving the peace of the Commonwealth." See Godwin, vol. iv.

disposed of. Thirdly, every master of a family, or householder, who was considered as disaffected, was to be required to give security, by his bond, for the good behaviour of all his menial servants, the servants being liable to be called to appear before the major-general, or his deputy, at such time and place as either should appoint. Fourthly, an office of register was to be set up in London, where the names of all persons thus giving security were to be entered, together with their residence; and as often as they changed their abode, this was also to be punctually recorded, and the notice communicated to the major-general of each district, as the case might require. Fifthly, every person, whether foreigner or otherwise, who came from beyond sea, was required, within twenty-four hours after his landing, to appear before the person whom the major-general of the district should appoint in the different ports for that purpose, to deliver his name, and an account of the place from whence he came and to which he intended to go; as also, if he came to London, to appear before the registrar there, and give an account of his lodging and his purpose; all his removals from place to place being to be reciprocally communicated between the registrar in London and the major-generals in the different districts. Sixthly, the major-generals were to take an account of what had been done in execution of the ordinance against insufficient and scandalous ministers and school-masters, to the end that no disaffected persons might be allowed in public teaching, or in the education of youth. To these were added certain articles, with which the instructions were concluded, as to high roads and robberies; the execution of the laws against drunkenness and blasphemy, and gaming-houses, and houses of ill fame, as well as respecting idle and loose persons, who had no visible means of subsistence; and they granted not only the power to apprehend thieves and robbers, but also to permit no horse-races, cock-fightings, bear-baiting, or stage-plays, within the several counties.

Such was the tenour of the instructions, as openly published in the papers of the time, and designed to convey the idea, as far as it was possible, of a kind of general rural police and civil regulation. Appended to the commission of each, however, were these ominous words, with Cromwell's signature: "And you are to observe and follow such directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourself." The most essential portion of their instructions was, in truth, altogether secret; and in their subsequent correspondence with the government, as we find it in Thurloe, can we alone discover the whole extent and object of this atrocious despotism.

There we ascertain the plan of assessment by means of these tools of tyranny, and the parties on whom it was imposed. They were empowered to summon before them any persons whom they should consider as disaffected to the government, or who had no calling or visible means of subsistence, and require them to give an account of themselves and their property, which they then assessed to the state. They were at the same time authorized to receive information from any other quarters, and by that means to correct any attempted misrepresenta-

tations of principles. Any disobedience to the major-generals made the offender liable to imprisonment at the pleasure of the Protector and council. The Royalists, terrified at the extensive arrests and imprisonments which took place among their brethren, and awed by the military preparations which were made to subdue resistance, appear, from all the accounts that are preserved, to have promptly obeyed the summons of these *armed justices*, and for the most part yielded quietly to assessments which were imposed upon them. There was, indeed, no hope of redress in any case. The sole appeal was reserved to the Protector in council, and all privilege or appeal to the laws was forever barred and stopped. The major-generals, therefore, summoned whomsoever they pleased to appear before them as delinquents; and it was fatal to slight their commands. They inquired into every man's estate and income, and assessed it to a tenth of its annual value; if any one endeavoured to clear himself of delinquency, they assumed the privilege of pronouncing upon the validity of his defence. They sent whom they pleased to prison, and confined them where they pleased; and it has been remarked by Mr. Godwin, as one of the general characteristics of Cromwell's government, that those who were judged to be disaffected never succeeded in their endeavours to be set at large in due course of law.\*

But one or two individual cases will at once express the general iniquity. Worsley, for example, thus writes to Thurloe from Stafford: "Yesterday we had a meeting at this town, and I have made a good progress in our business. *We have assessed diverse, and the rest must expect it with all speed.* I hope we shall pay our county troop out of what we have done already, and provide you a considerable sum for other uses. We have sent out warrants to give notice to the whole county of our day of meeting, when we shall sit upon the ordinance for the ejecting of scandalous ministers. We have disarmed the disaffected in this county. *We shall fall of snapping some of our old blades that will not let us be quiet.* We have found an estate of Penruddock's that was executed, and have ordered it to be sequestered. I hope shortly to give you a good account of the rest of the counties." Desborough writes in equal spirits with his infamous work. "Yesterday we proceeded upon taxing seven or eight of this county, among whom was Sir James Thynn, who was at first a little averse, and did plead as much innocence as my Lord Seymour hath done; *but at last, having no refuge, was constrained to comply*; and I think of those eight that we have already dealt withal, *the sum will amount to six or seven hundred pounds per annum.* There are four more to appear this morning, and then I intend for Blandford, to attend the Dorsetshire gentlemen, and so to Marlborough, where there are twenty more to be summoned."

The case of Cleaveland, the Royalist poet, has been already referred to in this work.† He had offended Cromwell in early years, and was one of the first victims to the power of the major-generals in Norwich. Cleaveland was a man of masterly talents, and one of the most popu-

\* See Godwin, vol. iv., p. 236, of *sup.*

† See *anti.*, p. 412.

lar writers of his time. His works had passed ten editions in about twenty years. He was now living in great poverty, but yet cheerfully submitting to the reverses that had fallen on him only in common with the cause to which his talents had been devoted. He was plotting against no one, harming no one, not even libelling any one; and yet we find in Thurloe's papers the following abominable despatch, with the signature of Haynes and the other commissioners. In "observance to the orders of his highness and council sent unto us, we have this day sent to the garrison of Yarmouth one John Cleaveland, of Norwich, late judge-advocate at Newark, whom we have deemed to be comprised within the second head. The reasons of judgment are, 1. He confesseth that about a year since he came from London to the city of Norwich, and giveth no account of any business he hath there, only he pretends that Edward Cooke, Esquire, maketh use of him to help him in his studies. 2. Mr. Cleaveland confesseth that he hath lived in the said Mr. Cooke's house ever since he came to the said city, and that he but seldom went into the city, and never but once into the country; indeed, his privacy hath been such, that none or but few save papists and Cavaliers did know that there was any such person resident in these parts. 3. For that the place of the said Mr. Cleaveland his abode, viz., the said Mr. Cooke's, is a family of notorious disorder, and where papists, delinquents, and other disaffected persons of the late king's party do often resort more than to any family in the said city or county of Norfolk, as is commonly reported. 4. Mr. Cleaveland liveth in a genteel garb; yet he confesseth that he hath no estate but £20 per annum, allowed by two gentlemen, and £30 per annum by the said Mr. Cooke. 5. Mr. Cleaveland is a person of great abilities, and so able to do the greater disservice; all which we humbly submit."

At about the same period, Jeremy Taylor, a more illustrious name, suffered the fate of Cleaveland for his talents, his poverty, and his attachment to royalty. He was flung into prison at Chepstow Castle, in the county of Monmouth. With these cases may close our description, since they will serve to express many hundred others of equal or superior iniquity.

To this condition, then, England was now reduced. After the gallantest fight for liberty that had ever been fought by any nation in the world, she found herself trampled under foot by a military despot. All the vices of old kingly rule were nothing to what was now imposed upon her. Some restraint had still been kept on the worst of her preceding sovereigns; now she found herself hopeless and helpless, her faith in all that she once held noblest broken, and her spirits unequal to any farther struggle. Besides this, there was stealing upon her, in gradual but certain progress, a vile hypocrisy and habit of falsehood, which even good men found it necessary to sanction and endure, that some semblance of the mere pretences of a better nature might still be left to them, were it only to redeem the name of their sad degradation. Let royalty revisit them as speedily as it would, it could bring nothing back for which they might not gladly exchange all that they now endured. What was the innocent and

partial tax of ship-money to an all but universal decimation? What were agonies and mutilations by the Star Chamber to wholesale murders and executions by high courts of justice? What was an open profligacy worse than a secret lie? What the arrest of five members of the House of Commons to the utter violation and destruction of every privilege Parliament possessed, and even of the very form and name of its rights and its immunities? The true cause of the death of Charles I. was his resistance to the sacred principle of popular representation. He laid down his head upon the block because he broke violently, and in succession, three English Parliaments. Oliver Cromwell had now merited, far more richly, that self-same doom, for he had committed, in circumstances of greater atrocity, the self-same sin. But Charles was weak, and Cromwell strong; and the people had undergone that worst and most sad recoil from a virtuous and quick-spirited enthusiasm, to the debasing sense of failure, depression, and indifference. Even this last, however, had more hope in it than another sense to which they were now and then roused to give way. This was when they admired their tyrant. Vilest degradation of all was that! He flung some foreign victory among them as a rattle or a toy, and the whimpering ceased, and they recollected what a great man their Lord Protector was, and sent up an ill-sung song of praise!

"The sea's our own! and now all nations greet,  
With bending sails, each vessel of our fleet:  
Our power extends as far as winds can blow,  
Or swelling sails upon the globe may go."

There may have been some consolation in the fact that the sea was their own, but it would have been a much superior advantage to have had their souls their own. A bad thing becomes worse when covered or gilded thus; and far better is it to keep the mean and imbecile rapacity of a Stuart to its naked and natural meanness, than suffer it to be overshadowed or adorned by the gorgeous tyranny of a Tudor.

I turn, with no feeling of relief or pride, to such brief mention as may become this work, of the foreign policy of the Protectorate. France and Spain had continued for some time to rival each other in their mean prostration before the power of Cromwell,\* that power which he had inherited from the foreign victories of the statesmen, and which had thrown into his hands the balance of Europe. The first question started in these negotiations was the manner in which Cromwell should be addressed. No objection was offered by Spain to the regal claims of the Lord Protector, but France showed a slight

\* So monstrous did this become, that it gave occasion to the most ribald jests in every other part of Europe. The Dutch absolutely struck a medal with the bust of Cromwell and his titles on one side, Britannia on the other, Cromwell thrusting his head in her bosom, with the opposite part of his person ludicrously exposed; while, as the Spanish ambassador stoops to offer it homage, the French ambassador holds him by the arm, and says, "Got you back! the beaur belongs to the king my master!" This medal is still preserved in many Dutch cabinets. Even in Paris pictures were circulated, wherein the English Lord Protector was sitting in an attitude the most ludicrously gross, with the King of Spain on the one side, and the King of France on the other, offering him paper. And Mazarin received still graver reproaches. See advice to him at the end of the *Memoirs of De Retz*.—[The reader will be much amused by consulting Kippis's *Biographia Britannica*, vol. iv., p. 401, at note DD.—C.]

restiffness. Louis's first letter was addressed "To his most serene highness, Oliver, Lord Protector, &c., &c." This was rejected. Then "Mon Cousin" was offered. This also was refused. The ordinary address between sovereigns, "To our Dear Brother Oliver, &c.," was at last formally demanded. "What!" said Louis to Mazarin, "shall I call such a fellow my brother?" "Ay!" rejoined the crafty Italian, "or your father, to gain your ends." Louis then submitted.\*

And it must be confessed, though not for that immediate reason, he gained his ends.†

\* Many letters will be found in Thurloe, referring to this diplomatic dispute. I may quote one or two. De Bordeaux (the ambassador) thus opens the subject to De Brienne, the French secretary of state: "J'ai recu les deux lettres que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire les 21 et 25 du mois passé, avec celle du roi, dans lesquelles je vois qu'il plaît à S. M. me confier la négociation du traité entre la France et l'Angleterre, avec la qualité d'ambassadeur. J'ai demandé audience au secrétaire du conseil, sous prétexte de lui en faire part, afin de découvrir avec quels termes Monsieur le Protecteur désireroit que S. M. le traitât. Il ne voulut point s'expliquer autrement, si non que son altesse avoit l'autorité souveraine, et aussi grande que les rois, et que c'étoit à nous d'en user comme nous jugerions à propos. Depuis cette conversation un homme, qui se mêle d'intrigue, m'est venu trouver, et m'a voulu faire entendre, que le terme de frère seroit bien agréable. J'ai donné ordre à mon secrétaire, si l'on lui témoigne désirer le titre de frère, qu'il responde de soi-même, que les pouvoirs m'ont été envoyés, à fin d'avoir un prétexte pour me dispenser de donner cette qualité. Toutes les résolutions d'ici dans les rencontres de la moindre importance se prennent avec grand secret, et la politique est de surprendre."—*Thurloe*, vol. ii., p. 106. In a subsequent letter he says, "J'inferai que S. A. n'est pas contente de ce que je ne suis pas qualifié ambassadeur près d'elle, et de n'être pas traité de frère le maître des cérémonies ayant averti l'ambassadeur de Portugal de lui donner ce titre."—*Thurloe*, vol. ii., p. 143. A Paris letter to London shows that the matter was generally discussed and talked of. "The cardinal said yesterday that your Protector is angry that the King of France called him not *mon frère*, brother. He rallied much upon it, and demanded whether his father was ever in France? I hope our Protector will make him sing another song before summer be past."—*Thurloe*, vol. ii., p. 159. The Protector did make him sing another song, though he seems, by the following extract, to have consented in one interval to a compromise: "Vous trouverez bon que je vous éclaircisse du doute que je croiois avoir levé par quelque-une de mes précédentes touchant la suscription des lettres du roy à M. le Protecteur. Il a refusé le titre de cousin, et s'est contenté, dans toutes les deux dépêches de celui, de Monsieur le Protecteur de la République d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, et d'Irlande. Celui de frère eut été bien plus agréable."—*Thurloe*, vol. ii., p. 228. Shortly after, the more agreeable "brother" was demanded and conceded.

† Slingsby Bethel, in his *World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, makes this part of his foreign policy a grave charge of objection to him, and has been followed by Hume and others. "Cromwell," he says, "contrary to our interest, made an unjust war with Spain, and an impolitic league with France, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendom, and by that means broke the balance betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France, which his predecessors, the Long Parliament, had always wisely preserved. In this dishonest war with Spain, he pretended and endeavoured to impose a belief on the world that he had nothing in his eye but the advancement of the Protestant cause and the honour of the nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs (as I am apt to think that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them); for he that had known anything of the temper of the popish prelate and the French court policies, could not but see that the way to increase or preserve the Reformed interest in France was by rendering the Protestants of necessary use to their king; for, that longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecution, and that the way to render them so was by keeping the balance betwixt Spain and France even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their king; but by overthrowing the balance in his war with Spain, and joining with France, he freed the French king from his fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them; and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that

Cromwell, after a protracted negotiation, abruptly broke with the Spanish envoy, Don Alonzo Cardenas, who demanded and obtained his passports. Don Alonzo's bait had been the reconquest of Calais; Mazarin's, the counter temptation of the capture of Dunkirk. It is scarcely probable that Cromwell much cared for either. But it was more convenient to him, and to the safety of his personal power, to be on good terms with so near a neighbour as France, who had already, to oblige him, dismissed from Paris his rival Charles Stuart. And in the colonial possessions of Spain in the New World, he saw an opportunity to make large accessions to the maritime power of England; at the same moment, to dazzle and distract his oppressed countrymen by brilliant episodes of distant conquests, and get conveniently dismissed upon that service officers whose influence and whose principles he feared. The illustrious Blake was the chief of these.

His first demonstration of his policy was accordingly to equip and send out two large armaments, one under Pen and Venables, the

nation against the Reformed there; so that Oliver, instead of advancing the Reformed interest, hath, by an error in his politics, been the author of destroying it. The honour and advantage he propounded to this nation in his pulling down of Spain, had as ill a foundation; for if true, as was said, that we were to have had Ostend and Newport, as well as Dunkirk (when we could get them), they bore no proportion, in any kind, to all the rest of the King of Spain's European dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French king's share, because of their joining and nearness to him, and remoteness from us; and the increasing the greatness of so near a neighbour must have increased our future dangers." But all this was surely to have anticipated a little too rapidly the power and conquests of Louis the Fourteenth, and the maturity of our William the Third. Lord Bolingbroke followed up the charge. "Cromwell either did not discern," says he, "this turn of the balance of power [from Spain to France], or, discerning it, he was induced, by reasons of private interest, to act against the general interest of Europe. Cromwell joined with France against Spain; and though he got Jamaica and Dunkirk, he drove the Spaniards into a necessity of making a peace with France, that has disturbed the peace of the world almost fourscore years, and the consequences of which have wellnigh beggared in our times the nation he enslaved in his. There is a tradition—I have heard it from persons who lived in those days, and I believe it came from Thurloe—that Cromwell was in treaty with Spain, and ready to turn his arms against France, when he died. If this fact was certain, as little as I honour his memory, I should have some regret that he died so soon. But, whatever his intentions were, we must charge the Pyrenean treaty, and the fatal consequences of it, in great measure to his account. The Spaniards abhorred the thought of marrying their Infanta to Louis the Fourteenth. It was on this point that they broke the negotiation Lionne had begun; and if they resumed it afterward, and offered the marriage they had before rejected, Cromwell's league with France was a principal inducement to this alteration of their resolution." But I may close this note with a subtle remark of Bishop Warburton, who, in hitting much closer to the truth, unconsciously exposes, at the same time, what was undoubtedly the vice of the Protector's foreign as well as domestic policy, namely, the pursuit of temporary expedients of the brilliant and dashing sort, rather than general principles of the sober and enduring. Thus says the bishop: "Some modern politicians have affected to think contemptuously of Cromwell's capacity, as if he knew not that true policy required that he should have thrown himself into the lighter balance, which was that of Spain; or as if he did not know which was become the lighter. But this is talking as if Cromwell had been a lawful hereditary monarch, whom true policy would have thus directed. But true policy required that the usurper should first take care of himself, before he busied himself in adjusting the balance of Europe. Now France, by its vicinity, was the most dangerous power to disoblige, as well as by the near relationship of the two royal families of France and England; so that, though Cromwell gave out that which of states would give most for his friendship should order to raise the price, he was certainly *damning* himself that France should have it."



## BRITISH STATESMEN.

riters of his time. His works had passed editions in about twenty years. He was living in great poverty, but yet cheerfully mitting to the reverses that had fallen on only in common with the cause to which talents had been devoted. He was plotting inst no one, harming no one, not even liling any one; and yet we find in Thurloe's pers the following abominable despatch, with signature of Haynes and the other commis- sioners. In "observance to the orders of his ghness and council sent unto us, we have is day sent to the garrison of Yarmouth one ohn Cleaveland, of Norwich, late judge-adv- ocate at Newark, whom we have deemed to be comprised within the second head. The rea- sons of judgment are, 1. He confesseth that about a year since he came from London to the city of Norwich, and giveth no account of any business he hath there, only he pretends that Edward Cooke, Esquire, maketh use of him to help him in his studies. 2. Mr. Cleaveland confesseth that he hath lived in the said Mr. Cooke's house ever since he came to the said city, and that he but seldom went into the city, and never but once into the country; indeed, his privacy hath been such, that none or but few save papists and Cavaliers did know that there was any such person resident in these parts. 3. For that the place of the said Mr. Cleaveland his abode, viz., the said Mr. Cooke's, is a family of notorious dis- order, and where papists, delinquents, and oth- er disaffected persons of the late king's party do often resort more than to any family in the said city or county of Norfolk, as is commonly reported. 4. Mr. Cleaveland liveth in a genteel garb; yet he confesseth that he hath no estate but £20 per annum, allowed by two gentlemen, and £30 per annum by the said Mr. Cooke. 5. Mr. Cleaveland is a person of great abilities, and so able to do the greater disservice; all which we humbly submit."

At about the same period, Jeremy Taylor, a more illustrious name, suffered the fate of Cleaveland for his talents, his poverty, and his attachment to royalty. He was flung into prison at Chepstow Castle, in the county of Mon- mouth. With these cases may close our de- scription, since they will serve to express many hundred others of equal or superior iniquity.

To this condition, then, England was now re- duced. After the gallantest fight for liberty that had ever been fought by any nation in the world, she found herself trampled under foot by a military despot. All the vices of old king- ly rule were nothing to what was now imposed upon her. Some restraint had still been kept on the worst of her preceding sovereigns; now she found herself hopeless and helpless, her faith that she was once held noblest broken, and she unequal to any farther struggle.

Thus, the king upon her, in a vile hypocrite, even good, and she was

partial tax of ship-money to an all but univ- ersal decimation? What were agonies and m- tions by the Star Chamber to wholesale d- ders and executions by high courts of ju- What was an open profligacy worse than a secret lie? What the arrest of five members of the House of Commons to the utter vi- and destruction of every privilege Par- possessed, and even of the very form of its rights and its immunities? The cause of the death of Charles I. was the an- ce to the sacred principle of popular re- sentation. He laid down his head upon a block because he broke violently, and in three English Parliaments. Oliver had now merited, far more richly, the same doom, for he had committed, in the name of the people, the same stan- ces of greater atrocity, the self same But Charles was weak, and Cromwell and the people had undergone that most sad recoil from a virtuous and ited enthusiasm, to the debasing se- ure, depression, and indifference. last, however, had more hope in it- er sense to which they were now roused to give way. This was what mired their tyrant. Vilest degrada- was that! He flung some foreign v- them as a rattle or a toy, and they ceased, and they recollected what their Lord Protector was, and a sung song of praise!

"The sea's our own! and now all  
With bending sails, each vessel  
Our power extends as far as winds  
Or swelling sails upon the globe."

There may have been some fact that the sea was their own, but have been a much superior to have had their souls their own. A worse when covered or gilt, bet- ter is it to keep the meanness of a Stuart to its nakedness, than suffer it to be over- ed by the gorgeous tyrann-

I turn, with no feeling such brief mention as ma- of the foreign policy of the and Spain had continued each other in their mean power of Cromwell,\* that inherited from the foreign men, and which had thru- balance of Europe. The in these negotiations was Cromwell should be add- was offered by Spain to Lord Protector, but Fr-

\* So monstrous did this be- the most ribald jests in every Dutch absolutely struck a man- and his titles on one side, Br- resting his head in her be- person ludicrously expos- for stoops to offer it to him by the arm, and w- ings to the king, gal- ved in many Dutch gal- circulated, wherein the- ing in an attitude the m- of Spain on the one si- other, offering him pap- approaches. See a l- of De Retz.—[The- King Kippin's B- note DD.—C.]

other in command of Blake, with the professed purpose of restoring the natural dominion of England on the sea, but whose real and secret destination was to invade the American colonies, and surprise the Plate fleet of Spain, till then supposed by all men to be, and to be held, the most faithful ally of the Commonwealth.\* The bait took, and the most extraordinary excitement and pleasure was produced in various quarters of England. Preachers declared from their pulpits that the Protector intended to destroy Babylon; nothing less than the pope was, abroad, avowed to be his quarry; and Innocent X., expecting to be attacked in Rome, ordered fortifications to be built round the Church of our Lady of Loretto, the rich offerings in which were presumed to be the chief object of the heretic adventure!

Meanwhile Pen's fleet, carrying upward of 4000 soldiers, had arrived at Barbadoes, where they were instructed to open their sealed orders; and, opening them, there found instructions to take at once Cuba and Hispaniola. Re-enforcements of upward of 6000 additional troops awaited them for that purpose, and they instantly set forth. They had scarcely landed at Hispaniola, however, when they fell into an ambuscade, and were obliged to re-embark defeated. They made a subsequent descent on the island of Jamaica with better success. This great gain was yet held insufficient to balance the first defeat; and on the return of Pen and Venables, they were both committed to the Tower.

I may pause for an instant here to notice a sound example of Cromwell's far-seeing sagacity. Though men scouted in that day the acquisition of Jamaica, he saw its value in itself, and its importance in relation to future attempts on the continent of America. Exerting the inhuman power of a despot—occasionally, as hurricanes and other horrors, necessary for the purification of the world—he ordered his son Henry to seize on a thousand young girls in Ireland, and send them over to Jamaica,† for the purpose of increasing population there. A year later, and while the Italian Sagredo was in London, he issued an order that all females of disorderly lives should be arrested and shipped for Barbadoes for the like purpose. Twelve hundred were accordingly sent in three ships.

\* It afterward appeared to have been argued by Cromwell in his council, to justify the measure, that since America was not named in the treaties of 1604 and 1630, hostilities in America would be no infraction of those treaties (!); that the Spaniards had committed depredations on the English commerce in the West Indies, and were consequently liable to reprisals; that they had gained possession of these countries by force, against the will of the natives, and might, therefore, be justly dispossessed by force; and, lastly, that the conquest of these transatlantic territories would contribute to spread the light of the Gospel among the Indians, and to cramp the resources of popery in Europe. These were but shallow pretexts for concealment of more substantial personal aims.

† I quote from Henry Cromwell's answer to Thurloe: "Sir,—I understand by your last letter that the transportation of a thousand Irish girls, and the like number of boys, is resolved on by the council, but as touching what you write for the charges you will be at to putt them in an equipage fitt to be sent (havinge advised with some pious heer), I know not well what answer to return you to it; but it's thought most adviseable to provide their clothes for them in London, which we thinke you may doe better and at cheaper rates than wee can heer. Wee shall have, upon the receipt of his highness his pleasure, the number you propound, and more if you think fitt."—*Thurloe*, vol. iv., p. 87.

"Ho veduto prima," says Sagredo, "del mio partire piu squadre di soldati andar per Londra cercandro donne di allegra vita, imbarcandone 1200 sopra tre vascelli per tragittarle all' isola, a fine di far propagazione."\*

This subject may now be left with the following most able and characteristic letter from Cromwell to Major-general Fortescue, whom Venables had left in command of the newly-won island, in which the Lord Protector forcibly explains his views of the proper policy for security and improvement of the conquest.

"Sir,—You will herewith receive instructions for the better carryinge on of your buisness, which is not of small account here, although our discouragements have been many, for which we desier to humble ourselves before the Lorde, who hath sorely chastened us. I doe commend, in the midst of others' miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust, in everywhere you are, and takinge care of a company of poore sheepe left by their shepherds; and be assured, that as that which you have done hath been good in itself, and becominge an honest man, soe it hath a very good savour here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me, as oportunitie shall serve. I hope you have long before this time received that good supply which went from hence in July last, whereby you will perceive that you have not been forgotten heer. I hope alsoe the ships sent for New England are before this time with you; and lett me tell you—as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this buisness, though not to occasion any negligence in presentinge that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford—that you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistence as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford or you want. And therefore study first your securitie by fortifyinge; and although you have not monies for the present wherewith to doe it in such quantities as were to be wished, yet your case beinge as that of a marchinge army, wherein every soldier, out of principles of nature, and accordinge to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at the pains to secure the common quarter, wee hope no man among you will be soe wantinge to himself, consideringe food is provided for you, as not to be willinge to help to the uttermost therein; and therefore I require you and all with you, for the safetie of the whole, that this be made your principal intention. The doinge of this will require that you be verie careful not to scatter till you have begun a securitie in some one place. Next I desier you that you would consider how to form such a body of good horse as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at the next cominge into the Indies with his gallions, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landinge, who will hardly land upon a body of horse; and if he shall land, be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, & him from the provisions, if he shall endeavor to march towards you. Wee trust wee shall furnish you with bridles, saddles, and horse-shoes, and other thinges necessary for that worke,

\* A manuscript quoted by Dr. Lingard, vol. ii., p. 266.

desiringe you to the uttermost to improve what you have already of those sorts. Should it be knowne that you had 500 horse well appointed, ready to march upon all occasions in that island, even that alone might deterre the Spaniard from attempting anything upon you. Wee have sent commissioners and instructions into New England to trye what people may be drawn thence. Wee have done the like to the English windward islands, and both in England, Scotland, and Ireland you will have what men and women wee can well transport. Wee thinke, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas; and therefore wee could hartlie wish that the island of Providence were in our hands againe, believing that it lyes so advantageously in reference to the Mayne, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Cartagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprize, but even blocke up the same. It is discoursed here, that if the Spaniard doe attempt you, it is most likely it will be on the east end of the island, towards Cuba; as also Cuba upon Cuba is a place easily attempted, and hath in it a very rich copper mine. It would be good for the first, as you have opportunity, to informe yourself, and if there be need, to make a good worke thereupon, to prevent them; and for the other, and all thinges of that kinde, wee must leave them to your judgement upon the place, to doe therein as you shall see cause. To conclude, as wee have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at *St. Domingo upon the account of our owne sins, as well as others*, soe truly upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreame avarice, pride, and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness, commonly practised amongst the army, wee can not onlie bewail the same, butt desier that all with you may doe soe, and that a very special regard may be had soe to governe for time to come as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced and severely punished, and that such a frame of government may be exercised, that virtue and godlinesse may receive due encouragement."

Meanwhile Blake had triumphantly swept the Mediterranean, cleared that sea of pirates, and successively chastised the deys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He forced from the Grand-duke of Tuscany a compensation for having some years before countenanced in his port the sale of unlawful English prizes by Prince Rupert, and was able to send home, as reparation to the English owners whose goods had been thus sold by his permission, the sum of £60,000 in sixteen vessels. The Republic of Genoa thanked the Protector by a special embassy for having thus afforded protection and safety to maritime commerce; the Vaivode of Transylvania solicited his aid against the Turks; the King of Poland requested his succour against the growing power of Russia; and the canton of Zurich appealed to him as the natural guardian of Protestant states.

This was followed by other triumphs immediately connected with Cromwell's hypocritical pretences, and therefore of the greater service to him.\* It would not be becoming in this

\* (It is by no means proved that Cromwell was a hypo-

work to enter into any detail of the massacre of the Vaudois in the valleys of Piedmont, or of that general feeling of sympathy aroused in England, and forever impressed on history by the sublime voice of Milton.

"Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones  
Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;  
Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old,  
When all our fathers worship'd stocks and stones,  
Forget not! in thy book record their groans  
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold  
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd  
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans  
The vales redoubt to the hills, and they  
To heaven!"

Cromwell saw at once what a noble policy it would be to avenge these moans, and he did it in a manner which was worthy of the justice and sacredness of the cause. Milton conducted the negotiation. He refused to sign the French treaty with Mazarin, long and painfully protracted as it had been, till he had received what he quietly termed the "*opinion*" of Louis on the subject of the troubles in Piedmont. In vain Bordeaux remonstrated against this new pretext for delay; in vain maintained that the question bore no relation to the matter of the treaty; in vain protested that the King of France would never interfere with the internal administration of an independent state; and still more vainly held that the Duke of Savoy had as good a right to make laws for his Protestant subjects as the English government for the Catholics of the three kingdoms, and that the Vaudois were in reality rebels who had justly incurred the resentment of their sovereign. Cromwell stood unmoved. Bordeaux applied for an audience to take leave; still the Lord Protector abated no jot of his demand. The perplexity was ended by sudden intelligence that the Duke of Savoy, at the request of the King of France, had granted an amnesty to the Vaudois, and confirmed all their ancient privileges; that the boon had been gratefully received; and that the natives of the valleys, Protestants and Catholics, had met, embraced each other with tears, and sworn to live in perpetual amity together.

Projects respecting the Jews occupied at this period also the mind of Cromwell, but of which it will not be necessary to say more in this work than that, having appointed an assembly of men of various professions, divines, lawyers, and merchants, to take into consideration the expediency of permitting them to trade in England (leave for which had been supplicated by Manasseh Ben Israel, one of their chief rabbis), the general prejudices were discovered to be as yet too strong against that people to allow of their obtaining the liberty desired, or other privileges which Cromwell would gladly have granted them.\*

critic, and certainly his interference on behalf of the persecuted Piedmontese affords no evidence. This interference was in keeping with his religious life and entire character. —C.]

\* Thurlow thus writes to Henry Cromwell: "Wee have had very many disputations concerning the admittance of the Jewes to dwell in this Commonwealth, they havinge made an earnest desire to his highnesse to be admitted, whereupon he hath bene pleased to advise with some of the judges, merchants, and divines. The point of conscience hath bene only controverted yet, viz., whether it be lawfull to admit the Jewes now out of England to returne againe into it. The divines doe very much differ in their judgements about it, some beinge for their admittance upon fittinge cautions, others are in expresse termes against

The treaty with France was signed shortly after the submission of Savoy. It was drawn up in Latin; and on its being observed that Louis styled himself *Rex Gallia*, since there was no longer an English king to claim the silly title, Cromwell objected, insisted on *Rex Gallorum*, and Mazarin at length complied. The chief conditions of this treaty were, that France should indemnify English merchants for injuries to their commerce; that the conquest of Dunkirk should be made for England by their joint forces; and that Charles II., his family, and his court, should be forever excluded from the French territory. Of the Stuarts, the Duke of York only was then in France; and Cromwell, at the request of Mazarin, consented to his being allowed to remain there.\* The duke repaid Cromwell for this concession by sending his brother, within a few days after, a deliberate proposition for the murder of the Lord Protector, accompanied by the last court burlesque. The letter was caught by the ever-watchful Thurloe.

"There is a proposition has been made to me which is too long to put in a letter; so that I will, as short as I can, lett you know the heads of them. There are fower Roman Catholikes that have bound themselves in a solemn oath to kill Cromwell, and then to raise all the Catholikes in the City and the Army, which they pretend to be a number so considerable as may give a rise for your recovery, they beinge all warn'd to be ready for somethinge that is to be done, without knowinge what it is. They demand ten thousand lires in hand; and when the businesse is ended, some recompence for themselves according to their severall qualities, and the same liberty for Catholikes in England as the Protestants have in France. I thought not fit to reject this proposition, butt to acquainte you with it, because the first parte of the desine seems to me to be better layd and resolved on than any I have knowen of that kind; and for the defects of the second, it may be supply'd by some desines you may have to join to it. If you approve of it, one of the fower, intrusted by the rest, will repaire to you, his charges being borne, and give you a full account of the whole matter. In the mean time, he desires, in his owne name and theirs, that you would lett butt one or two, whome you most trust, know it, and enjoyne them secrecy. This is all I can say of it at this time. I have not much more to say at present, there beinge no certaine newse of the treaty with Cromwell, though it is much reported that it is agreed on, though not sign'd. For my owne businesse, my Lord Jermin, who comes now from speaking with the

it upon any termes whatsoever. The like difference I finde in the councill, and soe amongst all Christians abroad. The matter is debated with great candour and ingenuitie, and without any heat. What the issue thereof will be I am not able to tell you, butt am apt to thinke that nothinge will be done therein."—*Thurloe*, vol. iv., p. 321.

\* Lockhart was sent ambassador to France, where he was treated with peculiar favour. A Paris letter of a later date may describe this: "They do caress here the Lord Protector very much; also Colonel Lockhart was well dismissed. The lord-cardinal presented to him four exceeding fine horses, for the saddle, for the Lord Protector. The said Colonel Lockhart told me himself he never saw such fine horses, and that the lord his master would be mightily pleased with them. He told me likewise that this court had given him good content in all things, so that he went from hence very well satisfied, and thinks to return hither again shortly."—*Thurloe*, vol. v., p. 656.

Cardinall, will give you an account of it, soe that I need not trouble you with it, or the other newes of this place; only this, that it is soe hot wether, that I have been a swimming this afternoon, and never found the Water warmer. I send you some songs of the last bullett inclosed with the Gazette burlesque. This is all I have to trouble you with at present."

Spain had now, of course, taken measures of extreme hostility, and had even sanctioned a most unnatural plot against the person of the English Protector, in connexion with a fierce Fifth-Monarchy Republican, Colonel Sexby, and the exiled Charles Stuart. The war between the two nations, however, proceeded languidly, without much sympathy on the part of the people generally, and with the decided opposition of the London merchants, whose trade it so seriously interfered with. One incident then suddenly occurred to give to it a temporary brilliancy. Blake (whose stern Republicanism always kept Cromwell in fear) had been joined in the command by Montague, and sent in second pursuit of the Spanish Plate fleet. Without military force, however, they found they could not strike the necessary blow at Cadiz or Gibraltar, and therefore, abandoning the attempt, they sailed to Lisbon; completed the old treaty by forcing from Don John a stipulated payment of £50,000; returned to Cadiz; passed the Straits; insulted the Spaniards in Malaga, the Moors in Sallee; and after a fruitless cruise of more than two months, anchored a second time in the Tagus. Here it most opportunely and fortunately happened that one of their captains, Stayner, with a squadron of frigates, fell in with a Spanish fleet of eight sail from America. Of these he destroyed four and captured two, one of which was laden with golden ingots and other treasure. Montague was at once sent home with the prize, valued in his despatch at £300,000. The Protectorate prints raised the amount to two millions; and the friends of Cromwell hailed the event "as a renewed testimony of God's presence, and some witness of his acceptance of the engagement against Spain." To his more servile flatterers it suggested what they knew would be far more welcome to the Lord Protector. "And now," said Walker,

"Returns victorious Montague,  
With laurels in his hand, and half Peru.  
Let the brave generals divide that hough;  
Our great Protector hath such wreaths enough;  
His conquering head has no more room for lays,  
Then let it be as the glad nation prays:  
Let the rich ore be forthwith melted down;  
And the state fard, by making him a crown;  
With ermine clad, and purple, let him hold  
A royal sceptre, made of Spanish gold."

The same thought was already working in the brain of Cromwell, and might have worked more profitably there had there been more of this Spanish gold. But the truth was, that his treasury, notwithstanding these grateful supplies, notwithstanding all his infamous extortions, was at this instant wellnigh exhausted. The equipments of the various fleets had run it out, and, having been forced into contests for the right of levying taxes with some few spirited individuals\* in his own courts of law, even he durst not exercise his power of levying while

\* Besides Cony, Sir Peter Wentworth and others had resisted his assessments in the country.

the question was still under judgment. The most famous case of this sort was that of a merchant named Cony, who narrowly escaped the glory of another Hampden. He refused the payment of certain custom duties, on the ground of their not being levied by authority of Parliament; referred to the opposition of Rolls, Valentine, and Chambers, in a similar case, to Charles I., and recalled to the memory of Cromwell his own expression in the Long Parliament, "that the subject who submits to an illegal impost is more the enemy of his country than the tyrant who imposes it." Cromwell answered this by committing him to prison for contempt. He claimed his writ of habeas corpus, and retained three of the most eminent lawyers at the bar, Maynard, Twisden, and Wadham Windham, to plead it for him. They did so, and are said to have urged such arguments, and enforced them with such vigour, that, if ceded to, they would have shaken the Protectorate to its base. Maynard and his fellow-pleaders were accordingly, the day after these arguments, sent to the Tower, on the charge of having held language destructive to the existing government.

But the case did not end here. The day following, Cony, unsupported by counsel, presented himself at the bar of the Upper Bench, and urged his own cause with so much power, that Rolle, who presided in the court, was either moved very far towards conviction, or suffered very heavily from shame. He delayed the case for a term on some formal pretence, gave in his resignation in the interim, and was at once succeeded by Glyn in the chair of the chief-justice. Maynard, Twisden, and Windham, on their submission, were discharged from confinement; and Cony was prevailed upon, by some secret means, which must forever dishonour a memory that had so nearly become illustrious, to bring his cause no more before the court.

Cromwell was still left, however, in a most difficult position; a position from which the name and the forms of some Parliamentary authority could alone, he saw at last, by any possibility rescue him. So hard he found it, even with such resources as he had called into existence, to subdue utterly a nation which had once been free. Writs were issued for a Parliament to meet on the 17th of December, 1656.

Before I proceed to sketch the incidents of that Parliament, it may be interesting to supply from the page of Lord Clarendon's history a view of the power and position of Cromwell, as it now appeared to the view of the Royalists. It marks an emphatic lesson in the life of the Lord Protector, that with all this show of influence and glory, which cannot be altogether in fairness disputed, his real resources should have been to the last degree mean, crippled, and low. There was, indeed, a ghastly skeleton under the painted face.

"After he was confirmed and invested Protector by the humble Petition and Advice, he consulted with very few upon any action of importance, nor communicated any enterprise he resolved upon with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he

was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority, but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

"When he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part, and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, 'as an imposition notoriously against the law and the property of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend.' Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of 'the old kindness and friendship that had been between them; and that, of all men, he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the Commonwealth.' But it was always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own in cases of the like nature: so this man remembered him how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared 'that all who submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who had imposed them; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous but by the tameness and stupidity of the people.' When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him that 'he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master.' Thereupon, with some terms of reproach and contempt, he committed the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it, but, as soon as the term came, he brought his habeas corpus in the King's Bench, which they then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, who was of counsel with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the Protector's attorney required a farther delay, to answer what had been urged. Before that day Maynard was committed to the Tower for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority, and the judges were sent for and severely reprehended for suffering that license. When they, with all humility, mentioned the law and Magna Charta, Cromwell told them, 'their magna f. . . should not control his actions, which he knew were for the safety of the Commonwealth.' He asked them, 'Who made them judges? Whether they had any authority to sit there but what he gave them? and, if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves, and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them,' and so dismissed them with caution that they should not suffer the lawyers 'to prate what it would not become them to hear.'

"Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and made Westminster Hall as obedient and subservient to his commands as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did

not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and dared to civilly contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure and courted his protection, he used a wonderful generosity and bounty.

"To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was undevoted to him and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him; to manifest which there needs only two instances: the first is, when those of the Valley of Lucerne had unwarily rebelled against the Duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the pope, and the neighbour princes of Italy, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it. Cromwell sent his agent to the Duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce, and so engaged the cardinal, and even terrified the pope himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman Catholics (nothing being more usual than his saying 'that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia, and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome'), that the Duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed and newly forfeited.

"The other instance of his authority was yet greater and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season, when consuls, who are the chief magistrates, were to be chosen. Those of the Reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy, which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the Reformed religion possessed themselves, with many armed men, of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, 'They were there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, and to be sure that the election should be fairly made.' The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the Church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which

was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded, whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other till they should be better provided; in order to which, they sent an express to the court, with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, 'and that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the Reformed religion in other places of the province, but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great numbers, which were little inferior to those of the Catholics.' The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them forever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France, with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

"Those of the religion in the town were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves, and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered 'that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage, but they could say nothing upon the subject till the king's pleasure should be known, to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed.' The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, a Scotchman, who had lived many years in that place and in Montpellier, to Cromwell, to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him 'refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business that, by the time he came to Paris, he should find it despatched;' and that night sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart, who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops which were upon their march towards Nismes; and, within a few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing, so that nobody can wonder that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration.

"He would never suffer himself to be denied anything he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging

'that the people would not be otherwise satisfied,' which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited Madame Turenne, and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches; whereupon the cardinal told her 'that he knew not how to behave himself: if he advised the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join with the Spaniard; and if he showed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him a heretic.'

The excitement at the election for the Parliament now summoned exceeded that of any previous occasion. It has been described in this work,\* and requires very brief allusion here. Vane reappeared upon the agitated scene by the publication of his "Healing Question." He was summoned before the council, and committed to Carisbrook. Bradshaw, Ludlow, and Rich were also, on various pretences, arrested. Bradshaw was removed from his office of chief-justice of Chester; Rich was incarcerated in Windsor Castle; and Ludlow, after some detention, discharged on his reluctant concession of bail.† Colonel Okey and Vice-admiral Law-

\* In the Memoir of Vane.

† Ludlow has characteristically described his interview with Cromwell and his military satellites on this occasion: "The next Wednesday after my arrival, about eight in the evening, Cromwell sent a gentleman, one Mr. Tenwick, to let me know that he would speak with me. I found him in his bedchamber at Whitehall, and with him Major-general Lambert, Col. Sydenham, Mr. Walter Strickland, Col. Montague, and soon after came in Lieutenant-general Fleetwood. . . . He asked me wherefore I would not engage not to act against the present government, telling me that if Nero were in power, it would be my duty to submit. To which I replied, that I was ready to submit, and could truly say that I knew not of any design against him. But, said I, if Providence open a way, and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it. However, said he, it is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to come within my house till he assure me he will do me no mischief. I told him I was not accustomed to go to any house unless I expected to be welcome; neither had I come hither but upon a message from him; and that I desired nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men. . . . Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said that he had been always ready to do me what good offices he could, and that he wished me as well as he did any one of his council, desiring me to make choice of some place to be in where I might have good air. I assured him that my dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person, and that, if my own father were alive and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great. He acknowledged that I had always carried myself fairly and openly to him, and protested that he had never given me just cause to act otherwise. . . . Major-general Lambert then desired to know from me why I could not own this as a lawful government. Because, said I, it seems to me to be in substance a re-establishment of that which we all engaged against, and had with a great expense of blood and treasure abolished. What then, said he, would you account to be a sufficient warrant for you to act against the present authority? I answered, when I might rationally hope to be supported by an authority equal or superior to this, and could be persuaded that the said authority would employ its power for the good of mankind. But who shall be judge of that? said he; for all are ready to say that they do so, and we ourselves think we use the best of our endeavours to that end. I replied that if they did so, their crime was the less, because every man stands obliged to govern himself by the light of his own reason, which rule, with the assistance of God, I was determined to observe. Col. Sydenham said we might be mistaken in judging that to be a power giving us a just and rational call to act, which may not be so. I told him that we ought to be very careful and circumspect in that particular, and at least be assured of very probable grounds to believe the power under which we engage to be sufficiently able to protect us in our undertaking, otherwise I should account

rence were also arrested, and Harrison was sent, with a strong escort, into Pendennis Castle in Cornwall. The chiefs of the Royalists who had shown the smallest activity were at the same time flung into the Tower. But all was in vain: the returns showed Cromwell and his council the bitter truth, that the constituencies had once more decided against him. Among the members were Scot and Hazlerig; Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who had quarrelled with the Protector, and resigned his seat in the council; Maynard, who had resisted him in the case of Cony; Thorpe, one of the judges who had resigned his authority; Chaloner, Chute, Popham, and other decided Republicans; Sir Henry Milding, and Lord Salisbury. Cromwell took the desperate resolution at once of excluding these and others. The Instrument of Government vested in the council the power of verifying the regularity of the elections; and Cromwell, extending it into a right to cancel the returns, however regular, at his mere personal discretion, supplied a list of nearly a hundred members immediately obnoxious to him, and including all those I have named, to be excluded for "immorality" or "delinquency!"

Unconscious of this, the new Parliament met the Protector on the 17th, in the Painted Chamber, when he addressed them in a long, obscure, but most artful speech. It was clear from the first that his sole object was to procure money; and with this view he sought to excite their alarm and to interest their religious antipathies. He enumerated the enemies of the nation. The first was the Spaniard, the natural adversary of England, because he was the slave of the pope, a child of darkness, and consequently hostile to the light; blinded by superstition, and anxious to put down the things of God; one with whom it was impossible to be at peace, and to whom, in relation to this country, might be applied the words of Scripture, "I will put enmity between thy seed and her seed." There was also Charles Stuart, who, with the aid of the Spaniard and the Duke of Neuburg, had raised a formidable army for the invasion of the island. There were the Papists and Cavaliers, who had already risen, and were again ready to rise, in favour of Charles Stuart. He mentioned a plot for surprising himself, as he lay in his bed at Whitehall, and another for blowing up the apartment in which he slept, but expressed himself respecting them with contempt. He next assailed the Levellers, who had sent an agent to the court of Madrid (Colonel Sexby), and the Fifth-Monarchy men, who sought a union with the Levellers against him, "a reconciliation between Herod and Pilate, that Christ might be put to death." He afterward eulogized the good effects which had arisen from his appointment of the major-generals, which, he said, had been greatly successful, first, in suppressing vice and profligacy, and next, in establishing an unusual internal tranquillity! He was earnest in recommending the toleration of all conscientious Christians, Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists, however they might differ in inferior matters; ap-

myself not only guilty of my own blood, but also, in some measure, of the ruin and destruction of all those that I should induce to engage with me, though the cause were never so just."



us. The covenant is without us—a transaction between God and Christ—look up to it! God ingageth in it to pardon us, to write his law on our heart, to plant his fear, that wee shall never depart from him. Wee under all our sins and infirmities can daily offer a perfect Christ, and thus wee have peace, and safety, and apprehension of love, from a Father in Covenant, who cannot deny himselfe: and truly in this is all my Salvation, and this helps me to bear my great burthens. . . . *If you have a mind to come over with your deere Wife, &c., take your best opportunitie for the good of the publike and your own convenience.* The Lorde bless you all. Pray for me, that the Lorde would direct and keep me his servant. I bless the Lorde I am not my own, *but my condition to flesh and blood is very hard.* Pray for me; I do for you all; comend me to all friends. I rest, your lovinge Father,

OLIVER, P."

Fleetwood accepted the invitation, came over to London, and never returned to his Irish government. His wily father-in-law had merely wished to see him, to effect, by his powers of persuasion, what Fleetwood would have resented with scorn and indignation if attempted in any other way. The real truth was, that Cromwell had already positively resolved that his son Henry should be Irish deputy—an office for which Fleetwood had proved himself incapable—and shortly after Fleetwood's return, Henry proceeded to Ireland!

The consummate ability with which he there administered the government of the Protectorate is not a subject for discussion in these pages. As I shall not again return to it, however, it may be as well to show, in a private letter from the Protector to his son, the relation of assistance and advice which from this period till Oliver's death subsisted between them. Shortly after his departure, the following letter was despatched to him. It refers to the disaffected, and imbibes excellent advice—"moderation and love" to Ludlow and the Republicans, caution and detention in the case of Mervin and the Royalists.

"SONN,—I have seen y<sup>r</sup> letter writt unto Mr Secretary Thurloe, and doe finde thereby that you are very apprehensive of the carriage of some persons with you towards yo<sup>r</sup>self and the publike affaires. I doe believe there may be some perticular persons who are not very well pleased w<sup>th</sup> the present condition of thinges, and may be apt to show their discontents as they have oportunitie; but this should not make too great impressions in you. Time and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that w<sup>th</sup> for the present seemes to be hid from them; *especially if they shall see yo<sup>r</sup> moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you*; which I earnestly desier you to studie and endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be. . . . For what you write of more help, I have long endeavoured it, and shall not be wanting to send you some further addition to the Councell, *as soone as Men can be found out who are fitt for y<sup>r</sup> trust.* I am alsoe thinkinge of sendinge over to you a fitt person *who may comand the north of Ireland, w<sup>ch</sup> I believe stands in great need of*

one. And I am of y<sup>r</sup> opinion that Trev<sup>r</sup> and Col. Mervin are very dangerous persons, and may be made the heads of a new Rebellion; and therefore I would have you move the Councell that they be secured in some very safe place, and the farther out of their own Countie the better. I comend you to the Lorde, and rest your aff<sup>r</sup> father,

OLIVER, P."

The ex-governor Fleetwood meanwhile presented himself, with Desborough, as ready tools for the Protector's purpose in his great despotic plan. He laid the base of it in the already subsisting old English militia arrangements. It was feasible, by their means, he saw, to divide England and Wales, with little trouble, into ten or twelve districts, and to place over the militia of each of these districts an officer with the name of major-general. This plan was carried on with the utmost secrecy for more than two months, and only openly declared when ripe for execution. It was then announced, by a vote of the Protector's council, that the command of militia, in ten districts that were named, should be intrusted to Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert, Whaley, Goffe, Skippon, Colonel James Berry, Colonel Thomas Kelsey, Colonel William Boteler, and Major Charles Worsley. To these were afterward added Barkstead, lieutenant of the Tower, and Admiral Dawkins. The districts were, by another vote, apportioned in detail. Fleetwood had the counties of Oxford, Bucks, Hertford, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridge, being permitted to appoint Colonel Henry Haines as his deputy for the last four. Lambert, having received the north of England into his charge, was allowed, as a still greater man than Fleetwood, to appoint Colonel Richard Lilburne for the counties of York and Durham, and Colonel Charles Howard, afterward Earl of Carlisle, for Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland. His own name was merely reserved to give ornament and dignity to the affair. Whaley had the command of the militia of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, and Leicester; Goffe, of Sussex, Hants, and Berks; Skippon, of London; Berry, of Worcester, Hereford, Salop, and North Wales; Kelsey, of Kent and Surrey; Boteler, of Northampton, Bedford, Huntingdon, and Rutland; Worsley, of Chester, Lancaster, and Stafford; Barkstead, of Westminster and Middlesex; and Dawkins, of Monmouthshire and South Wales.

And what were the ostensible duties of these formidable major-generals? I will first give the substance of their official instructions, and then exhibit their powers in action. They were, according to the former,\* first, to endeavour to suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellions, and all other unlawful assemblies; and for this purpose, to draw together their forces and troops, and march them to such places as they should judge convenient. Secondly, to take care and give orders that all papists, and others who had been in arms against the Parliament, as well as all who were found dangerous to the peace of the nation, should be deprived of their arms, which should be secured in some neighbouring garrison, or otherwise

\* The paper was officially published as "Instructions and orders to the major-generals for preserving the peace of the Commonwealth." See Godwin, vol. iv.



disposed of. Thirdly, every master of a family, or householder, who was considered as disaffected, was to be required to give security, by his bond, for the good behaviour of all his menial servants, the servants being liable to be called to appear before the major-general, or his deputy, at such time and place as either should appoint. Fourthly, an office of register was to be set up in London, where the names of all persons thus giving security were to be entered, together with their residence; and as often as they changed their abode, this was also to be punctually recorded, and the notice communicated to the major-general of each district, as the case might require. Fifthly, every person, whether foreigner or otherwise, who came from beyond sea, was required, within twenty-four hours after his landing, to appear before the person whom the major-general of the district should appoint in the different ports for that purpose, to deliver his name, and an account of the place from whence he came and to which he intended to go; as also, if he came to London, to appear before the registrar there, and give an account of his lodging and his purpose; all his removals from place to place being to be reciprocally communicated between the registrar in London and the major-generals in the different districts. Sixthly, the major-generals were to take an account of what had been done in execution of the ordinance against insufficient and scandalous ministers and school-masters, to the end that no disaffected persons might be allowed in public teaching, or in the education of youth. To these were added certain articles, with which the instructions were concluded, as to high roads and robberies; the execution of the laws against drunkenness and blasphemy, and gaming-houses, and houses of ill fame, as well as respecting idle and loose persons, who had no visible means of subsistence; and they granted not only the power to apprehend thieves and robbers, but also to permit no horse-races, cock-fightings, bear-baiting, or stage-plays, within the several counties.

Such was the tenour of the instructions, as openly published in the papers of the time, and designed to convey the idea, as far as it was possible, of a kind of general rural police and civil regulation. Appended to the commission of each, however, were these ominous words, with Cromwell's signature: "And you are to observe and follow such directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourself." The most essential portion of their instructions was, in truth, altogether secret; and in their subsequent correspondence with the government, as we find it in Thurloe, can we alone discover the whole extent and object of this atrocious despotism.

There we ascertain the plan of assessment by means of these tools of tyranny, and the parties on whom it was imposed. They were empowered to summon before them any persons whom they should consider as disaffected to the government, or who had no calling or visible means of subsistence, and require them to give an account of themselves and their property, which they then assessed to the state. They were at the same time authorized to receive information from any other quarters, and by that means to correct any attempted misrepresenta-

tations of principles. Any disobedience to the major-generals made the offender liable to imprisonment at the pleasure of the Protector and council. The Royalists, terrified at the extensive arrests and imprisonments which took place among their brethren, and awed by the military preparations which were made to subdue resistance, appear, from all the accounts that are preserved, to have promptly obeyed the summons of these *armed justices*, and for the most part yielded quietly to assessments which were imposed upon them. There was, indeed, no hope of redress in any case. The sole appeal was reserved to the Protector in council, and all privilege or appeal to the laws was forever barred and stopped. The major-generals, therefore, summoned whomsoever they pleased to appear before them as delinquents; and it was fatal to slight their commands. They inquired into every man's estate and income, and assessed it to a tenth of its annual value; if any one endeavoured to clear himself of delinquency, they assumed the privilege of pronouncing upon the validity of his defence. They sent whom they pleased to prison, and confined them where they pleased; and it has been remarked by Mr. Godwin, as one of the general characteristics of Cromwell's government, that those who were judged to be disaffected never succeeded in their endeavours to be set at large in due course of law.\*

But one or two individual cases will at once express the general iniquity. Worsley, for example, thus writes to Thurloe from Stafford: "Yesterday we had a meeting at this town, and I have made a good progress in our business. *We have assessed diverse, and the rest must expect it with all speed.* I hope we shall pay our county troop out of what we have done already, and provide you a considerable sum for other uses. We have sent out warrants to give notice to the whole county of our day of meeting, when we shall sit upon the ordinance for the ejecting of scandalous ministers. We have disarmed the disaffected in this county. *We shall fall off snapping some of our old blades that will not let us be quiet.* We have found an estate of Penruddock's that was executed, and have ordered it to be sequestered. I hope shortly to give you a good account of the rest of the counties." Desborough writes in equal spirits with his infamous work. "Yesterday we proceeded upon taxing seven or eight of this county, among whom was Sir James Thynn, who was at first a little averse, and did plead as much innocence as my Lord Seymour hath done; *but at last, having no refuge, was constrained to comply*; and I think of those eight that we have already dealt withal, *the sum will amount to six or seven hundred pounds per annum.* There are four more to appear this morning, and then I intend for Blandford, to attend the Dorsetshire gentlemen, and so to Marlborough, where there are twenty more to be summoned."

The case of Cleaveland, the Royalist poet, has been already referred to in this work.† He had offended Cromwell in early years, and was one of the first victims to the power of the major-generals in Norwich. Cleaveland was a man of masterly talents, and one of the most popu-

\* See Godwin, vol. iv., p. 236, et seq.

† See ante, p. 412.

England, which showed, in the eloquent language of just indignation, for what excellent reasons such men had been excluded from the subservient and servile business for which the tyrant of England had summoned what he called a Parliament. It is more the business of this work to supply the substance of that noble appeal, than to trace the repulsive track of the mean and spiritless members who continued to crawl before the feet of their master and lord.

It stated—and it bore the signature of a hundred educated and wealthy Englishmen—that when our ancestors in Parliament had found oppression and tyranny too strong for them to subdue, they had often made their protestations, and forewarned the people of their danger. The remonstrators referred particularly to a protestation of the third Parliament of the late king (March, 1629), in which they had declared, that whoever should advise him to levy tonnage and poundage, not being granted by Parliament, should be accounted a capital enemy; and whoever paid the tax, a betrayer of the liberties of England. They go on to say, that the rumour has doubtless gone through the nation, that a considerable number of the members, chosen by the people to represent them in Parliament, have, by force of arms, been excluded from the place of their sitting; but they express their fear that the slavery, rapines, cruelties, murders, and confusion comprehended in that one horrid fact have not been so sensibly discerned, and so much laid to heart, as the case required; and they doubt not but, *as the manner of the man had been, that the name of God and religion, and formal fasts and prayers, will be made use of to colour over the blackness of the deed.*

They proceed, therefore, to remonstrate, that, by the fundamental rights of the nation, the people ought not to be bound by any laws but such as have been freely consented to by their deputies in Parliament, and that *by preserving this principle, the good people of England have, beyond the memory of any record, retained their estates, their families, and their lives, which had else been destroyed at the will of every tyrant.* They add, that the Parliaments of England, consisting of the people's chosen deputies, have always been, and ought to be, the ordainers and creators of dignities, offices, and authorities within this nation, and have of right exercised the power of disposing even of the kingly office, and of enlarging or restraining the kingly power; and have questioned, censured, and judged even the persons of our kings themselves, who have acknowledged their power to be only intrusted to them for the nation's welfare. English kings had feared the people's complaints in Parliament, well aware that it was their custom to choose for their deputies the most known champions for their liberties; and none of the kings, in their highest attempts at tyranny, had ever dared to throw aside by force as many of the chosen members as they thought would not serve their ends, till the time of the present Protector. But, they observe, the chief magistrate now in office declares that his proclamations shall have the force of laws, and *takes upon himself to be above the people of England, and to censure the whole*

or any part, by no other rule than his own pleasure. Doubtless, if he had conquered the nation, he yet could not but know that the right of the people's deputies in Parliament would remain good against him, as against a public enemy, unless, by some agreement with the people in Parliament, he were admitted to some sort of governing power; nor could he be discharged from the character of a public enemy by any agreement with a part of the people's deputies, while he shut out another part.

These gallant and high-spirited men conclude, therefore, with protesting, first, that whoever had advised or assisted the Protector in excluding a part of the people's deputies, was a capital enemy of the Commonwealth; and they quote the instance of Judge Treilian, under Richard II., who was executed at Tyburn for advising the king to dissolve the Parliament. Secondly, that all such members as should sit, act, and vote in the name of a Parliament, while other legal members were shut out, were to be accounted *betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the Commonwealth.*

Nor did these at all belie the description. They had at once passed a resolution declaratory of the justice and policy of the war against Spain, and two acts, by one of which were annulled all claims of Charles Stuart and his family to the crown, while by the other additional safeguards were provided for the person of their chief governor, Oliver Cromwell. With the same unanimity a supply of £400,000 had been voted; but when the means of raising the money came under consideration, a great diversity of opinion prevailed, and upon this question even these poor tools of the Protectorate did not dare to commit themselves with the country, subdued and distracted as it was beneath the hope of effectual resistance. Some proposed to inquire into the conduct of the treasury; some to adopt improvements in the collection of the revenue; others recommended an augmentation of the excise; and others a more economical system of expenditure. In the discussion of these questions and of private bills, week after week, and month after month, were most unprofitably consumed; though the time limited by the Instrument was passed, still the money-bill had made no progress; and, to add to the impatience of Cromwell—who, though he had an important matter of his own to engage him meanwhile, still showed himself impatient—they commenced a series of infamous cruelties and tortures against Fox, Naylor, Biddle, the Quakers, the Unitarians, the Muggletonians, and other strange religious sects that had recently started up.

All this, however, while it added to the Protector's impatience, was secretly advancing his design, which, with his more private creatures, had been in discussion and deliberation ever since this Parliament assembled. This was no less than the expediency of venturing on a revival of kingship, and assuming for himself the crown. The strongest effect he was yet called on to encounter had been wrought against the Protectorate by the gallant remonstrance he had just provoked: everywhere around him were symptoms of dissolution and change,

which it would speedily require some bold and novel course of policy to gather up for even common safety; his major-generals were hated universally; the system he had hoped to establish was confessedly a failure; that very system, however, had prepared the way for any change as some relief; and some change there must be, sooner or later, since all the designs he held once, in connexion with the Protectorate, had either been thwarted or had utterly failed. He now saw, in addition, that the Presbyterian and sectarian measures of this Parliament—repulsive to the general body of the people—would give him for the moment a fictitious consideration for superior wisdom and gentleness. Having satisfied himself, in any case, that now was the fit time to strike the blow, he suffered not the delay of another instant.

The first idea he had was to seize the occasion of propitiating the people, still more than in a disapproval of the sectarian cruelties of the Parliament, by effecting a dissolution of the powers of the major-generals! He, therefore, who had called that body into existence—who, at the opening of the Parliament, had been eloquent in their praise—he who had declared that, after his experience of their utility, “if the thing were undone, he would do it again”—he now not only abandoned them himself, but instructed those over whom he had the greatest influence in the House, to conduct the opposition against them! He overreached himself in this, as he afterward discovered, most egregiously.

The subject was opened in the House on the question of the legal confirmation of the major-generals, according to a previous wily scheme, by the Protector's son-in-law Claypole, who said he did but start the game, and must leave it to others more experienced than he to follow in the chase. He should, therefore, only say, that to violate the Act of Oblivion, as the major-generals and their instructions had invariably done, was a proceeding that should not have his approbation. He had believed that, in the situation in which the nation then stood, the commission and measures of the major-generals were necessary, and they ought, therefore, to be indemnified; but to turn such proceedings into a law was an affair of a very different sort; nor could he admit that the authority which had been given to these officers was fit any longer to be continued. The debate which followed was unusually long and obstinate. It continued for ten successive days. Lambert and the major-generals were strenuous in supporting the measure, and Broghill, another close creature of Cromwell's, as strenuously opposed it, and spoke for the instant dispersion of the major-generals. So did Whitelocke. At length the Protector's desire was even more directly declared. In one of the later debates, a lively youth, Colonel Henry Cromwell, grandson of old Sir Oliver Cromwell, and, of course, nephew to the Protector, rose, after Boteler, one of the major-generals, had finished his speech in favour of the bill, and replied with great smartness. He observed, that the last speaker, as well as several that had gone before him, had argued that, because some of the Cavaliers had done amiss,

all ought to be punished. “By the same rule,” said this stripling, “I may infer that, because some of the major-generals have done ill, of which I offer to produce proofs, all of them ought to be visited with the censure of this House.” Major-general Kelsey, who probably held himself to be particularly aimed at, immediately called the speaker to order, and insisted that he should name the persons whom he charged as offenders. The colonel declared his entire readiness to do so, and that he seconded the proposition of the major-general. It was, however, determined to put off this question till the end of the debate, that the main business might not be interrupted. A similar scene passed with another member on the following morning, when the major-generals were flattered with comparisons to a set of Turkish bashaws.

Meanwhile it was intimated to young Cromwell that he should repent the attack he had made, and that he would find the Protector, his kinsman, greatly offended with his forwardness. The colonel, we are told, thus rebuked, immediately repaired to his highness, and avowed what he had said, holding forth documents in his hands to justify his assertions. Cromwell, in return, reproached him, between jest and earnest, with the rashness of his conduct; and, at the close of the interview, pulled off a rich scarlet cloak he happened to wear, and presented it, with his gloves, to the youth. The next day Henry Cromwell came down to the House, wearing these tokens of his triumph, to the great satisfaction and delight of some, to the trouble of others,\* and to the special mortification of the major-generals, who, by the desertion of Cromwell, found themselves subsequently exposed to actions at law for the exercise of those powers which they had accepted in obedience to his command. The result of the debate was to disallow their authority by a majority of 124 to 88. Lambert and Cromwell never afterward spoke to each other.

The explosion of the Sexby and Syndercombe plot against Cromwell's life now happened so opportunely in furtherance of Cromwell's designs, that it became the general belief afterward that it had been purposely forced on by Thurloe's spies. A casual mention of the policy of re-establishing “kingship” followed immediately in the House, and was succeeded by a more deliberate and explicit recommendation of it from Mr. Ashe, who, in a brief discussion on the Syndercombe plot, and measures for the greater safety of his highness's person, remarked boldly, “I would have something else added, which, in my opinion, would tend very much to the preservation of himself and us, and to the quieting of all the designs of our enemies—that his highness would be pleased to take upon him the government according to the ancient Constitution, so that the hopes of our enemies and their plots would be at an end.”

This suggestion was made on the 19th of January, 1657, and seems to have been tolerably well received by several of the members. One of them, indeed, remarked, that he did not know what was meant by the “ancient Constitution,” if it were not the interest of Charles Stuart, whom he hoped that they did not intend

\* Godwin, vol. iv., p. 329-330. Thurloe, vol. vi., p. 20.

to call back again. He had no wish that Cromwell should be appointed the viceroy of the exiled king, or any such thing. But another, Mr. Robinson, replied, that it was not a matter of merriment: on the contrary, it was one which ought to be seriously weighed. "When," said he, "men pull down their houses that are ruinous, they try a while by setting up shrouds; but, finding them drop in, they build their houses again. I cannot propound a better expedient for the preservation both of his highness and the people, than by establishing the government upon the old and tried foundation, as was moved to you by a grave and well-experienced person." Still there was some starting resistance. One of the orators exclaimed, "Will you make the Protector the greatest hypocrite in the world?" Yet most serviceable had the hint and its preliminary skirmish proved, since it marked the relative quarters of favour and opposition.

The next incidents in the comedy were an address of congratulation to Cromwell on his escape from assassination, and his own princely entertainment to the various members given at Whitehall. As soon as ever they reassembled, the grand scheme was fairly broached. Whitelocke had been asked to do it, but warily refused. He readily promised, at the same time, to support it with all his power.

The day was the 23d of February, and as soon as the members were seated, Sir Christopher Pack, an alderman, and representative of London, who had been lord-mayor,\* called the attention of the House to the unsettled state of the nation; suggested that, as the best remedy, "the Lord Protector might be desired to assume the title of king, as the best known and most agreeable kind of government to the English;" and proposed that a bill which he held in his hand should be read. So extraordinary was the sensation when the word *king* declared itself at last, that many members rose simultaneously from their seats, and poor Pack was violently borne down to the bar;† but, on the restoration of order, he found himself supported by Broghill, Whitelocke, and Glyn, and, with them, by the whole body of the lawyers and the dependants of the court. The paper was ultimately read, after a division on that question, in which the party of the Protector gained a triumph, carrying with them a majority of 144 to 54. It was entitled, "An humble Address and Remonstrance." It protested against the existing form of government, which depended for security on the odious institution of major-generals; and it provided, in a series of eighteen articles, that the Protector should assume a higher title, and govern, as had been done in times past, with the advice of two Houses of Parliament. After some resolute opposition from the Republican officers, among whom Lambert, Desborough, and Fleetwood made themselves most prominent, a motion that it should be discussed paragraph by paragraph was carried by 100 to 44. Successive debates at once began.

\* And is accused, I may subjoin, in *Heath's Chronicle*, with the guilt of embezzling a charitable fund of which he was commissioner, and with having earned his pardon from Cromwell by the present service. He was afterward made one of his lords!

† Ludlow.

The opposition of Fleetwood and Desborough occasioned great surprise, but it was accounted for by their natural timidity, and still more, perhaps, by Cromwell's desertion of them in their unpopular and ill-requited service of major-generalship. Lambert's resistance was little wondered at, since Pack's proposition would have raised a lasting barrier between his own notorious ambition, and the means which, with a special promise, as it was said, of assistance from Cromwell himself, he still looked for achieving it. The fact of such an important matter having been put forth without either co-operation or consent from such men as these—the most essential members of Cromwell's own council—shows not only a most passionate desire for it in the breast of the Lord Protector, but proves that (as the proceedings on the major-generals had led men to suspect) many of the most weighty consultations of the government of the Protectorate were not held in the council chamber.

The great author of the plot at the same time professed utter ignorance and unconcern about it! Strengthened by the opposition of such men as Lambert and Fleetwood, it would seem that on the second or third day of the debate, which was regularly continued on each section of the proposed bill, one hundred of the inferior officers waited on the Protector, to entreat him that he would not listen to the idea of administering the executive government under the proposed new title, suggesting that it would not be pleasing to the army, nor to the godly and pious members of the community; that it would be hazardous to his own person, and dangerous to the nation; and was calculated, in the result, to make way for the restoration of the exiled family. In answer to this, while he affected to ridicule or be careless of the title of kingship, he yet disclosed the deep purpose of his soul: he retorted back upon these soldiers many of the vilest passages of their own policy; he directed their attention to the sort of Parliament that had assembled, and asked them if there ought not to be, in the government they had themselves erected, more liberty of control. There was a time when they felt no objection to the title of king, for the army had offered it to him with the original Instrument of Government. He had rejected it then, and had no greater love for it now. He had always been the "drudge" of the officers, had done the work which they imposed on him, and had sacrificed his opinion to theirs. If the present Parliament had been called, it was in opposition to his individual judgment; if the bill which proved so injurious to the major-generals had been brought into the House, it was contrary to his advice. But the officers had overrated their own strength; the country called for an end to all arbitrary proceedings; the punishment of Naylor proved the necessity of a check on the judicial proceedings of the Parliament, and that check could only be procured by investing the Protector with additional authority! This speech, however, which has only been recovered within the last eight years, is so remarkable, that I here present it to the reader as it stands in the diary of one who was present.

"His highness returned answer presently to this effect: that the first man that told him of

it was he, the mouth of the officers then present (meaning Colonel Mills); that, for his part, he had never been at any cabal about the same (hinting, by that, the frequent cabals that were against kingship by certain officers). He said, the time was when they boggled not at the word (king), for the Instrument by which the government now stands was presented to his highness with the title (king) in it, as some there present could witness, pointing at a principal officer, then in his eye, *and he refused to accept of the title.* But how it comes to pass that they now startle at that title, they best know. That, for his part, *he loved the title, a feather in a hat, as little as they did.* That they had made him *their drudge* upon all occasions: to dissolve the Long Parliament, who had contracted evil enough by long sitting; to call a Parliament, or convention of their naming, who met; and what did they! Fly at liberty and property! insomuch as if one man had twelve cows, they held another that wanted cows ought to take share with his neighbour! Who could have said anything was their own if they had gone on! After their dissolution, how was I pressed by you (said he) for the rooting out of the ministry; nay, rather than fail, to starve them out! A Parliament was afterward called; they sat five months: it is true, we hardly heard of them in all that time. They took the Instrument into debate, *and they must needs be dissolved;* and yet stood not the Instrument in need of mending! *Was not the case hard with me, to be put upon to swear to that which was so hard to be kept?* Some time after that, you thought it was necessary to have major-generals, and the first rise to that motion (which was the late general insurrections) was justifiable; *and you, major-generals, did your parts well.* You might have gone on. *Who bid you to go to the House with a bill, and there receive a foil?* After you had exercised this power a while, impatient were you till a Parliament was called. I gave my vote against it, but you [were] confident, by your own strength and interest, to get men chosen to your heart's desire. *How you have failed therein, and how much the country hath been disobliged, is well known.* That it is time to come to a settlement, and lay aside arbitrary proceedings, so unacceptable to the nation; and by the proceedings of this Parliament, you see they stand in need of a check, or balancing power [meaning the House of Lords, or a house so constituted], for the case of James Naylor might happen to be your own case. By their judicial power they fall upon life and member, and doth the Instrument enable me to control it!"\*

\* Sloane MSS. Additions to Ascough. It is now appended to the Diary of Banton. One of Cromwell's most remarkable accomplishments in the art of dissimulation was this power he had, as in the present speech, of accommodating his craft, whether of cajolery, expostulation, or threat, to the various manners and nicest habits of thinking of his various victims or dupes. Thus, too, when even the young Quaker must denounce to him the iniquity of war and its upholders, he would be answered with, "It is very good; it is truth: if thou and I were but an hour of a day together, we should be nearer one to the other." I am reminded of this anecdote by its quotation in the last volume of the "History of the Colonization of the United States, by George Bancroft;" a work of the deepest interest to any student of the times to which these memoirs have been devoted, and executed in a manner, whether its style or opinions are regarded, that must elevate in general esteem the national literature of America.

This extraordinary harangue, in which we may discover the Lord Protector's most peculiar and striking mode of dealing with his old brethren in arms, was in a great degree successful. Several of the officers at once "discovered a leaning" to the recommendation of their old general. In conclusion, an arrangement was made, in pursuance of which the measure was allowed to proceed. It was agreed that the question of the title under which the executive government was to be exercised should be postponed till the last, and that the Parliament should come to vote that no provision in the bill should be regarded as binding till the whole had been gone through. In return for these concessions on the part of the Protector, the officers consented that that particular proposition should pass in virtue of which the present chief magistrate should be authorized to name his successor, and the other also, which was in favour of the Parliament consisting of two Houses. The issue of this conference confirmed Cromwell in his resolution of pursuing his purpose to the last.

The officers fulfilled their pledge, and their part of the compact was executed to the letter. The first article of the remonstrance consisted of two propositions: the first, praying that Cromwell would hold the office of chief magistrate with the title of king; the second, that he would please, during his lifetime, to name the person who should succeed him. The first was postponed; the second was immediately adopted. The second article was, that there should be Parliaments once in three years at farthest, to consist of two Houses, constituted in such a manner as should hereafter be agreed on and declared. This was voted without a division. The third article prescribed that the ancient and undoubted privileges of Parliament should be preserved and maintained, and that the chief magistrate should not break or interrupt them, nor suffer them to be broken or interrupted; and, in particular, that those persons who were legally chosen to represent the people in Parliament should not be excluded from sitting but by the judgment and consent of that house of which they were members. This was in a like manner voted, and imposed the necessity on Cromwell, if he continued the present House of Commons under the act, to restore the excluded Republicans. The fourth article related to the qualifications, either in point of loyalty, or of religion and morality, which should be required of members of the House of Commons, and to the number and distribution of members of which that House should consist. The fifth article directed that the members of the *other House* should be in number not fewer than forty, nor more than seventy; that they should be named by the chief magistrate, and approved by Parliament; and that, upon the decease of any one of them, no new member should be admitted to sit but by the consent of the house of which he was to be a member. The sixth article ordered that no new law should be made, nor old one altered, suspended, or repealed, but by consent of Parliament. The seventh article directed that there should be an annual revenue of one million for the maintenance of the army and navy, and of three hundred thousand pounds for the

support of government ; that this should not be altered but by consent of Parliament ; that such other temporary supplies should be granted as the Commons might judge necessary ; that there should be no land-tax ; and that no charge or impost should be laid on the people but by consent of Parliament. The eighth article related to the privy council. The ninth article directed that the great officers of state should be approved by Parliament. The tenth and eleventh articles related to religion and toleration, and provided that no persons who acknowledged the doctrine of the Trinity, and the Scriptures to be the word of God, should be molested in the freedom of their worship. This liberty was not to be extended to popery and prelacy. There were seven other articles of less importance, on minor matters of detail. All were passed.

The grand article was then discussed, and after two days' debate was carried, that Cromwell should be desired to take on him the government with the title of KING. The numbers were 123 to 62. The day following this, it was resolved to change the title of this Instrument from Address and Remonstrance to that of Petition and Advice ; and it was farther determined that, unless the Lord Protector should be satisfied to give his unreserved consent to the whole, no part of the Instrument should be deemed to be of force.

They now took it up to Cromwell in a body, and to their amazement were received with doubts, and uncertainties, and most delicate scruples. Widdrington, as speaker, addressed him in a long speech in commendation of the measure, after which the "Petition and Advice" was read by the clerk of the House. In reply, the Protector observed, that of all the things that had befallen him in his public life, the present offer struck him as being of the greatest magnitude, and most worthy of deliberation ; and he therefore demanded from them some short time, to ask counsel of God and of his own heart, lest his answer should savour more of the flesh, proceed from lust, arise from arguments of self, than from those momentous considerations by which he desired to be governed on such an occasion. The time was granted. Three days after, Cromwell addressed a letter to the speaker, requesting to be attended by a committee of the House, which accordingly waited upon him the next day at Whitehall. To them he explained himself in faint and unwilling terms, saying that he had not been able to find it his duty to God and the Parliament to undertake the proposed charge *under the title assigned*. His partisans immediately understood the secret of his disclaimer, and moved that the House adhere to the Petition and Advice they had presented. This resolution was carried immediately after the report of Cromwell's declining the honour intended him. With this vote, they presented themselves once more on the following day, and received this formal answer.

"That no man could put a greater value than he did, and always should do, upon the desires and advice of the Parliament, readily acknowledging that it was the advice of the Parliament of these three nations.

"That he looked upon the things advised to,

in the general notion of them, as tending to the settlement of the chiefest things that could fall into the hearts of men to desire or endeavour after ; and this, at such a time, when the nation was big with expectation of anything that might add to their better being ; and, therefore, that he must needs put a very high esteem upon, and have a very reverend opinion of, anything that came from them ; and that so he hath had of that Instrument presented to him, as he had already expressed himself ; and that what he expressed had been from an honest heart towards the Parliament and public, which (he said) he spake not to compliment them, being past all consideration of that kind, seeing both himself and the Parliament must be *real now, if ever*.

"That in this business they laid a burden upon a man conscious of his own infirmities and disabilities, and therefore he hoped that it would be no evil in him to measure their advice and his own infirmities, seeing these would have some influence upon conscience ; conscience in him that receives talents, to know how he might answer the trust of them ; that he hath had, and still hath, such a conscience ; and therefore, that when he thought he had had an opportunity, lately, to make an answer, he made that answer, *being a person that had been before, and then, and since, lifting up his heart to God, to know what might be his duty* at such a time as this, and upon such an occasion and trial as this was to him.

"That he knew great place, great authority, to be a great burden, and that *he knew a man* who was convinced, in his conscience, that nothing less would enable him to the discharge of it than assistance from above ; and that it concerned such a person, so convinced and so persuaded, to be right with the Lord in such an undertaking ; and that if he undertook anything not in faith, he might serve them in his own unbelief, and so be the unprofitablest servant that ever a people or a nation had.

"That he desired leave, therefore, to ask counsel, being ready to render a reason of his own apprehension, which, haply, might be overweighed by better apprehensions : that as to the point of liberty, he acknowledged they had made provisions for it, both spiritual and civil—the greatest provision that ever was made ; that himself desired liberty to vent his own doubts, and his own fears and scruples, though haply, in such cases as these were, the world had judged that a man's conscience ought to know no scruple ; but that his did, and that he durst not dissemble ; and therefore they who were knowing in the ground of their own actions would best be able to measure advice to others.

"That there were many things in that Instrument besides that one of the name and title of king, which required much information as to his judgment ; and that it was they, and none but they, that could capacitate him to receive satisfaction in them ; that otherwise he must say he was not informed, and so not acted, as he knew they intended he should be, and as every man in the nation should be.

"That he could not tell what other return to make to them than this, that he was ready to give them a reason if they would capacitate



Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were *a couple of scrupulous fellows*, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the House to require their attendance in the Painted Chamber the next morning, designing, as all men believed, *there to declare his acceptance of the crown*;<sup>\*</sup> but in the mean time meeting with Colonel Desborough in the great walk of the Park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the colonel made answer that he then gave up the cause, and Cromwell's family also, for lost; adding, that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time; so, after some other discourse upon the same subject, Desborough went home, and there found Colonel Pride, whom Cromwell had knighted with a fagot stick; and having imparted to him the design of Cromwell to accept the crown, Pride answered, 'He shall not.' 'Why?' said the colonel; 'how wilt thou hinder it?' To which Pride replied, 'Get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it.' Whereupon they both went to Dr. Owen, and having acquainted him with what had happened, they persuaded him to draw a petition according to their desires. While this was doing, Cromwell, having reflected on his discourse with Colonel Desborough, and being informed that Lambert and divers other officers were dissatisfied with his design, sent a message to put off the meeting in the Painted Chamber, and to desire that the House would send a committee to confer with him about the great business that was then depending, intending thereby to gain time, in which he might be fitting the officers for his design. But the House being risen before his message arrived, and so out of a capacity to appoint any to come to him, the old committee that had been formerly appointed to that end thought fit, by virtue of their general instructions, to wait on him to know his pleasure. Accordingly they came to Whitehall, *where they attended about two hours, and then a Barbary horse being brought into the garden for him to see, gave him an occasion to pass through the room where the committee was attending. As he was passing by without taking the least notice of them, one of the messengers put him in mind that they had attended very long, which he slightly excusing, told them that he thought the Houses, being risen before his message came to them, had*

<sup>\*</sup> This is confirmed by very many authorities. White-looke states explicitly that the Protector was satisfied in his private judgment that it was expedient for him to assume the name and authority of king; but, he adds, "by solicitation of the Commonwealth's men, and fearing a mutiny and defection of a great body of the army in case he should take that title and office, his mind changed; and many of the officers of the army gave out high threatenings against him if he should do it." The same view of the case is given in a letter, dated at Whitehall, on the 27th of April, and addressed by Sir Francis Russell to his son-in-law, the Lord Henry Cromwell. "I do in this (letter) desire to take leave of your lordship, for my next is likely to be to the Duke of York. Your father begins to come out of the clouds, and it appears to us that he will take the kingly power upon him. That great noise which was made about this business not long since is almost over, and I cannot think there will be the least combustion about it. This day I have had some discourse with your father about this great business. He is very cheerful, and his troubled thoughts seem to be over. I was told the other day by Colonel Pride, that I was for a king, because I hoped that the next would be Henry's turn." Many other letters from Thurloe to Henry express the same thing.

not empowered any persons to him. It was answered that they came to him upon the general instructions which they had formerly received from the House; upon which he told them *he would send to them some other time.*"

Beneath these careless delays and apparently indifferent movements of Cromwell, there then lay, could the truth have been unfolded, a bitter agony of pride and mortification of heart beyond any that his worst enemy or victim could have desired to see working within him. A mean and spiritless slave to the vilest passions of overwrought ambition, he stood there within sight of the glittering bawble<sup>\*</sup> for which he had perilled so much, and yet dared not affect to see it, but would stand gazing on his Barbary horse, or talk of a toy, or sneer about a rattle, or laugh at a feather in a man's cap, or do anything to cover the fever of that imbecile passion, incapable of its own desire, which raged in his heart. So to the last he trifled; and at the last, the Republican officers, taking courage from his cowardice, ventured one bold step, and dashed down his hopes forever.

On the very morning of the occurrence Ludlow has last described, Desborough rose in his place, and announced that certain officers of the army attended with a petition. The House voted their admission to the bar, and it was presented by Colonel Mason. Cromwell's majority were prepared for a petition in favour of his views. To their surprise and consternation, it set forth, "that the petitioners had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready to do so; that they observed some men endeavouring to bring the nation under the old servitude, by pressing their general to take upon him the title of king; that they humbly desired the House would continue steady to the *good old cause*, in defence of which they (the petitioners), for their parts, were ready to lay down their lives."

The *good old cause*! When Cromwell heard this, he felt that his hope was gone, and made what merit he could to surrender it with some show of dignity. At once sending for Fleetwood, he expressed much surprise at his not preventing the presentation of such a petition, especially as, he said, he must know the *crown would never have been accepted by him against the inclinations of the army*; and he therefore desired him to hasten to the House, and *present any proceedings upon the petition*. This office Fleetwood readily undertook, and without difficulty convinced the members of the impropriety of considering the prayer of the officers until they had received the Protector's answer. A message then arrived from Cromwell, desiring the members, instead of repairing to the Painted Chamber, to meet him in the Banqueting House. They did so; and there, on the 12th of May, 1657, this comedy—a farce it might be better called, save for its length—closed with a speech of "much embarrassment" from Cromwell, in which he said many things with a reach of hypocrisy that might well embarrass even him.<sup>†</sup> This is that memorable speech.

<sup>\*</sup> Nor, it was said, did this exist in imagination only. Welwood asserts that a crown was actually made and brought to Whitehall.

<sup>†</sup> Dr. Johnson, in his *Life of Waller*, asserts that "Cromwell, after a long conference with a deputation of Parliament that was sent to invite him to the crown, refused it,



"MR. SPEAKER,—I come hither to answer that which was in your last paper to the committee you sent to me, which was in relation to the desires which were offered to me by the House in what they called their Petition.

"I confess that business hath put the House, the Parliament, to a great deal of trouble, and spent much time.

"I am very sorry for that! It hath cost me some, and some thoughts; and because I have been the unhappy occasion of the expense of so much time, I shall spend little of it now.

"I have, the best I can, resolved the whole business in my thoughts; and I have said so much already in testimony to the whole, that I think I shall not need to repeat anything that I have said. I think it is a government that, in the aims of it, seeks the settling the nation on a good foot, in relation to civil rights and liberties, which are the rights of the nation; and I hope I shall never be found to be one of them that shall go about to rob the nation of those rights, but serve them what I can to the attaining of them.

"It is also exceeding well provided there, for the safety and security of honest men, in *that great, natural, and religious liberty, which is liberty of conscience*. These are the great fundamentals; and I must bear my testimony to them, as I have and shall do still, so long as God lets me live in this world, that the intentions and the things are very honourable and honest, and the product worthy of a Parliament: I have only had the unhappiness, both in my conferences with your committees, and in the best thoughts I could take to myself, not to be convinced of the necessity of that thing that hath been so often insisted on by you—to wit, the title of king, as in itself so necessary as it seems to be apprehended by you.

"And yet I do, with all honour and respect to the judgment of a Parliament, testify that (*ceteris paribus*) no private judgment is to lie in the balance with the judgment of Parliament; but, in things that respect particular persons, every man that is to give an account to God of his actions must in some measure be able to prove his own work, and to have an approbation in his own conscience of that that he is to do, or to forbear; and while you are granting others their liberties, surely you will not deny me this, it being not only a liberty, but a duty (and such a duty as I cannot, without sinning, forbear), to examine in my own heart, and thoughts, and judgment, in every work which I am to set my hand to, or to appear in or for.

"I must confess, therefore, that though I do acknowledge all the other, yet I must be a little confident in this. That what with the circumstances that accompany human actions, whether they be circumstances of times or persons, or whether circumstances that relate to the whole, or private, or particular circumstances, that compass any person that is to render an account of his own actions, I have truly thought, and do still think, that if I should, at the best, do anything on this account to answer your expectation, at the best I should do it doubtfully; and, certainly, what is so is not of faith; and whatsoever is not so, whatsoever

but is said to have fainted in his coach when he parted from them." I cannot find any authority for this.

4 H

is not of faith, is sin to him that doth it, whether it be with relation to the substance of the action about which the consideration is conversant, or whether to circumstances about it which make all indifferent actions good or evil: I say circumstances; and truly I mean good or evil to him that doth it.

"I, lying under this consideration, think it my duty, only I could have wished I had done it sooner, for the sake of the House, who hath laid so infinite obligations on me—I wish I had done it sooner, for your sake, and saving time and trouble, and, indeed, for the committee's sake, to whom I must acknowledge publicly I have been unreasonably troublesome—I say I could have wished I had given it sooner; but truly this is my answer, that (although I think the government doth consist of very excellent parts, in all but in that one thing, the title, as to me) I should not be an honest man if I should not tell you that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it. I have a little more experimented than everybody what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts and in such undertakings. I say I am persuaded to return this answer to you, that I cannot undertake the government with the title of king; and that is my answer to this great and weighty business."

All that could now be achieved was to pass: the Petition and Advice without the title of king. This was done, and, with a few other unimportant amendments, received the Protector's sanction. The House at the same time adjourned for six months, to allow the Lord Protector opportunity for the formation of the *other House*, constituted by this new act. A new and solemn inauguration followed. On a platform, raised at the upper end of Westminster Hall, and in front of a magnificent chair of state, stood the Protector, while the speaker, with his assistants, invested him with a purple mantle lined with ermine, presented to him a Bible superbly gilt and embossed, girt a sword by his side, and placed a sceptre of massive gold in his hand. As soon as the oath had been administered, Manton, his chaplain, pronounced a long and fervent prayer for a blessing on the Protector, the Parliament, and the people. Rising from prayer, Cromwell seated himself on the right; at some distance sat the French, on the left the Dutch ambassador; on one side stood the Earl of Warwick, with the sword of the Commonwealth; on the other, the lord-mayor, with that of the city; and behind arranged themselves the members of the Protector's family, the lords of the council, and Lisle, Whitelocke, and Montague, each of the three bearing a drawn sword. At a signal given, the trumpets sounded, the heralds proclaimed the style of the new sovereign, and the spectators shouted, "Long live his highness! God save the Lord Protector!" He rose immediately, bowed to the ambassadors, and walked in state through the Hall to his carriage.\*

\* Dr. Lingard, from Whitelocke's Memorials. But a detailed account, with many points of vivacity and interest, will be seen in Appendix K. I have also given, from the same official hand (Appendix L.), the account (with some interpolations inserted after the Restoration) of the Lord Protector's funeral.

From this ceremony, apparently so grand and so imposing, may be dated Cromwell's downfall. *He had failed*, and the sole charm which seemed to have sustained him hitherto perished in those words. He had declared, in a manner not to be mistaken, that he thought monarchy the best form of government, and yet he was not suffered to become that monarch. He held the chair of another. Many of his oldest friends, and fellow-comrades too, had withdrawn from his side, and he had to look for the familiar faces of Naseby, Dunbar, Marston Moor, and Worcester, in the ranks of men who were banded against his life, or—more bitter contemplation—had entered an immortal judgment with posterity against his fame. His mother, whom he deeply venerated, had perished some short time before, unable to live in her continual terror that his life would be taken by assassins.\* His most beloved daughter Claypole is said to have already estranged herself from his side, where he would have always had her present, on account of the attachment she bore to truth, not less than to many of his political enemies. His son Richard, to whom he desired to leave the power for which he had sacrificed so many blessings, was incapable, he feared too well, to hold it for a day. Nor did it seem that he could hope to leave it, for such a feeble hand, better organized than it already was, for his own health was known to be declining. The prospect before this great and most mistaken man, after his second most gorgeous inauguration, was a dreary one indeed. Had the old story of his enemies been true, it could scarcely have left to him fewer hopes of redemption†

\* Ludlow tells us that "his mother, who, by reason of her great age, was not so easily flattered with temptations, very much mistrusted the issue of affairs, and would be often afraid, when she heard the noise of a musket, that her son was shot, being exceedingly dissatisfied *unless she might see him once a day at least*; but she, shortly after dying, left him the possession of what she held in jointure, which was reported not to exceed sixty pounds by year, though he out of the public purse expended much more at her interment in the abbey at Westminster, and, among other needless ceremonies, caused many hundred torches to be carried with the hearse, though she was buried by daylight." Instead of this, she had prayed for her son a humble village burial-place.

† Echard builds up this most ridiculous story from the romantic fictions of Clement Walker and others, which is yet worth quoting, to show the feeling which was encouraged respecting Cromwell until within the last century. "We have a strange story in the last part of the History of Independency, which the author says he received from a person of quality, viz., 'It was believ'd, and that not without some good cause, that Cromwell, the same morning that he defeated the king's army at Worcester, had conference personally with the devil, with whom he made a contract, that to have his *will then*, and in all things else for seven years from that day, he should, at the expiration of the said years, have him at his command, to do at his pleasure, both with his soul and body.' This is also related in other printed books; but we have receiv'd a more full account, never yet published, which is here inserted as a thing more wonderful than probable, and therefore more for the diversion than satisfaction of the reader. It is a relation or narrative of a valiant officer call'd Lindsey, an intimate friend of Cromwell's, the first captain of his regiment, and therefore commonly call'd Colonel Lindsey, which is to this effect: On the 3d of September, in the morning, Cromwell took this officer to a wood-side, not far from the army, and bid him alight and follow him into that wood, and to take particular notice of what he saw and heard. After they had both alighted and secur'd their horses, and walked some small way into the wood, Lindsey began to turn pale, and to be seiz'd with horror from some unknown cause, upon which Cromwell ask'd him how he did, or how he felt himself. He answer'd, that he was in such a trembling and consternation, that he never felt the like in all the conflicts

Yet he made a rally in his foreign administration, where his genius, which had there a theatre for its exercise unencumbered with his follies or his crimes, still shone supreme.\* The

and battels he had been engag'd in; but whether it proceed'd from the gloominess of the place, or the temperament of his body, he knew not. 'How now?' said Cromwell; 'what! troubl'd with vapours? Come forwards, man.' They had not gone above twenty yards, before Lindsey on a sudden stood still, and cry'd out, by all that's good, he was seiz'd with such unaccountable terror and astonishment, that it was impossible for him to stir one step further. Upon which Cromwell call'd him faint-hearted fool, and bid him stand there and observe, or be witness; and then advancing to some distance from him, he met with a grave elderly man, with a roll of parchment in his hand, who deliver'd it to Cromwell, who eagerly perus'd it. Lindsey, a little recover'd from his fear, heard several loud words between them; particularly Cromwell said, 'This is but for seven years; I was to have had it for one-and-twenty, and it must and shall be so.' The other told him positively it could not be for above seven; upon which Cromwell cry'd with great fierceness it should, however, be for fourteen years. But the other peremptorily declar'd 'it could not possibly be for any longer time; and if he would not take it so, there were others who would accept of it.' Upon which Cromwell at last took the parchment, and returning to Lindsey with great joy in his countenance, he cry'd, 'Now, Lindsey, the battle is our own! I long to be engag'd.' Returning out of the wood, they rode to the army, Cromwell with a resolution to engage as soon as possible, and the other with a design of leaving the army as soon. After the first charge, Lindsey deserted his post, and rode away, with all possible speed, day and night, till he came into the county of Norfolk, to the house of an intimate friend, one Mr. Thorowgood, minister of the parish of Grimstone. Cromwell, as soon as he mis'd him, sent all ways after him, with a promise of a great reward to any that should bring him alive or dead. Thus far the narrative of Lindsey himself; but something further is to be remember'd, to compleat and confirm the story. When Mr. Thorowgood saw his friend Lindsey come into his yard, his horse and himself just tired, in a sort of maze, said, 'How now, colonel! we hear there is like to be a battle shortly. What! fled from your colours?' 'A battle!' said the other; 'yes, there has been a battle, and I am sure the king is beaten; but if ever I strike a stroke for Cromwell, may I perish eternally; for I am sure he has made a league with the devil, and the devil will have him in due time.' Then desiring his protection from Cromwell's inquisitors, he went in, and related the whole story, and all the circumstances, concluding with these remarkable words: 'That Cromwell would certainly dye that day seven years that the battle was fought.' The strangeness of the relation caus'd Mr. Thorowgood to order his son John, then about twelve years of age, to write it in full length in his common-place book, and to take it from Lindsey's own mouth. This common-place book, and likewise the same story, written in other books, I am assur'd is still preserv'd in the family of the Thorowgoods, but how far Lindsey is to be believ'd, and how far the story is to be accounted incredible, is left to the reader's faith and judgment, and not to any determination of our own."—*Echard's History of England*, p. 691. I will subjoin to this a piece of admirable wit and satire, for which it is even worth while to preserve such a story. Dr. Nettleton, an accomplished physician of the last century, was in company one day with several gentlemen, one of whom was laying great stress on the popular account I have just quoted, even then rise with well-educated persons, of Cromwell's selling himself to the devil before the battle of Worcester, affirming that the bargain was intended to be for twenty-one years, but that the devil had put a trick upon Oliver by changing the 21 into 12; and then, turning hastily to the doctor, the gentleman asked him, "What could be the devil's motive for so doing?" The doctor answered, "That he could not tell what was his motive, unless he was in a hurry about the Restoration."

\* Mr. Wallace gives, in his most able history of England, the following anecdote of this date, in illustration of the ascendant of Cromwell over Mazarin: "An English merchant vessel was unjustly confiscated on the coast of France, and the owner, an honest Quaker, applied to Cromwell for redress. The Protector asking him whether he would make a journey to Paris with a letter, was answered in the affirmative, and despatched the Quaker with a letter to Cardinal Mazarin, demanding redress within three days, at the expiration of which he peremptorily ordered the Quaker to return. He obeyed, and presented himself to Cromwell. 'Well, friend, hast thou thy money?' said the Protector. The Quaker said, 'No.' Cromwell desired him to take no farther trouble, as he should take the matter into his own hands. He accordingly seized and sold the first two French

details belong to general history ; but I may be allowed to glance so far at them as to state that Mardyke was now delivered to him under a new and larger treaty with Mazarin, as a security for Dunkirk, and that, on the subsequent meeting of the troops of the two nations at the siege, Louis XIV. made a journey expressly to see those of Cromwell. It is farther recorded that Lockhart paid him this compliment at the review—that Cromwell had enjoined both officers and soldiers to display the same zeal in the service of the French king as in his own ; and that Louis replied, he was transported to receive so noble a testimony of the affection of a prince, *whom he had always considered as the greatest and happiest in Europe.* Anticipating the events of a few months later, I may add that, after the surrender of Dunkirk to Lockhart and an English garrison, Louis XIV. and the cardinal having taken up their quarters at Calais, Cromwell seized the occasion to send Lord Faulconberg, his son-in-law, with a splendid equipage and a numerous retinue, to compliment the king on his near approach to the shores of Britain. Here Faulconberg was entertained with every possible distinction. Louis not only received him uncovered at his public audiences, but also at a private visit, which he requested from the Protector's son-in-law, when they talked for two hours in the garden. The cardinal was equally ceremonious. He came from his apartment to meet the ambassador, and, after an hour's discourse, conducted him again to his carriage, a condescension he was accustomed to dispense with, not only to all others, but to the king himself. After a stay of five days, Faulconberg left, charged with all honour and affection for the great Protector from Mazarin and Louis.

I leave this redeeming subject of foreign policy with two rare and memorable missives. The first is a remonstrance to the Grand Seigneur, respecting the unjust surprisal of an English ship.

" Oliver, by the grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereto belonging, to the high and mighty emperor, Sultan Mahomet Han, chief lord and commander of the Mussulman kingdome, sole and supreme monarch of the Eastern empire, greeting. . . Most high and mighty prince. . . We doubt not but you have found by your owne experience, as well as by information of such as have bin of counsell with your royall predecessors, that the amity and traffique soe long continued betwene both nations hath bin of great advantage and benefit in many respects ; to the disturbance whereof we should be very unwilling that any occasion should be offered on our part, who desire nothing more than a continuance and increase of that friendship which hath bin established. But it falleth out that the same

hath bin too frequently interrupted by such as exercise pyracie and spoile at sea, who, though they are enemies to all entercowse and civill society, and dishonorable to princes and states, *yet find places of retreat and succor in some part of your dominions.* An instance whereof (to omit many others) appeareth in the late surprisall of an English ship called the Resolution, which being laden with cloth, tynne, lead, and money (to the value of two hundred thousand dollars), and bound for your owne port of Scanderone, was yet in her passage (nere Candy) assaulted by seaven ships of Tripoly (part of your Majesty's fleetes, and then actually in your service), and by them carried to Rhodes, another of your majesty's ports, where we are informed the capitaine bassa hath bin soe farr from disowning the action, that he hath, in scorn and contempt of the capitulation, secured the ship and goods, as also the master, marinere, and passengers, who had not a ragge left to cover them ; *which barbarous act, soe repugnant to the emperiall capitulations (which ought to be held inviolate), soe injurious to trade, and soe dishonorable to your majesty, we cannot pass over without a due consideration and representation to you, as a manifest breach of peace ;* and therefore we doe presume soe much of your wisdom and justice, that you will not only command a to-tall and compleate restitution to be made of the ship, goods, and money, and releasement of the men, but also for your owne honor take course for suppressing those pyrates, and prohibiting their retreat into places, and receiving favour and succor from persons under your obedience, as also for punishing such as countenance or abett them, and *for a generall redress of all former injuries too commonly practiced on our people, both to our dishonor and their irreparable loss.* In all which we have given order to our ambassador residing at your high port to informe you more particularly, desiring to understand your resolution herein, *that upon knowledge thereof we may take such course as shall be agreeable to justice and to the good of our people, whom we are bound to protect in their lawfull courses of trade.* And soe we wish you health and true felicity. Given at our pallace at Westminster, this 11th day of the moneth of August, 1657."

The second is addressed, with the date of the same day, to the high and excellent lord, the Vizier Azem. " Oliver, by the grace of God Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereto belonging, to the high and excellent lord, the Vizier Azem. . . High and excellent lord. . . As we have now done to the Grand Seigneur your lord and master, soe doe we also to you, complaine of an act of violence and injustice exercised towards divers merchants of this Commonwealth, interested in an English ship called the Resolution, which being laden with cloth, tynne, and money, and bound for the Grand Seigneur's owne port of Scanderone, in a peaceable course of trading, was (notwithstanding) in her way (nere Candy) assaulted by seaven Tripoly men of warr actually ingaged in the Grand Seigneur's service, and by them carried to Rhodes, where the capitaine bassa hath secured the ship and her lading, and imprisoned the master, marinere, and passen-

ships within his reach, indemnified the Quaker out of the proceeds, and paid over the surplus to the French ambassador, who submitted to this very summary proceeding." I cannot transcribe this passage from the history by Mr. Wallace, without an expression of deep and heartfelt regret at the melancholy event which has removed so suddenly from among us that excellent person, in whom the public have lost a writer of very great and various accomplishments, and his more intimate friends an adviser and companion whose place they will vainly seek to supply.

gers, being in number forty-five persons; which act, soe contrary to the imperiall capitulations, and to the very essence of commerce, being an absolute breach of the peace between both nations, we cannot but judge will be held very dishonorable to the Grand Seigneur, and accordingly to be resented by him, even to the severe punishment of the capitaine bassa, who soe readily owned the action, and of those others, enemies of humane society, who are guilty of an attempt *soe foule and disgracefull to a monarch pretending justice*. And we shall not doubt but, as an intimation of his justice, he will command compleate restitution of ship and goods, and releasement of the persons, otherwise you must shortly expect a ruine and dissolution of all trade, besides the confusion and danger that may grow to your owne state; and therefore we presume you will (though for noe other respect than your owne interest and safety) be instrumentall to procure reparation in this particular, and an utter extirpation of those sea rovers, that soe peace and the effects thereof, which have bin found soe advantageous to both nations, may be preserved, to the mutual good of each. In all which we desire you to give care and credit to our ambassador there, and to procure such speedy answer and returne from his imperiall majesty as may stand with equity and with the continuance of that amity which hath bin settled between both nations, and which we shall not willingly give the least occasion to disturbe without some great provocation. Given at our pallace at Westminster, this 11th day of the moneth of August, in the yeare 1657.\*

Lord Faulconberg, I have intimated, was now the son-in-law of Cromwell. He had married the Lady Mary Cromwell some short period after the prorogation of the Parliament. Some few days earlier, the Protector's youngest daughter, Lady Frances,\* had been also mar-

\* This is the lady of whom is told a singularly well-attested story of a proposal of marriage from Charles the Second. It is related by Morrice, chaplain to Lord Broghill, in his life of that nobleman, and by Burnet (History of his Own Times), who states that he had it from Broghill's lips. It runs thus, being said to belong to the year 1653, the period in which Cromwell had all power in his own hands, and before he had openly assumed the office of chief magistrate. Lord Broghill was the author of the proposition. Having, as we are told, opportunities, by a secret correspondence with some about the king, he sounded Charles's inclinations, as to how he would feel respecting a proposition to restore him to his hereditary dominions by means of such a marriage. The royal exile received the proposition with avidity. Its author next stated it to the mother and daughter. Neither of them showed any aversion to the suggestion. Having succeeded thus far, the next business was to break the proposal to Cromwell himself. This Broghill took an opportunity of doing in the following manner: Being one day returned from the city, and waiting upon Cromwell in his closet, one of the first questions with which he was accosted was, whether there was any news? "In truth there is," said Broghill, "and very strange news." "What is it?" "It is in everybody's mouth," answered the courtier; "but I dare not mention it to your excellency, lest you should be offended." Cromwell told him to speak out. To which Broghill rejoined, "All the news in the city is, that you are going to marry your daughter Frances to the Pretender." The general was struck with the suggestion, and paced up and down the room two or three times in silence. "And what do people say to the tale?" "I assure you it is received with decided approbation by the majority. Consider, sir, that by it you would extricate yourself from your present precarious situation, would become father-in-law to a prince who would owe everything to your interference, might retain the command of the army, and would, in all probability, become progenitor to a race of kings." "No," said Cromwell, after a pause, "it is impossible: he would never forgive me the death of his father."

ried, and her bridegroom was another member of the old aristocracy, Mr. Rich, grandson of the Earl of Warwick.\* In thus effecting these alliances, Cromwell betrayed the melancholy weakness with which his life was doomed to close. Deprived of the title of king, he had fixed his affections on the creation of the *other House*, granted him by the Petition and Advice. It occupied all his thoughts, and was clung to, till his life had passed, with, for such a man, a kind of imbecile fondness. These noble alliances, it is admitted by his friends and courtiers, were designed to aid him in the scheme.

The marriage of Lady Frances with Mr. Rich would seem to have been a love-match too. I ascertain this from a curious letter written by her sister Mary to Henry Cromwell, and which proves also that somewhat similar difficulties to those which so long obstructed Richard's marriage with Miss Major† had occurred here also. Not the less does it prove the Lord Protector's fatherly affection stronger than any politic consideration, and illustrate generally the close ties of love which, in the midst of all their grandeur, still held this family together.

\* For the extraordinary festivities at this marriage, see ante, p. 452; see also Appendix H., COURT CIRCULAR.

† Mr. Rich died a few months after the marriage; and I may quote a letter from his venerable grandfather to Cromwell, in fairness and justice to the every-way honourable testimony it bears to the latter. "My pen and my heart were ever your lordship's servants; now they are become your debtors. This paper cannot enough confess my obligations, and much less discharge it, for your reasonable and sympathizing letters, which (because the value they derive from so worthy a hand) express such faithful affections, and administer such Christian advice, as renders them beyond measure welcome and dear to me; and although my heaviness and distraction of thoughts persuade me rather to peruse those excellent lines than to answer them, and to take relief from them rather than make a return to them, yet I must not be so indulgent to mine own sorrows as to lose this opportunity of being thankful to your lordship for so great a favour. My lord, I dare not be insensible of that hand which hath laid a very sharp and awaking affliction upon me; but we may not be so presumptuous as to make choice of our own rod, or so much as in thought to detract from or diminish the justice, and wisdom, and goodness of God, in those hard events which must all stand inviolable, when millions of such worms as I am are gone to dust. I must needs say, I have lost a dear and comfortable relation, one in whom I had much determined my affections and lodged my hopes, are now rebuked and withered by a hasty and early death; but my property in him was inferior to his who hath taken him, and I must rest my heart in his proceedings, making it my care and suit that those evils which cannot be averted may be sanctified. In order to which I desire, from this one sad instance, to argue the whole world of vanity and variableness. Alas! what a staff of reed are these things, which have no stay in themselves, and therefore can give none to us. They witness their own impotency, and themselves admonish us to pitch our rest above this sphere of changeable mortality, and to cast anchor in heaven, while we can find no hold at all on earth. Assuredly he that will have and hold a right tranquillity must find it in a sweet fruition of God, which whosoever wants may be secure, but cannot be quiet. My lord, all this is but a broken echo of your pious counsel, which gives such ease to my oppressed mind, that I can scarce forbid my pen being tedious. Only it remembers your lordship's many weighty and noble employments, which, together with your prudent, heroic, and honourable managery of them, I do here congratulate, as well as my grief will give me leave. Others' goodness is their own; yours is a whole country's—yea, three kingdoms; for which you justly possess interest and renown with wise and good men; virtue is a thousand escutcheons. Go on, my lord, go on happily, to love religion, to exemplify it. May your lordship long continue an instrument of use, a pattern of virtue, and a precedent of glory! This is the inward and affectionate prayer of, my lord, your lordship's most affectionate servant, WARWICK."

‡ See ante, p. 473, et seq.

"Deare Brother,—Your kind letters do so much engag my hart towards you, that I can never tell how to expres in writing the tru affection and value I have of you, who, truly, I think, non that knows you but you may justly claim it from. I must confes myself in a great fault in the omiteing of writing to you and your deare wif so long a tim; but I suppos you canot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has ben the only caus, which is this bisnes of my sester Franses and mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for thes three months, I think our famly, and myself in perticular, have ben in the greatest confusion and troble as ever poor famly can be in; the Lord tell us his . . . in it, and setel us, and mak us what he would hav us to be. I suppos you hard of the breaking of the bisnes, and according to your deser in your last leter, as well as I can, I will give you a full account of it, which is thes. After a quarter of a year's admitons, my father and my lord Warwick begon to tret about the estate; and it seems my lord did ofer that that my father expected. I ned not nam perticulars, for I suppos you may hav had it from beter hands; but, if I may say the truth, *I think it was not so much estat as some private reasons that my father discovered to non but my sester Franses and his own famly, which was a dislik to the young person, which he had from some reports of his being a visious man, given to play, and such lik things, which ofis was done by some that had a mind to brak of the match.* My sester hearing these things, was resolved to know the truth of it; and truly, dued find all the reports to be fals that wer raised of him; and to tell you the truth, *they wer so much engagd in affection before this, that she could not think of breaking of it of;* so that my sester engagd me and all the frinds she had, who truly wer very few, to spek in her behalf to my father, which we deid, but could not be hard to any purpos; only this, my father promised, that *if he wer satisfied as to the report, the estat shold not brak it of,* which she was satisfied with. But after this ther was a second treti, and my lord Warwick deserred my father to nam what it was he demanded more, and to his utmost he would satisfy him; so my father, upon this, mad new propositions, which my lord Warwick has answered as much as he can; but it seems there is fiv hundred pounds a year in my lord Riche's hands which he has power to sell, and ther are some people that persuad his highnes that it would be desonerable for him to conclud of it without thes fiv hundred pounds a year be settled upon mr. Rich after his father's deth, and my lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, becos he is not so bad as himself, will not agre to it; and thes people, upon this, persuad my father it would be a desoner to him to yald upon thes terms—it would shew that he was mad a fool on by my lord Riche; which the truth is, how it should be, I cant understand, nor very few els; and truly, I must tell you privatelie, *that they ar so far engagd as the match cannot be brak of.* *She acquainted non of her frends with her resolution when she did it.* Deare brother, this is as far as I can tell the stat of the bisnes. The Lord direct them what to do; and all I think ought to beg of God to pardon her in her dowing of this thing, which I must say truly she was put upon by the . . . . . of

things. Deare, let me beg my excuses to my sester for not writing my best respects to her. Pardon this troble, and belev me, that I shall ever striv to approv myself, deare brother, your affectionate sester and servant,

"MARY CROMWELL."

This Lady Mary would seem to have been the family counsellor and referee in all their casual misunderstandings with each other. It is somewhat interesting to find her, at a little earlier date, remonstrating with this same great and able brother Henry in a tone which would appear to countenance Mrs. Hutchinson's worst scandal against him. "DEARE BROTHER,—I cannot be any longer without begging an excus for my so long silens. You canot but hear of my sester's ilnes, which inded has ben the only caus of it. You might justly tak it ill otherwis, and think ther wer want of that affection I owe unto you. Inded, deare brother, it was a grat deal of truble to me to think I should giv you any ocaion to think amis of me; for I can truly say it, you are very deare to me, and it is a grat truble to me to think of the destans we ar from on another, and would be mor if I ded not think you ar doing the Lord's sarvis; and truly that ought to satisfy us, for whil we ar hear, we canot expect but that we must be seprated. Deare Brother, the Lord direct you in his ways, and kep your hart clos unto himself; and I am sur therin you will hav tru comfort, and that that will last when all this world shall pass away. I canot but giv you some item of won that is with you, which is so much feared by your frinds that lov you, is som deshonor to you and my deare sester, if you hav not a grat car; for it is reported hear that *she ruls much in your family;* and truly it is feared she is a descounananser of the godly people. Therfor, deare brother, tak it not ill that I giv you an item of her; for truly, if I did not dearly lov you both and your oner, I would not giv you notis of her. Therfor I hope you will not tak it ill that I hav delt thus planly with you. *I supos you know who it is I mean;* therfor I deser to be excus'd for not naming of her. I deser not to be sen in it, and therfor deser you that you would not tak the lest notis of my writing to you about it, becos I was deser'd not to spek of it; nor should I, but that I know you will not tak it amis from your poor sester that lvs you. Deare Brother, I tak my leev to rest. Your Sister and Servant, MARY CROMWELL. . . . Her Highnes deseres to hav her love to you and my Sester, and my Sester Franke her respects to you both."

Our attention is now called to the last great public action of the life of the Lord Protector Cromwell. On the 28th of January, 1658, the prorogued Parliament reassembled, with its re-enforcement (by stipulation of the Petition and Advice) of upward of a hundred of the excluded Republicans, and its addition of the *other House*. This other House consisted of sixty-one members, and comprised his two sons, Richard and Henry, eight peers of royal creation, several members of his council, some gentlemen of fortune and family, with a due proportion of lawyers and officers, and a very scanty sprinkling of persons known to be disaffected to his government. Of the ancient

peers, two only attended, the Lords Eure and Faulconberg; Lords Warwick, Manchester, Mulgrave, and Wharton did not appear. Even old Warwick, who was, as we have seen, Cromwell's very good friend, declared that "he could not sit in the same assembly with Colonel Hewson, who had been a shoemaker, and Colonel Pride, who had been a drayman; but had they driven no worse trade," adds Ludlow, "I know not why any good man should refuse to act with them." They had, however, driven a worse trade; and they only now assembled as members of a new nobility, to be covered, in conjunction with their creator, with contempt and scorn. Whitelocke, I should add, was also one of these lords, with Lisle, Glyn, Widdrington, Desborough, Jones, Fleetwood, Claypole, and others of that class.\* Old Francis Rouse had been rewarded with one of the sinecure titles for his services in the days of Barbone, and the ex-Lord-mayor Pack had become as real a Lord Pack as Cromwell could make him. Our old friend Lenthall, too, received a writ of summons, which is said to have delighted him so much that the coach in which he rode through the Strand next day could hardly contain him. Men might well grieve when they saw the illustrious name of Hampden in such a list, and think it pity that he should not have "inherited his father's noble principles, though he doth his lands." The sturdy name of Hazle-  
rig was also there, but only that his formidable opposition in the lower House might be cut off. He contemptuously refused to obey the writ, and presented himself, with his old friend Scot, among the commoners, who had taken their station in what was now called the House of Lords, to witness and to ridicule that new and miserable imitation of the ancient forms of monarchy!

Called by the "usher of the black rod," they had found his highness the Lord Protector seated under a canopy of state. His speech began with the ancient address: "My lords, and gentlemen of the House of Commons." It was short, a circumstance he prayed them to excuse in consequence of the state of his health, but full of piety; and after an exposition of the eighty-fifth Psalm, he referred his two Houses for other particulars to Fiennes, his lord-keeper, who, in a long and tedious harangue, praised and defended the new institutions under which they had met.

A few words will describe the brief career of this wretched absurdity. Scot and Hazle-  
rig, backed by a formidable majority, whom they influenced by their eloquence and talents, flatly refused to acknowledge the new House as a House of Lords. They asked who had made its members lords, and who had the privilege of restoring the authority of the ancient peerage. The reply that the Protector had called them lords, and that it was the object of the Petition and Advice to re-establish the second estate, was no reply for Scot or Hazle-  
rig. Whenever the Lords sent a message to the Commons, the latter refused to give an answer until they had determined by what name they were to address the others, and to what

extent they were to admit their right to interfere with the deliberations of a body to whom they, in fact, owed their existence. Were they to have the privileges of the ancient peerage? Were they to be empowered to negative the acts of that House to which they owed their existence? Was it to be borne that the children should assume the superiority over their parents! that the nominees of the Protector should control the representatives of the people, the depositaries of the supreme power of the nation? The idea was scouted with a hiss whenever it was broached anew.

Cromwell, in an unprecedented state of anger and excitement, went to the House to remonstrate. The character of his address may be judged from one of its opening passages. "I look on this to be the great duty of my place, at being set on a watch-tower, to see what may be for the good of these nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil, that so, by the advice of so great and wise a Council as this is (that hath in it the life and spirit of these nations), that Good may be attained, and that evil (whatever it is) may be obviated. We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction upon our hearts that there is need of our most serious and best Counsels at such a time as this is. . . . I have not prepared any such matter and rule of speech to deliver myself unto you as perhaps might have been more filter for me to have done, and more serviceable for you to understand me in, but shall only speak plainly and honestly to you, out of such Conceptions as it hath pleased God to set upon me. . . . We have not been now four years and upward in this Government, to be totally ignorant of the things that may be of the greatest concernment to us. Your dangers (for that is the head of my speech), they are either with respect had to affairs abroad and their difficulties, or to affairs at home and their difficulties. . . . You come, as I may say so now, in the end of as great difficulties and straits as, I think, ever nation was engaged in. . . . I had in my thoughts to have made this the method of my speech: to wit, to have let you see the things that hazard your being and your well-being; but when I came seriously to consider better of it, I thought (as your affairs stand) that all things would resolve themselves into very being. You are not a nation, you will not be a nation, if God strengthen you not to meet with these evils that are upon us."

He then proceeded to lecture them on the benefit—the necessity of unanimity. Let them look abroad. The Papists threatened to swallow up all the Protestants of Europe. England was the only stay, the last hope of religion. Let them look at home. The Cavaliers and the Levellers were combined to overthrow the Constitution; Charles Stuart was preparing an invasion, and the Dutch had ungratefully sold him certain vessels for that purpose. Dissension would inevitably draw down ruin on themselves, their liberties, and their religion. For himself, he called God, angels, and men to witness that he sought not the office he held. It was forced upon him; but he had sworn to execute its duties, and he would perform what he had sworn, by preserving to every class

\* See Appendix I. for some curious extracts from the many descriptions that were published of them at the time, for the pleasure of the indignant people who despised them.

of men their just rights, whether civil or religious.

These gross falsehoods had now also spent out their day. No one among the Republicans cared for them one jot. Accordingly, when he had left the chamber, over and over again were messages renewed "from the Lords to the Commons," and as often received by the latter with the contemptuous intimation that "that House would return an answer by messengers of their own." Instead of returning the promised answers, however, they spent their whole time in debating what title and what rights ought to belong to the "other House," and whether, indeed, they deserved to have rights or title at all.

Cromwell seems to have been goaded by the nature of this opposition—its contempt, its carelessness, its quiet and collected defiance—into a state approaching to insanity.\* His health, as he himself told the House some days before, had evidently broken much. Nothing now remained to his distempered thoughts but a dissolution; and, having taken that resolve, he rushed, with the headlong phrensy of a man who dares not pause to think what he must do, to put it into instant execution. He would not wait for his carriage. He suddenly snatched up his hat, waved to half a dozen of his guards to follow him, flung himself into a hackney-coach he saw standing near Whitehall, and drove to the door of his "House of Lords." His appearance when he entered bespoke the concern of his son-in-law Fleetwood, who hastily ran up to him. Cromwell told him abruptly what he had come to do. Fleetwood tried to dissuade him; but "he clapped," continues Ludlow, from whom I take this account, "his hand on his breast, and swore by the living God he would do it." He sent the usher of the black rod to summon the Commons to attend him in the House of Lords. They were still engaged in discussing the title of the "other House" when the usher appeared, and they adjourned the question to their return, unconscious of what awaited them.

Oliver Cromwell then delivered, to the last assemblage of men he was doomed to meet within those walls, his last speech. It was brief and passionate, but with a touch of occasional humility, which may here, at least, in the circumstances of miserable failure that surrounded him, be taken as most sincere. They are proportionately touching.

"I had very comfortable expectations that God would make the meeting of this Parliament a blessing; and the Lord be my witness, I desired the carrying on the affairs of the nation to these ends: the blessing which I mean, and which we ever climbed at, was mercy, truth, righteousness, and peace, which I desire may be improved. . . .

"That which brought me into the capacity I now stand in was the Petition and Advice given me by you, who, in reference to the ancient Constitution, did draw me to accept of the place of Protector. *There is not a man living can say I sought it—no, not a man, nor woman treading upon English ground; but, contem-*

plating the sad condition of these nations, relieved from an intestine war unto a six or seven years' peace, I did think the nation happy therein. But to be petitioned thereunto, and advised by you to undertake such a government—a burden too heavy for any creature—and this to be done by the House that then had the legislative capacity, I did look that the same men that made the frame should make it good unto me. *I can say, in the presence of God, in comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping ants upon the earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my wood side, to have kept a flock of sheep, rather than undertook such a government as this is!* but, undertaking it by the advice and petition of you, I did look that you that had offered it unto me should make it good.

"I did tell you at a conference concerning it, that I would not undertake it unless there might be some other persons that might interpose between me and the House of Commons, who then had the power, to prevent tumultuary and popular spirits; and it was granted I should name another House. I named it of men that shall meet you wheresoever you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not titles, nor lords, nor party that they value, but a Christian and an English interest; men of your own rank and quality, who will not only be a balance unto you, but to themselves, while you love England and religion.

"Having proceeded upon these terms, and finding such a spirit as is too much predominant, everything being too high or too low when virtue, honesty, piety, and justice are omitted, I thought I had been doing that which was my duty, and thought it would have satisfied you; but if everything must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied.

"Again, I would not have accepted of the government unless I knew there would be a just accord between the governor and the governed; unless they would take an oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto. Upon that I took an oath, and they took another oath upon their part answerable to mine; and did not every one know upon what condition they swore? God knows, I took it upon the conditions expressed in the Government; and I did think we had been upon a foundation and upon a bottom, and thereupon I thought myself bound to take it, and to be advised by the two Houses of Parliament; and we standing unsettled till we were arrived at that, the consequences would necessarily have been confusion if that had not been settled. Yet there are not constituted hereditary lords nor hereditary kings, the power consisting in the two Houses and myself. I do not say that was the meaning of your oath to you; that were to go against my own principles to enter upon another man's conscience. *God will judge between me and you:* if there had been in you any intention of settlement, you would have settled upon this basis, and have offered your judgment and opinion.

"God is my witness, I speak it; it is evident to all the world and people living, that a new business hath been seeking in the name of the people against this actual settlement made by their consent. I do not speak to these lords [pointing to his right hand],

\* "Something happening that morning that put the Protector into a rage and passion near unto madness, as those at Whitehall can witness."—*Second Narrative*, p. 8.

*you will call them*—I speak not this to them, but to you. You advised me to run into this place, to be in a capacity by your advice; yet, instead of owning a thing taken for granted, *some must have I know what*; and you have not only disjointed yourselves, but the whole nation, which is in likelihood of running into more confusion in these fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the rising of the last session to this day, through the intention of devising a Commonwealth again, that some of the people might be the men that might rule all; and they are endeavouring to engage the army to carry that thing. And hath that man been true to this nation, whosoever he be, especially that hath taken an oath, thus to prevaricate! These designs have been among the army, to break and divide us. I speak this in the presence of some of the army, that these things have not been according to God nor according to truth, pretend what you will. These things tend to nothing else but the playing the King of Scots' game, if I may so call him; and I think myself bound, before God, to do what I can to prevent that.

"That which I told you in the Banqueting House was true, that there were preparations of force to invade us; God is my witness, it hath been confirmed to me since within a day, that the King of Scots hath an army at the water side ready to be shipped for England. I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it; and while it is doing, there are endeavours from some, who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this town into a tumulting—*what if I said into a rebellion?* And I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God assist me. It hath been not only your endeavour to pervert the army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the question about a commonwealth, but some of you have been listing of persons, by commission of Charles Stuart, to join with any insurrection that may be made: and what is like to come upon this, the enemy being ready to invade us, but even present blood and confusion! And if this be so, I do assign to this cause your not assenting to what you did invite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that which might be the settlement of the nation; and if this be the end of your sitting, and this be your carriage, I think it high time that an end be put unto your sitting, and I do dissolve this Parliament; and let God judge between me and you."

At this last solemn appeal, Scot called out aloud, *AMEN!* and was echoed, with a sad significance, by other members that surrounded him. Can there be a doubt for whom the judgment has passed?

A flock of sheep by a wood side would indeed have been a preferable fortune to the thoughts with which Cromwell must that day have returned to Whitehall. Every political expedient he had tried in his domestic government of England had failed. His treasury was empty; and he had just broken, with violence, the only resource that could safely have replenished it. His English army was five months in arrears, and his Irish seven. Petitions were on foot in the city and elsewhere against what was left to him of his power, and he stood in

the very midst of muskets and daggers that were aimed against his life. Killing had been declared No Murder against him; and a pamphlet with that terrible title, circulated in England within the last two months by thousands, had imbibed days and nights with the uncertain sense that each moment was to prove his last. For several nights, indeed, preceding that very day, he had made the round of the posts at Whitehall in person, for even his own body-guard he could trust no longer. "The Protector's own muster-roll," said that awful writing, which seemed to face him continually, "contains the names of those who aspire to the honour of delivering their country; his highness is not secure at his table or in his bed; death is at his heels wherever he moves; and though his head reaches the clouds, he shall perish like his own dung, and they that have seen him shall exclaim, *Where is he?*"

Melancholy duties awaited him next day. With this haunting sense of danger, which now pressed in upon him to the exclusion of nearly every other thought, he was obliged to cashier many of the favourite officers in his own favourite regiment. "I that had served him," says Colonel Hacker, a brave and single-hearted soldier, "fourteen years, ever since he was captain of a troop of horse till he came to this power, and had commanded a regiment seven years without any trial or appeal—with the breath of his nostrils I was ousted, and lost not only my place, but a dear friend to boot. Five captains under my command, all of integrity, courage, and valour, were ousted with me, because they could not say that that was a House of Lords."

Still no greater safety was achieved. The flood that was so soon to bear him down rolled heavily and uninterruptedly on. It would be idle to attempt to describe the conspiracies that surrounded him, even the more terrible because he knew them all.\* The system of espionage that had been organized by Thurloe was by far the most extraordinary that had been known in those days, or perhaps in later; and it was said that even Thurloe knew not all that the Lord Protector knew.† The letters

\* Some little relief there is in an occurrence the Marquis of Ormond was engaged in. The marquis came secretly to London during the sitting of Parliament, passed three weeks in conspiring with the Royalists, and intriguing with the Republicans, and returned unnoted to Charles II., then at Bruges. But Cromwell was fully apprized of his presence and his proceedings. He asked Broghill whether he was aware of the presence of an old friend. Broghill said who it was; he was told by Cromwell it was the Marquis of Ormond, and professed his entire ignorance of the fact. "I know it well," said Cromwell; "and I will tell you where he is, in order that you may save your old acquaintance." No one had greater magnanimity than Cromwell, where the question was one of a purely personal kind.

† From many rumoured scenes and incidents by which I might illustrate the popular notion of this formidable secretary, and his still more formidable chief, I present the following: "Thurloe was wont to tell that he was commanded by Cromwell to go at a certain hour to Gray's Inn, and at such a place deliver a bill of £20,000 to a man he should find walking in such a habit and posture as he described him, which accordingly Thurloe did, and never knew to the day of his death either the person or the occasion. At another time, the Protector coming late at night into Thurloe's office, which he kept in the last staircase in Lincoln's Inn, towards Holborn, that has a way down into the garden, made on purpose for Cromwell's coming to him unobserved, the Protector began to discourse with his secretary about an affair of the last importance; but seeing Moreland, one of the clerks, afterward Sir Samuel More



that were interchanged between the members of his family were expressions of alarm at a most dear father or husband's imminent danger, or of congratulation at his marvellous escape. I present to the reader perhaps one of the last letters, if not the last, that the Lady Elizabeth ever wrote. It is to her sister-in-law, the wife of Henry Cromwell, and bears the date of the 12th of June.

"DEARE SISTER,—I must beg your pardon that I doe not right to you soe oft ase I would doe; but, in earnest, I have bin soe extremely sickly of late, that it has made mee unfit for anything, thoye thare is nothing that can please mee more than wherein I maye expres my true love and respect to you; which I am suer non has more resen than myself, both for your former fafers, and the cens you have of anything which arises to mee of happnes. I will aisuer you, nothing of that can bee to mee, wherein I have not power to express how really I love and honor you. Truly, the Lord has bin very gratus to us, in doeing for us abowe whot we could exspect; and now has shod himself more extraordinary in delevering my father out of the hands of his enymise, which wee have all reson to bee sensible of in a very pertikellar manner; for sertainly not onldy his famely would have bin ruined, but in all probabiliyti the hol nation would have bin invold in blood. The Lord grant it maye never bee forgot by us, but that it may cose us to depend upon him, from hom wee have reseved all good, and that it may cose us to se the mutableness of these things, and to yuse them accordingly; I am suer wee have nede to bage that sperrit from God. Hary is vary well; I hope you will se him this sommer. Truly, thare is nothing I desier more than to enjoy you with us. I wis you may laye your grat bely here. I bag my true affliction to your letel wons. Deare sister, I am your most afficktineate sister and servant,  
E. CLAYPOLE."

The plot referred to by Lady Elizabeth was what is called the Slingsby and Hewet plot; and to avert the fate of Hewet, an Episcopal clergyman, whose ministry she was attached to, even this favourite and best-beloved daughter of Cromwell exerted herself in vain. Both Slingsby and Hewet perished on the scaffold. The health of the Lady Elizabeth, which was always delicate, and had been of late extremely so, seemed after this incident to wear still faster away; but whether that incident was at all connected with its more rapid decline, may be doubted. Be that as it may, it was at least watched with a more than father's anxiety by Cromwell. Even during all the disputes and anxieties that beset him at the opening of his last Parliament, nothing set aside that private sorrow. I find in one of Thurloe's letters this

land, was in the office, whom he had not seen before, tho' he pretended to be asleep upon his desk, and fearing he might have overheard them, he drew out a dagger which he always carried under his coat, and was going to dispatch Moreland on the spot, if Thurloe had not, with great intreaties, prevail'd upon him to desist, assuring him Moreland had sat up two nights together, and was certainly fast asleep. Probably this incident gave rise to the fictions of Moreland and Henshaw, and Moreland and Willis; but no question Moreland did betray his master, when he found things were like to take another turn, and, indeed, I never heard much of his integrity or merit."—*Oldmixon's History*, p. 424.

passage: "His highnesse, findinge he can have noe advise from those he most expected it from, sayth he will take his owne resolutions, and that he cannot any longer satisfye himselfe to sitt still, and make himselfe guilty of the losse of all the honest partye, and of the nation it-selfe; and truly I have long wished that his highnesse would proceed accordinge to his owne satisfaction, and not soe much consider others, who truly are to be indulged in everything but where the beinge of the nation is concerned. *His highnesse is now at Hampton Court, and will continue there for some tyme, as well for his own health as to be neare my Lady Elizabeth, who hath becne of late very daungerously ill, but now is somewhat better.*"

But the sorrows and anxieties of both father and daughter were now, happily for them, hastening to a rapid close. Public necessities pressed fearfully on the Protector. He had contracted enormous debts; his exchequer was frequently drained to the last shilling; and his ministers were compelled "to go a begging," as Thurloe tells us, for the temporary loan of a few thousand pounds, with the cheerless anticipation of a refusal. There, too, was the army, the greater part of which he had quartered in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, as his chief—his only—support against his enemies; and while the soldiers were comfortably clothed and fed, he might, perhaps, with confidence rely on their attachment; but now that their pay was in arrear, might not discontent induce them to listen to the suggestions of those officers who sought to subvert his power? He had once imposed taxes by his own authority: he dared not attempt it now. He strove to get up a loan in the city: the merchants, impoverished by the failure of their Spanish trade, eluded all his efforts. Thurloe himself gave way to despair at last. It was only, he said, when he looked up to heaven that he discovered a gleam of hope, in the persuasion that the God who had befriended Cromwell through life would not desert him at its close. Thurloe should have rather wished that life to close as it was. It could be stretched out no longer with profit or with honour. If the Lord Protector had indeed a FORTUNATE DAY, it became his friends to anticipate with no ungenerous hope that that might be his DEATH DAY. His errors were irretrievable. He could not then recall the "game of the King of Scots," which he had played so well. His arts were utterly exhausted; and what but mischief could there be in the farther retention of a life that was powerless and valueless without them?

A Parliament was nevertheless thought of once more! Urged by Thurloe's entreaties, he appointed a committee to consider of the means of defeating the Republicans. The committee sat and deliberated, and deliberated and sat, but nothing very ingenious did they hit upon; and Cromwell's last public action was to dissolve them. Thurloe lifted hands and eyes to heaven, and said no more. Cromwell redoubled his precautions for personal safety. He multiplied every means of defence he had. As if apprehensive of some attack upon his palace, he selected from different regiments of cavalry a hundred and sixty "brave fellows," in whom

\* Lingard, vol. ii., p. 347.

he could repose the utmost confidence, and to whom he gave the pay and appointments of officers. He divided them into eight troops of twenty men each, and directed that two of these bodies, in rotation, should always be on duty near his person. He wore a coat of mail, or steel shirt, as it was called, under his clothes; he carried loaded pistols in his pockets; he sought to remain in privacy; and, when he found it necessary to give audience, he "sternly watched the eyes and gestures of those who addressed him." He was careful that his own motions should not be known beforehand. His carriage was filled with attendants; a numerous escort accompanied him; and he proceeded at full speed, "frequently diverging from the road to the right or left, and generally returning by a different route." In his palace he often inspected the nightly watch; changed his bedchamber; and was careful that, besides the principal door, there should be some other egress for the facility of escape. And this was the Cromwell who had almost singly turned the enemy's line at Marston Moor—the Cromwell of Naseby, of Worcester, of Newbury, of Dunbar! But what spirit can fight against shadows—those most terrible shadows that spring up from the grave of virtue? This hero passed his nights in a state of feverish anxiety; sleep had fled from his pillow; and for more than a year before his death, the absence of rest is always found assigned as either the cause which produced, or the circumstances which aggravated, his numerous ailments.\*

But now they were all forgotten in the sudden and most dangerous relapse of his dearest daughter. It was announced to him that she was dying. Public affairs, private dangers, his own bodily pains—all were thrust aside for the greater love and the more unselfish sorrow, and he hurried to Hampton Court to watch by her bedside her slightest wish; to alleviate, or console, or share her dying thoughts and sufferings. The Lord Protector of three great kingdoms became the protector of his child alone; and that deathbed, if it had its dark pangs of grief, had surely its tender rays of sunshine too. Such griefs to such a man must have brought back with them some of nature's kindest memories.

On the 4th of August the Lady Elizabeth Claypole died, and on the 17th Thurloe wrote to Henry Cromwell. Having described "my Lady Elizabeth's funeral," the secretary thus proceeded: "Your lordship is a very sensible judge how great an affliction this was to both their highnesses, and how sadd a familie she left behinde her, which saddness was truly very much increased by the sicknesse of his highnesse, who at the same time lay very ill of the gout, and other distempers, contracted by the long sicknesse of my Lady Elizabeth, which made great impression upon him; and since that, wheither it were the retiringe of the gout out of his foot into his body, or from some other cause, I am not able to say, he hath bene very dangerously sicke, the violence whereof lasted 4 or 5 days; but, blessed be God, he is now reasonable well recovered, and this day he went abroad for an houre, and findes himselfe much refreshed by it, soe that this recovery of his highnesse

doth much allay the sorrow for my Lady Elizabeth's death. Your excellencye will easily imagine what an alarume his highnesse's sicknesse gave us, beinge in the posture wee are now in."

A slow fever, however, still lurked about the Lord Protector, and on the 24th he was again confined to his room. The fever was pronounced to be a bastard tertian. One of his physicians, as they stood in his chamber that day, whispered to another that his pulse was intermittent. The words caught the ears of the great soldier: he turned pale; a cold perspiration covered his face; and, requesting to be placed in bed, he executed his private will. The next morning he had recovered his usual composure; and, when he received the visit of his physician, ordering all to quit the room but his wife, whom he held by the hand, he said to the physician, "Do not think that I shall die; I am sure that I shall not." Then, observing the surprise which these words excited, he continued, "Don't think that I am mad; I tell you the truth; I know it from better authority than any which you can have from Galen or Hippocrates. It is the answer of God himself to our prayers; not to mine alone, but to those of others, who have a more intimate interest in him than I have."† The same communication was made to Thurloe, and to the different members of the Protector's family; nor did it fail to obtain credit among men who believed that "in other instances he had been favoured with similar assurances, and they had never deceived him." Hence his chaplain, Goodwin, exclaimed, "O Lord, we pray not for his recovery—that thou hast granted already: what we now beg is his speedy recovery."‡

All of them seem to have forgotten (and himself, alas! the first) that nine days later would be his FORTUNATE DAY.

Having been moved for change of air to Whitehall till the palace of St. James's could be prepared for him, his strength rapidly wasted, and his fever became a double tertian. On the 25th of August Thurloe thus wrote to Henry Cromwell: "May it please your excellencye, I gave you some account by Doctor Worth of His Highnesse's condition, as it then was; but least he should delay his journey, or miscarry in it, I thought it necessary to send this expresse, to the end your excellencye may fully understand how it is with his Highnesse.

\* Bates's Elenchi, pars secunda, p. 215. I subjoin the original passage: "Post prandium autem accedens ad eum quinquē quos habebat medicos, quidam ex tacta positum intermisisse pronunciat: quo, audito ille subito consensatus ore pallit, sudat, iunculas patitur, et fere deliquit, gubetque se ad lectulum deportari; atque ibi cardachii rucillatus, suppremitur conditum testamentum, sed de rebus privatis et domesticis. Manē summō, cum unus ē ceteris visitatum veniret, percontatur, quare vultus ei adeo tristis. Cūque responderet, itā optere, an cui vitæ ac salutis ejus pondus incumbere; Vos (inquit) medici me creditis intermoriturum: dein ceteris amotis (uxorem manu complexens) ita hunc affatur. Tibi pronuncio, non esse mihi hoc morbo moriendum; hujus enim certus sum. Et quæ intentioni aspectantem oculo ad ieta verba cerneret. Tunc (inquit) nē credas insanire; verba veritatis eloquor, certioribus innixus quā vobis Galenus aut Hippocrates vocat suppeditat rationibus. Deus ipse hoc responsum precor dedit non meis unius, verum et eorum quibus artius cum illo commercium et major familiaritas. Pergite alacres, excusati penitus & vultu tristitia, meque instar servuli tractate. Pollere vobis licet prudentia rerum; plus tamen vult natura quā medici simul omnes; Deus autem natura longiori superat intervallo."

† Lingard, vol. ii., p. 350.

‡ Lingard, vol. ii., p. 353.

This is the 13th day since his Ague took him, havinge been sicke a fortnight before of a generall distemper of body. It continued a good while to be a tertian ague, and the burninge fitts very violent. Upon Saturday it fell to a double tertian, havinge two fitts in 24 houres, one upon the heeles of another, which doe extreamely weaken him, and endauger his life. And truly since Saterdag morninge he hath scarce beene perfectly out of his fitts. The Doctors are yett hopefull that he may struggle through it, though their hopes are mingled with much feare. But truly wee have cause to put our hope in the Lord, and to expect mercy from him in this case, he havinge stirred up the saints to pray for him in all places. Never was there a greater stocke of prayers goinge for any man than is now goinge for him; and truly there is a generall consternation upon the spirits of all men, good and bad, fearinge what may be the event of it, should it please God to take his highnesse at this tyme: and God havinge prepared the heart to pray, I trust he will enclyne his eare to heare. And that which is some ground of hope is, that the Lord, as in some former occasions, hath given to himselfe a particuler assurance that he shall yett live to serve him, and to carry on the worke he hath put into his handes. . . . I doe not yett finde that there are any great stirrings yett upon this occasion, though the Cavaliers doe begin to listen after it, and hope their day is cominge, or indeed come, if his Highnesse dye. And truly, my Lord, wee have cause to feare that it may goe very ill with us if the Lord should take away his Highnesse in this conjuncture. Not that I thinke Charles Stewart's interest is soe great, or his partye soe powerfull in themselves; but I feare our own divisions, which may be great enough if his Highnesse should not settle and fix his successor before he dyes, which truly I beleieve he hath not yett done. He did by himselfe declare one in a paper before he was installed by the Parliament, and sealed it up in the forme of a letter, directinge it to me, but kept both the name of the person and the paper to himselfe. After he fell sicke at Hampton Court, he sent Mr. John Barrington to London for it, tellinge him it lay upon his study table at Whit-hall; but it was not to be found there, nor elsewhere, though it hath been very narrowly looked for. And in this condition matters stand, his highnesse havinge beene too ill to be troubled with a buisnesse of this importance. This day he hath had some discourse about it, but his illness disenabled him to conclude it fully; and if it should please the Lord not to give him tyme to settle his succession before his death, the judgement would be the soarer, and our condition the more dangerous; but I trust he will have compassion on us, and not leave us as a prey to our enemies, or to one another. All persons here are very reserved as to what they will doe in case his Highnesse should not declare his Successor before he dyes, not beinge willinge to enterteyne any discourse of it, either because it is a matter too grievous to be thought of, or because they would not discover any opinion which might crosse his highnesse's thoughts in his life tyme. And this, my Lord, is the whole account I am able to give your Lordship of this sadd buisnesse, which I am

sure will occasion much trouble and sorrow to you; but I could not omit my duty, judginge it absolutely necessary that your Excellency should understand all that passes or falls out upon this subject, that you may the better knowe how to direct your prayers and counsells, and stirre up others alsoe to pray for his highnesse and three nations in this day of distresse. And as anythinge further occurs (which I beseech the Lord may be for good) I shall suddenly despatch it away to you, and be ready to answer such Commands as your Excellencye shall lay upon me, beinge Your Excellencye's most humble, faithfull, and obedient servant, Jo. THURLOE. Whitehall, 30 Aug., 1658, 9 o'clock at night. . . . The Kinge of Sweden and the Kinge of Dennimark are againe in open hostility; the Kinge of Sweden landed an army upon his island of Zealand, and is like to possesse himselfe of his Capitall City, Copenhagen, and the Sound. The cause of this new quarrel I cannot now acquaint your excellencye, beinge not informed myselfe. . . . *That about the Succession is an absolute secret: I beseech your Excellencye keepe it soe.*"

This despatch suggests thoughts with which this work has nothing now to do. The final scene approached fast. On the second of September, Cromwell, who had been delirious, had a lucid interval of some duration. He called on one of his chaplains to read a certain text to him out of the Bible. They read what he directed from St. Paul to the Philippians: "Not that I speak in respect of want; for I have learned, in whatever state I am, therewith to be content. I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me. Notwithstanding, ye have well done that ye did communicate with my affliction." As this fell upon his ear, he murmured brokenly forth these inexpressibly touching words. "*This scripture did once save my life when my eldest son . . . died, which went as a dagger to my heart . . . indeed it did.*"\*

Then, as they stood around his bed, he suddenly lifted himself up, and, with what energy remained, "Tell me," said he to Sterry, one of his chaplains, "*is it possible to fall from grace?*" "*It is not possible,*" replied the minister. "Then," exclaimed the dying man, "*I am safe; for I know that I was once in grace.*" So, reassuring himself even then with the most fatal doctrine of his life, he turned round and prayed, not for himself, but for God's people.† "Lord," he said, "although I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace, and I may, I will come to thee for thy people. Thou hast made me (though very unworthy) a mean instrument to do them some good and thee service; and many of them have set too high a value upon me, though others

\* Collection of Passages concerning his late Highness in Time of his Sickness, p. 12. The author was Underwood, groom of the bedchamber, and was present at the scene.

† (Respecting his alleged beloved notion of final perseverance, that once a child of God always so, and his supposed question whether a man could fall from grace, and the supposed answers of Goodwin and Sterry, such a conversation might or might not pass, but is conceived to mean no more than Cromwell's belief of the doctrine of predestination and election, which many wise and good persons of the then and present times, both in and out of the Church, have believed and do believe to be contained in the Articles of the English Church. See Memoirs of the Protector, vol. ii., p. 409.—C.)

wish and would be glad of my death; but, Lord, however thou dost dispose of me, continue and go on to do good for them; give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them; and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world; teach those who look too much upon thy instruments to depend more upon thyself; pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too; and pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake, and give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure."

He went into a kind of stupor after this, but revived a little as the night closed in, and began to murmur half-audible words. An eye-witness\* describes the affecting scene: "'Truly God is good; indeed he is . . . he will not—' There his speech failed him; but, as I apprehended, it was, 'He will not leave me.' This saying that God was good he frequently used all along, and would speak it with much cheerfulness and fervour of spirit in the midst of his pain. Again he said, 'I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done; yet God will be with his people.' *He was very restless most part of the night, speaking often to himself; and there being something to drink offered him, he was desired to take the same, and endeavour to sleep; unto which he answered, 'It is not my design to drink or to sleep, but my design is to make what haste I can to be gone.'*"

The morning of the next day dawned from a sky of terrible storm. It was the 3d of September. Cromwell had relapsed into a state of utter insensibility, but he lived until four o'clock in the afternoon, when, unconscious still, he breathed heavily, and his chaplains looking closely into the bed, found that his great spirit had passed away.† All the attendants who were present, and who had lost at that instant one of the kindest, the gentlest, and most affectionate of masters, wept and groaned aloud. "Cease to weep," exclaimed the enthusiastic and most confident Sterry; "you have more reason to rejoice. He was your protector here; he will prove a still more powerful protector, now that he is with Christ at the right hand of the Father!"

Thurloe at once announced the event to Henry Cromwell in this earnest and mournful despatch: "May it please your excellency, I did by an expresse upon Monday give your excellency an account of his highnesse's sickness and the daunger he was in; since that, it hath pleased God to put an end to his dayes. He died yesterday, about four of the clocke in the afternoone. I am not able to speake or write. This stroke is soe soare, soe unexpected, the providence of God in it soe stupendious, considering the person that is fallen, the tyme and season wherein God tooke him away, with other circumstances, I can doe nothinge but put my mouthe in the dust, and say, 'It is the Lord!' And though his wayes be not always knowne, yet they are

always righteous, and wee must submit to his will, and resigne up ourselves to him with all our concernements. . . . His highnesse was pleased before his death to declare my Lord Richard successor. He did it upon Monday; and the Lord hath soe ordered it, that the councill and army hath received him with all manner of affection. He is this day proclaymed; and *hitherto there seems a great face of peace*: the Lord continue it! . . . It is not to be sayd what affection the army and all people shew to his late highnesse; his name is already precious. Never was there any man soe pray'd for as he was during his sicknesse—solemne assemblies meetinge every day to beseech the Lord for the continuance of his life—soe that he is gone to heaven, embalmed with the teares of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints. He lived desired and dyed lamented, everybody bemoaninge themselves, and sayinge, 'A great man is fallen in Israel!' The Lord double his spirit upon his successor and upon your excellencye, that you both may be famous in your generation, and be helped by God, with one heart and shoulder, to carry on that worke, the foundation whereof your most renowned father layed, and for which posteritie will blesse him! The councill hath given your excellencye an account of what is done as to the proclayminge his highnesse your brother. I only herewith send the voet of the councill; and, *though I know not what will be my portion or condition here, yett I shall alwayes be your excellencye's most humble and obedient servant, Jo. THURLOE.*" . . . His highnesse (Richard) intends to send a gentleman to your excellencye in the beginnunge of the next weeke, to let you understand fully the state of all thinges here and of your family, and commanded me to desire you to excuse his not writinge by this messenger. The truth is, his highnesse's death is soe soare a stroke unto him, and he is soe sensible of it, that he is in noe condition to write or doe yett. Here is a sadd family on all hands: the Lord support them!"

The great storm of the night of the 2d of September, 1658, reached to the coasts of the Mediterranean. It was such a night in London as had rarely been passed by dwellers in crowded streets. Trees were torn from their roots in the park, chimneys blown down, and houses unroofed in the city. The various accounts which writers as various have handed down to us, would seem to realize the night of Duncan's murder.

"As they say,  
Lamentings heard i' the air; strange screams of death  
And prophesying, with accents terrible,  
Of dire combustion, and confused events,  
New hatch'd to the woful time. The obscure bird  
Clamour'd the live-long night."

It was, indeed, a night which prophesied a woful time to England, but to Cromwell it proved a night of happiness. It ushered in for him, far more surely than at Worcester or Dunbar, his FORTUNATE DAY.\*

\* Underwood.

† [A most touching account of the death-scene is contained in the closing pages of Carlyle's second volume, p. 406-12.—C.]

\* [Since this work has been in press, the production of Monsieur Guizot on Charles I. and Cromwell has appeared. It is marked by great ability. It will be consulted by all who are interested in the character of the Lord Protector. It is published by the Messrs. Appleton, New-York.—C.]

# APPENDIX

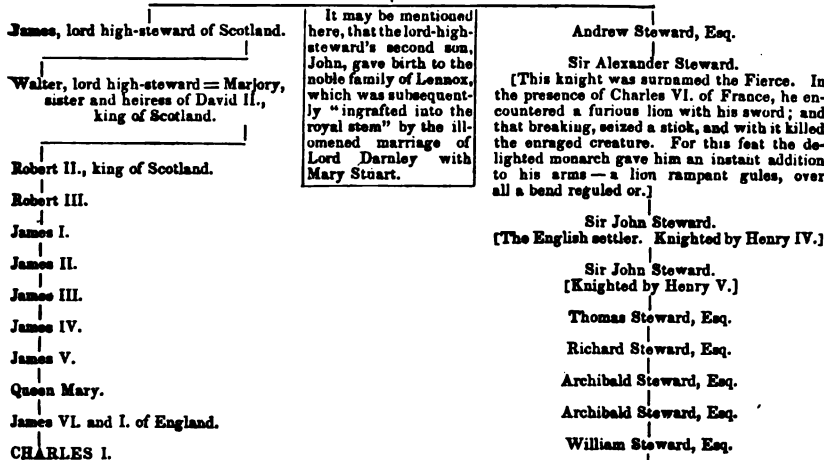
## TO THE

### LIFE OF CROMWELL.

A.  
THE industry of Mr. Noble has finally settled the point of Oliver Cromwell's relationship to Charles I. by the mother's side. The result may be shortly stated thus. He carries back the lineage of William Steward, Esq., the father of Mrs. Robert Cromwell, to Alexander, the lord-high-steward of Scotland, from whose third son, Andrew, he proves him to have sprung. John Steward, the grandson of this Andrew, had accompanied the suite of the young

prince James of Scotland, when, on his way to France, to avoid his uncle's ambition, he was driven on the English coast, and detained prisoner by Henry IV. More fortunate than his royal master, John Steward became one of the English king's favourites; received knighthood from him at a tournament held at Smithfield in the tenth year of his reign, and thenceforward settled in England. The pedigree, connecting him and his descendants with royalty, stands thus:

#### ALEXANDER, LORD-HIGH-STEWARD OF SCOTLAND.



#### Elizabeth Steward = Robert Cromwell, Esq. OLIVER CROMWELL.

Sir Thomas Steward.  
[The only brother of Mrs. Robert Cromwell, knighted by King James I., at Windsor, in 1604. He left his fortune to his illustrious nephew.]

From this, the reader will observe, Charles I. and Cromwell's mother were eighth cousins; James I. and Oliver himself ninth cousins; Oliver and Charles I. ninth cousins one remove; and the Protector Richard, Oliver's second son, tenth cousin to the ill-fated English king. Mr. Noble has not failed to direct attention to the fact, that "the royal line so constantly marrying at a very early age, had got one descent of the younger branch, from whom Mrs. Cromwell, Oliver's mother, derived her birth; a thing very common, owing to a cause too obvious to be mentioned."

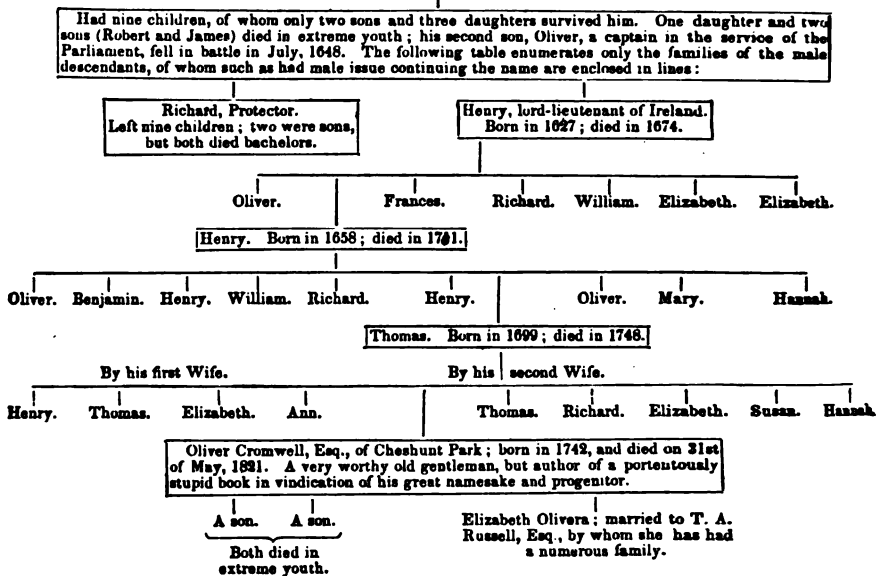
These details, I may add, were not so satisfactorily made out during the life of the Protector as they have since been. His mother's modest character forbade such assumptions on her part, and he was himself too proud of his self-achieved authority to set up the miserable shadow of a fantastic family claim, which, if it established any thing, should have bespoken pity for the kinsman he had sent to the block. His more servile admirers and dependants, however, did not fail to press for him his hereditary pretensions on the royal score; but the way in which they urged it showed on how obscure a tradition it rested then. One "H. Daubeny" published, the year after Cromwell's death, a duodecimo volume of 300 pages, entitled "Historie and Policie Reviewed, in the Heroic Transactions of his Most Serene Highness, Oliver, late Lord-Protector, from his Cradle to his Tomb: declaring his steps to princely perfection; as they are drawn in lively parallels to the ascents of the great patriarch Moses, in thirty degrees to the height of Honour." In which Mosiac parallel we find this remark: "I cannot say his late highness was extracted from so priestly a family (as Moses), but altogether as princely, being lineally descended from the loynes of our most ancient British princes,

and ty'd in near alliances to the blood of our later kings, as by that thrice noble family of the Barringtons, and divers others; which to make a pedigree of would take up more paper than we intend for our volume, and make me appear more a herald than an historian. Nay, indeed, should I but go about to prove his highness's most illustrious house noble, I should commit a sacrilege in the temple of honour, and onely violate his most glorious family with a more solemn infamy. His highness is unquestionably known to have descended from such a stem of princely antecessors, that whole ages, which waste rocks and wear out elements, have never altered to lessen, but rather advance, the honour of his great house. He was derived from such a family, that we may better say of it than what was of the other, *ex quo necesse est aliquid mediocre nasci*, from whence nothing ordinary can proceed; as is likewise made notoriously evident in those other most eminent persons of honour, now living, who are blest with a share of his incomparable blood; who have spread their glory abroad, so well as at home, and built themselves such trophies, in the hearts of their very enemies, that eternity itself must celebrate; so no time can ever be able to demolish, or reduce into oblivion. And that I may not be thought to flatter so great a truth, I will be bold to hasten, and abruptly conclude this first point of our Mosiacal parallel, with saying onely, that this sublime person, his late most serene highness, our second, as the first great Moses, came into the world like a princely pearl, and made it appear, by the quality of his orient, that if nature pleased to equal his birth to the best of noblemen upon earth, he would equal his virtues to his extraction; as we shall see more plainly, when we mount a little higher upon our Mosiacal ascents and parallels."

From all which it appears that Mr. Daubenny knew nothing of the real pedigree, but guessed it out from tradition, assisted by his hero's old Welsh origin and his relationship to his uncle, Sir Francis Barrington, who could trace his pedigree up to the Norman Conquest. Lord Hailes was nearer

the mark, when, in his *Annals*, he observed, that "at the fatal battle of Haldon, two Stuarts fought under the banner of their chief; the one, *Alan* of Dreghorn, the paternal ancestor of Charles I., and the other, *James* of Rosyth, the maternal ancestor of Oliver Cromwell."

B.  
OLIVER CROMWELL.



two shields of arms of his family impaling, the one his first, the other his second lady's, painted upon the ~~door~~ <sup>walls</sup>, with many quarterings," and surrounded by a prodigious number of other shields Cromwellian. All preparations complete, King James arrived at Hinchinbrook on the 27th of April, 1603, Lord Southampton carrying before him the sword which the mayor of Huntingdon had offered to the new sovereign. Sir Oliver received James at the gate of the great court, and conducted him up a walk, that then immediately led to the principal entrance of the house.

"His majesty," we learn from various accounts, "here met with a more magnificent reception than he had ever done since his leaving his paternal kingdom, both for the plenty and variety of the meats and wines. It is inconceivable with what pleasure the English received the king: all strove to please, every one to see the new sovereign, who was to unite two jarring and valiant kingdoms, and to be the common monarch of both. Sir Oliver gratified them to the full. His doors were thrown wide open to receive all that chose to pay their respects to the new king, or even to see him; and each individual was welcomed with the choicest viands and most costly wines: even the populace had free access to the cellars during the whole of his majesty's stay. While the king was at Hinchinbrook, he received the heads of the University of Cambridge in their robes, to congratulate him upon his accession to the English throne, which they did in a long Latin oration. His majesty remained with Sir Oliver until he had breakfasted on April 29. At his leaving Hinchinbrook, he was pleased to express the obligations he had received from him and his lady; to the former he said at parting, as he passed through the court, in his broad Scotch manner, 'Morry mon, thou hast treated me better than any one since I left Edinburgh;' and it is more than probable, than ever that prince was entertained before or after; for it is said, Sir Oliver at this time gave the greatest feast that had been given to a king by a subject. His loyalty and regard to his prince seems almost unbounded; for when his majesty left Hinchinbrook, he was presented by him with many things of great value; among others, a large, elegant, wrought standing cup of gold, goodly robes, deep-mouthed hounds, divers hawks of excellent wing; and, at the remove, gave fifty pounds among the royal officers. So many and such great proofs of attachment, and those in a manner peculiarly agreeable to the taste of the prince, gained him regard, which he took an early opportunity of expressing, by creating him, with fifty-nine others, a knight of the Bath, prior to his coronation. This ceremony was performed on Sunday, July 24, following; upon which day he, with the other gentlemen designed for that honour, rode in state from St. James's to the court, and so, with their esquires and pages, about the tiltyard, and from thence to St. James's Park, where, alighting from their horses, and going in a body to the presence-gallery, they received their knighthood from his majesty."

Happy Sir Oliver! We hardly recover breath after this description to glance rapidly at his remaining fortunes.

He was, we find, a conspicuous member of the House of Commons from 1604 to 1610, and also in 1614, 1623, and 1624, during which years he is perhaps oftener named upon committees than any other man. He is always a staunch courtier, and once or twice styled Queen Anne's attorney in the journals of the House; but he did not hold that place long, probably not many months. It is probable that he succeeded Sir Lawrence Tanfield in the office in or about the year 1604. On the 10th of May, 1605, he, with others, signed a certificate to the privy council, that the work of draining the fens in Lincolnshire, &c., was feasible, and without any peril to any haven or county. In this letter Robert joined him; and in 1606 he was named in the act or bill for draining of the fens; and was one of the adventurers who subscribed towards planting and cultivating Virginia. His majesty, King James I., we also find, gave Sir Oliver, in 1608, £6000 for his relinquishing a grant of £200, issuing yearly out of the royal lands, given to him as a free gift; and the family records tell us, that on May 2, 1622, he gave a grant in fee of certain lands in the manor of Warboys to his son and heir Henry, out of his affection to him, and for his better maintenance and living: the seizure was witnessed by Sir Phil. Cromwell and others. Meanwhile, we may add, he had made enormous gaps in his fortune by his gorgeous style of living, and the rival entertainments he persisted in giving at intervals to the king, which he continued even after the accession of Charles to the throne.

Sir Oliver, Mr. Noble tells us, "was in no less favour with King Charles I. than he had been with the late sovereign; his name occurs in a committee in the first Parliament of this reign; Aug. 12 in this year, and Feb. 23 following, he is named, among others, in a special commission directed to them, for 'ruling, governing, demising, and disposing of our possessions, and customary lands within our dutchie of Cornwall'; he was also named one in the commission of peace by King Charles I. in 1625, and for the loan-money for the county of Huntingdon in the following year."

It is not necessary here to pursue his fortunes in detail,

as they are alluded to in the life of his nephew. "He was not," says the cautious Mr. Noble, "an idle spectator in the dreadful civil war which the tyranny of King Charles I. and the ambition of the popular leaders of the House of Commons had involved this nation in; but remembering the many obligations he and his ancestors lay under to the crown, he determined to support the royal cause. For this purpose, he not only (at a very heavy expense) raised men, and gave large sums of money, but obliged his sons to take up arms, and go with the royal army; and he was of greater use to his majesty than any person in that part of the kingdom, by which he rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Parliament."

Of his nephew's visit to him at Ramsey mention is elsewhere made. No claim or favour of relationship, no consideration for his sinking and nearly squandered fortunes, could avail to move his faith. "Nothing," pursues our authority, "was able to shake Sir Oliver's loyalty; he supported the royal party to the last; for which, like many others, he was sentenced to have all his estates, both real and personal, sequestered; but they were saved through the interposition, and for the sake of his nephew Oliver, then lieutenant-general; and the Parliament, April 17, 1648, took off the sequestration, in which he is styled 'Sir Oliver Cromwell, of Ramsey Moore, in the county of Huntingdon, Knight of the Bath.' During the whole of the usurpation, as well by the Commonwealth as under the government of his relation Oliver, he followed the example of the grantees Loyalists in courting privacy and retirement; and it is pretty singular that the colours which he and his sons took from the Parliament forces continued displayed in Ramsey Church during the whole of the Grand Rebellion, and remained there until within these fifty years. This fortitude in not courting the favour of the Protector is the more observable and praiseworthy, as from the repeated losses he had sustained from his loyalty, his numerous family, and want of economy in both himself and his sons, the evening of his life was rendered very disagreeable upon pecuniary accounts, he dying oppressed with a load of debts, although he had parted not only with most of his estates in Huntingdonshire (to whom I know not), but of his other valuable manors, since none of these came to his heirs, to whom it is reasonable to conjecture he resigned up the whole of what he had left: for in the decree of chancery for dividing the fens, passed in 1652, his name is not mentioned; and his eldest son and heir-apparent is called lord of the manor of Ramsey, of which he was actual owner at that time. His death happened Aug. 28, 1655, in the ninety-third year of his age: he was buried the same night (to prevent, it is said, his body being seized by his creditors) in the Church of Ramsey; but there is no memorial of him or of his family, nor does there seem ever to have been any in that church; but, upon sounding, I discovered that there is a vault just entering into the chancel, where the Cromwells are said to be buried."

Fuller sketches, in his own quaint style, the character of Sir Oliver as one of the worthies of Huntingdonshire, and tells us he is remarkable to posterity on a fourfold account: "First, for his hospitality, and prodigious entertainment of King James and his court; secondly, for his upright dealings in bargain and sale with all chapmen, so that no man whosoever that purchased land of him was put to the charge of three pence to make his title; yet he sold excellent pennyworths, inasmuch that Sir John Leaman (once lord-mayor of London), who bought the fair manor of Warboise, in this county, of him, affirmed, that it was the cheapest land that ever he bought, and yet the dearest that ever Sir Oliver Cromwell sold; thirdly, for his loyalty, always beholding the usurpation and tyranny of his nephew, godson, and namesake with hatred and contempt; lastly, for his vivacity, who survived to be the oldest knight who was a gentleman, seeing Sir George Dalston, younger in years (yet still alive), was knighted some days before him."

It will be only necessary to add that Sir Oliver married twice: first, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Bromley, lord-chancellor of England, upon whom was settled Ramsey, Warboys, Hinchinbrook, Higney, Broughton alias Broneston, and Little Raveley. After her death he married, July 7, 1601 (at Baberham, in Cambridgeshire, the place of her late husband's residence), Ann, daughter of Egidius Huoftman, a gentleman of Antwerp, and widow of Sir Horatio Palavicini, a noble Genoese. Upon this latter lady he settled the manors of Ramsey, Heigmongrove, Bury, Upwood, and Wistow Meers, except the rectories in each of them, and the parishes called the old and new parishes, and the lands lying in those parishes, viz., Ramsey and the Chase, and the ground called Wychwood. She died at Hinchinbrook, and was buried at All Saints' Church, in Huntingdon, April 26, 1636. By Lady Elizabeth Sir Oliver had six children, and by Lady Ann four.

E.  
CROMWELL AND CHRISTINA.

## INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the dissolution of the Long Parliament, and on the eve of the seizure of the Protectorate, Cromwell resolved to send Whitlocke as ambassador extraordinary to Sweden, to arrange a treaty with Queen Christina. Viscount Lisle, the other lord-commissioner of the great seal, had been named for the office, but Lisle's presence promised to prove as available to Cromwell in the designs he now held, as the absence of the cautious and circumspect Whitlocke, who had, in every other great event of the time, objected to the dissolution of the Parliament before it occurred, and acquiesced in it afterward. Whitlocke, therefore, he was determined should go; and his conduct in achieving his point was eminently characteristic.

Whitlocke had grave reasons for declining the service, and many long and fearful conversations passed with his wife (the third who had helped to increase his family), in which those reasons are earnestly given. The voyage was a danger—the repulsive climate of Sweden was a danger—the health of Lady Whitlocke, then on the eve of confinement, an imminent danger; but worst and most dangerous of all had it been to disobey the lord-general. His wife, with a woman's ready wit, endeavoured, by a sort of half-deserved compliment, to infuse some spirit of resistance into him: "The lord-general means no good to you," she said, "but would be rid of you." "Why," answered Whitlocke, "should he desire to be rid of me, when I may be serviceable to him here?" The wife readily retorted: "Though you are serviceable in some things, yet you are not thorough-paced for them in all things, which they would have you to do; you refused to act in the great business; you opposed the breaking of the Parliament, and other unjust things." "But what further designs," afterward asks the simple lawyer, "can he have? He exercises more power than any king of England ever had or claimed." "His ambition," answers his wife, "is higher than we can imagine; and you have often declared yourself for the law and rights of the people, which, if they stand in his way, he will lay them, or you, or anything aside." Similar language to this, but with a different purpose, was held to the perplexed Whitlocke by one of his tenants at his seat in Bucks, "an ancient, sober, discreet, and faithful servant to Whitlocke and his father above forty years." This old countryman advised his master to go, because the "GREAT MAN," as he calls Cromwell, desires him to go. Whitlocke rejoins, that that is true; but he is not "bound to obey" Cromwell. "I am deceived," says the shrewd old servant, "if he will not be obeyed in what he hath a mind to." "I am not under his command," retorts Whitlocke; "what can he do to me?" "What can he do?" exclaims the experienced William Cooke; "what can he not do? Don't we all see he does what he list? We poor countrymen are forced to obey him to our cost; and if he have a mind to punish us or you, it's an old proverb that it is an easie thing to find a staffe to beat a dogge; and I would not have you to anger him lest you bring danger, and trouble too, upon you and your family and state: that's the truth on't."

Let us next view Whitlocke in conversation with the lord-general. He had received a very simple and short note, signed by Cromwell and Pickering (as of the council of state), but "all written with Cromwell's own hand," intimating the office he was expected to discharge. Next morning he called on Pickering, told his wife's condition, and his reluctance to leave England, and implored his intercession with the lord-general. Together they proceeded to the latter, and Whitlocke made his appeal. "I am very sorry," quietly remarked Cromwell, "that the letter came no sooner to you." "I confess," interposed Sir Gilbert Pickering, "it was my fault." "Sir Gilbert," characteristically resumed Cromwell, "would needs write a very fine letter; and when he had done, did not like it himself. I then took the pen and ink, and straightway wrote that letter to you. And the business is of exceeding great importance to the Commonwealth, as any can be; that it is: and there is no prince or state in Christendome, with whom there is any probability for us to have a friendship, butt only the Queen of Sweden. She hath sent severall times to us, butt we have returned no ambasy to her, only a letter by a young gentleman. She expects an ambassador from us; and if we should not send a man of eminency to her, she

would thinke herselfe slighted by us: and she is a lady of great honour, and stands much upon ceremonies."

Poor Whitlocke, somewhat softened against his will, yet found strength enough to renew his importunities of release on the ground of various incapacities he alleged himself to labour under. "The councill," retorted Cromwell, concealing his own private and determined will under a torrent of persuasion and entreaty, "the councill have pitched upon you unanimously, as the fittest man in the nation for this service; we know your abilities, having long conversed with you; we know you have languages, and have travelled, and understand the interest of Christendome; and I have known you in the army, to endure hardships, and to be healthful and strong, and of mettle, discretion, and parts most fitt for this employment: you are so indeed; really, no man is so fitt for it as you are. We know you to be a gentleman of a good family, related to persons of honour; and your present office of commissioner of the seale will make you the more acceptable to her. I doe earnestly desire you to undertake it; wherein you will doe an act of great merit and advantage to the Commonwealth, as great as any member of it can performe, and which will be as well accepted by them. The business is very honourable, and exceeding likely to have good successe. Her publique matters heer have already agreed upon most of the materiall and maine points of the business; if it had not been such an employment, we would not have putt you upon it: the business of trade, and of the funds, and touching the Dutch, are such as there cannot be any of greater consequence."

With the little spirit remaining to him, Whitlocke interposed once more the condition of his wife for at least a little delay. "I know," replied Cromwell, "my lady is a good woman, and a religious woman, and will be contented to suffer a little absence of her husband for the publique good; and for the time of the year, really the life of the business consists in the despatch of it att this time: the Dutch are tampering with the queen, butt she holds them off, expecting to hear from us." The interview ended with the grant of a week's consideration to the ambassador *malgré lui*.

At the week's end, Whitlocke again presented himself at the chamber of the lord-general—again to implore of him a release from the embassy. "There is no one in England," quietly observed Cromwell, "so fitt for it as you." Silent to Whitlocke's redoubted pleas of incapacity, the lord-general obstinately resumed, "I know your education, travell, and language, and experience have fittet you for it, you know the affaires of Christendome as well as most men, and of England as well as any man, and can give as good an account of them. I think no man can serve his country more than you may herein; indeed I think so; and therefore I make it my particular suit and earnest request to you to undertake it, and I hope you will show a little regard to me in it; and I assure you that you shall have no cause to repent it." Wonderful indeed was Cromwell's power of persuasion! but the uxorious Whitlocke hesitated still. "My lord, I am very ready to testify my duty to your excellency; I acknowledge your many favours to me, and myselfe as officer under your command, and to owe you obedience. Butt your excellency will not expect it from me in that wherein I am not capable to serve you; and therefore I make it my most humble suit to be excused from this service." Humble but vain! "For your abilities," Cromwell retorted, as though Whitlocke had not meanwhile spoken, "I am satisfied; I know no man so fitt for it as yourself; and if you should decline it (as I hope you will not), the Commonwealth would suffer extremely by it, your own preference might suffer likewise, and the Protestant interest would suffer by it. Indeed, you cannot be excused. The hearts of all the good people in this nation (!) are set upon it, to have you undertake this service; and if you should waite it, being thus, and att such a time when your going may be the most likely means to settle our business with the Dutch and Danes, and all matters of trade (and none, I say again, can doe it better than you), the Commonwealth would be at an extreme prejudice by your refusal. Butt I hope you will hearken to my request, and lett me prevail with you to undertake it: neither you nor yours, I hope, shall ever have any cause to wish you had not done it."

\* Here, no doubt, allusion is made to the execution of Charles; and the remark which Whitlocke instantly makes in the original dialogue betrays a simple point in his character, and leaves it in much doubt whether his only motive in opposing that great deed was not simply to facilitate a courtship. "Had I not done so," he remarks, "you and I had not met together." Lady Whitlocke does no time in corroborating this. "It was the first thing I inquired of you," she gravely rejoins; "my first husband nor you were engaged; if you had, I should not have been engaged to you. I believe you lost by it much of the general's favour; and he would take this occasion to lay you aside, that you might be no hindrance to his further designs."

Whitlocke wavers sensibly at last, and observes cautiously and inquiringly, "My lord, when a man is out of sight, he is out of mind. Though your excellency be just and honourable, yett your greater affaires calling you off, those to whom matters of correspondence and supplies must be referred will perhaps forget one who is as farre off, and not be so sensible of extremities in a foreign country as those who suffer under them." "I will engage to take," at once answered Cromwell, "particular care of those matters myselfe, and that you shall neither want supplies, nor any thing that is fitt for you: you shall be sett out with as much honour as ever any ambassador was from England. I shall hold myselfe particularly obliged to you if you will undertake it, and will stick as close to you as your skin is to your flesh. You shall want nothing either for your honour and



equiage, or for power and trust to be reposed in you, or for correspondence and supplies when you are abroad; *I promise you, my lord, you shall not; I will make it my business to see it done.* The Parliament and council, as well as myself, will take it very well and thankfully from you to accept of this employment; and all people, especially the good people of the nation, will be much satisfied with it: and therefore, my lord, I make it again my earnest request to you to accept this honourable employment."

A pause now followed, and Whitelocke consented to go. Then, in proportion to his quiet determination to take no refusal, was the abundance of Cromwell's protestations of gratitude at not having received one! Nothing can more strikingly illustrate the man. "My lord, I do most heartily thank you for accepting the employment, whereby you have testified a very great respect and favour to me, and affection to the Commonwealth, which will be very well taken by them. And I assure you, that it is so grateful to me, who, upon my particular request, have prevailed with you, that I shall never forget this favour, but endeavour to requite it to you and yours. *Really, my lord, I shall.* And I will acquaint the council with it, that we may desire further conference with you."

Happily does this interview end with Whitelocke's remark of himself, that "he went away well pleased;" nor was his pleasure diminished by a messenger from Cromwell, who arrived a few days after at his house in Chelsea. "Cromwell sent one of his gentlemen with a present to Whitelocke—a sword, and a pair of spurs, richly inlaid with gold, of a noble work and fashion." All the care he had now was to quiet his wife as well as he could, and to this end he exerted himself with reasonable success.

The interview of leave took place on the 20th of October, 1653. Cromwell repeated all his assurances to him with redoubled earnestness, gave him various hints of policy and conduct in the management of the treaty and its objects, and granted him every request he asked of personal favour. Whitelocke then finally implored him never to "give credit to whisperings, or officious words, or letters of pickthanks behind my back." "I shall not easily give belief," Cromwell assured him, "to such backbiters. *I hate them.* And what I shall be informed of your actions abroad will hardly create in me an ill opinion of them *before I be certified from yourself.*" "It may be your excellency will hear," pursued the wily lawyer, "that I am great with some cavaliers when I am abroad, and that I make much of them; and truly that may well be. *I love a civility to all, especially to persons of condition, though enemies; and have ever used it, and perhaps may use it more than ordinary when I am abroad, and to those of the king's party; and by them I may be the better enabled to secure myself, and to understand their designs, which will be no disadvantage to your affairs; nor shall I ever betray those, or any persons by whom I am trusted.*" "I think such a carriage towards them," earnestly answered Cromwell, "will be prudent, and fit for you to use; and it will never occasion in me, nor I hope in any other sober men, the least jealousy of your faithfulness, but it may tend to your security and to the good of your business." "I have but one thing more," concluded the ambassador, "to trouble your excellency with; that is, my humble thanks for all your favours, and particularly for the noble present I received from your hand." "I pray, my lord," answered the lord-general, kindly, "do not speak of so poor a thing; if there were opportunity for me to do honour to your lordship, I assure you that very few should go before you."

It will have been observed throughout these interviews, that, though Cromwell was still, to all appearance, only a private individual, with no other charge than as lord-general of the army and a member of the council of state, his authority and power were already single and absolute, in fact. His earnest anxiety for this treaty with Sweden was not, let us add, assumed, though many of his protestations to Whitelocke were. The importance of Sweden, in the great division of the European governments into Catholic and Protestant, as the most considerable of the Protestant monarchies, whose alliance the Republic claimed, need not be pointed out to the well-informed historical reader; and the motive to a perfect alliance with Sweden had been strongly increased by the sympathies awakened in Cromwell's mind, when the frank and masculine spirit of the young queen who then held the Swedish throne stood out boldly from the other feeble and vacillating crowned heads of Europe, and at once, with daring resolution, acknowledged the English Republic.

Christina, queen of Sweden, was now not twenty-seven years old. She was the daughter of a hero, Gustavus Adolphus, and had inherited the spirit of a hero. Her eccentricities are matter of history. Among them—for in a crowned head this is an eccentricity indeed—should be named, first, her passionate encouragement of literature and learned men, inspired, it should be added, by her own great talents and acknowledged learning. When the great work against the leaders of the English Commonwealth, written by Salmasius, at the suggestion of Charles the Second's

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court, had been finished, that famous controversialist went, for his best reward, to the court of Christina. He was received there with the greatest distinction. The cold climate of Stockholm, however, proved too much for his health, and the young queen herself, as said to have spent hours with him alone by his bedside, and to have performed for him all the functions which are necessary to a valetudinarium. Finally for Salmasius, however, Milton's "Defensio" reached Stockholm in the very midst of these ultra courtesies from royalty. Christina read the immortal treatise of the English writer—"devoured it," as was said, and proclaimed everywhere in the circles of her capital that glory should belong to the name of Milton. Salmasius could not but hear this, and yet the queen was "too humane and considerate to reverse the treatment with which she had honoured him." The delicacy of the defeated scholar then rose equal to her own. He proposed, for his health's sake, removal to a milder climate, and Christina dismissed him with honour.

For the court of this queen it was that Whitelocke, on the 5th of November, 1653, with a magnificent suite of officers and attendants, set sail as ambassador to the English Commonwealth. And at this court it was that several delightful scenes and dialogues occurred, which not only illustrate the character and influence of the great subject of this memoir in a novel and interesting manner, but also disclose, better than any records else, the more sterling as well as charming aspects of the character of Christina. Whitelocke arrived in Stockholm only a few months before she astonished Europe by the resignation of her crown, at a time when no one disputed it, and all her people loved her.

WHITELOCKE FIRST SEES CHRISTINA IN HER MAGNIFICENT PALACE, AND IS NOT AFRAID.

As soon as he came within this room, he put off his hat, and then the queen put off her cappe, after the fashion of men, and came two or three steps forward upon the foot carpet. This, and her being covered, and rising from her seat, caused Whitelocke to know her to be the queen, which otherwise had not bin easy to be discerned: her habit being of plaine gray stuffe, her petticoat reached to the ground; over that a jackett, such as men weare, of the same stuffe, reaching to her knees; on her left side, tyed with crimson ribbon, she wore the jewell of the order of Amarantha; her cuffs ruffled à la mode; no gorgott or band, butt a blacke scarf about her neck, tyed before with a blacke ribbon, as soldiers and mariners sometimes use to weare; her hayre was breaded, and hung loose upon her head; she wore a blacke velvet cappe lined with sables, and turned up, after the fashion of the cuntry, which she used to putt off and on as men doe their hatties. Her countenance was sprightly, but somewhat pale; she had much of majesty in her demeanour, and though her person were of the smaller size, yett her mienne and carryage was very noble. [Here Whitelocke describes his kissing her hand, "which ceremony all ambassadors used to this queen," and other matters.] The queene was very attentive whilst he spake, and coming up close to him, by her looks and gestures (as was supposed) would have daunted him; but those who have bin conversant in the late great affayres in England are not so soon as others appalled with the presence of a young lady and her servants.

CHRISTINA TELLS WHITELOCKE, AT THEIR FIRST PRIVATE INTERVIEW, HER OPINION OF CROMWELL, AND INQUIRES IF IT IS REALLY TRUE THAT HE PRAYS AND PREACHES.

WH. [The queen having read his Latin instructions.] I see your majesty understands the Latin perfectly, and will find heer sufficient authority given me for this business.

QU. I have Latin enough to serve my turne, and the authority given to you is very full. Upon what particulars will the Parliament thinke fit to ground the alliance between the two nations?

WH. If your majesty please, I shall present you with the particulars in writing, in French or Latin, as you shall command.

QU. It will be best in Latin, because I shall take advice in it.

WH. I shall doe it as your majesty directs.

QU. Your generall is one of the gallantest men in the world; never were such things done as by the English in your late war. Your generall hath done the greatest things of any man in the world; the Prince of Conde is next to him, butt short of him. I have as great a respect and honour for your generall as for any man alive; and I pray, lett him know as much from me.

WH. My generall is indeed a very brave man; his actions show it; and I shall not fayle to signify to him the great honour of your majesty's respects to him; and I assure your majesty, he hath as high honour for you as for any prince in Christendome.

QU. I have bin told that many officers of your army will themselves pray and preach to their soldiers; is that true?

WH. Yes, madame, it is very true. When ther enemies are swearing, or debauching, or pillaging, the officers

soldiers of the Parliament's army use to be encouraging and exhorting one another out of the Word of God, and praying together to the Lord of Hosts for his blessing to be with them; who hath showed his approbation of this military preaching by the successes he hath given them.

Qu. That's well. Doe you use to doe soe too?

Wh. Yes; upon some occasions, in my own family; and thinke it as proper for me, being the master of it, to admonish and speake to my people when there is cause, as to be beholding to another to doe it for me, which sometimes brings the chaplein into more credit than his lord.

Qu. Doth your generall and other great officers doe so?

Wh. Yes, madame, *very often, and very well*. Nevertheless, they maintain chapleins and ministers in their houses and regiments; and such as are godly and worthy ministers have as much respect, and as good provision in England, as in any place of Christendome. Yet 'tis the opinion of many good men with us, that a long cassake, with a silke girdle, and a great beard, do not make a learned or good preacher, without gifts of the Spirit of God and labouring in his vineyard; and whosoever studies the Holy Scripture, and is enabled to doe good to the souls of others, and indeavours the same, is nowher forbidden by that Word, nor is it blameable. The officers and soldiers of the Parliament hold it not unlawfull, when they carryed their lives in their hands, and were going to adventure them in the high places of the field, to encourage one another out of His Word who commands over all; and this had more weight and impression with it than any other word could have, and was never denied to be made use of butt by the popish prelates, who by no means would admit lay people (as they call them) to gather from thence that instruction and comfort which can nowhere else be found.

Qu. *Metinks you preach very well, and have now made a good sermon*. I assure you I like it very well.

Wh. Madame, I shall account it a great happiness if any of my words may please you.

Qu. Indeed, sir, these words of yours doe very much please me; and I shall be glad to hear you oftener on this strayne. Butt I pray tell me, *where did your generall, and you his officers, learne this way of praying and preaching yourselves?*

Wh. We learnt it from a neer friend of your majesty, whose memory all the Protestant interest hath cause to honour.

Qu. My friend! Who was that?

Wh. *It was your father, the great king Gustavus Adolphus*, who, upon his first landing in Germany (as many then present have testified), did himselfe, in person, upon the shoare, on his knees, give thanks to God for his safe landing, and before his soldiers himselfe prayed to God for his blessing upon that undertaking; and he would frequently exhort his people out of God's Word; and God testified his great liking thereof by the wonderful successes he was pleased to vouchsafe to that gallant king.

CHRISTINA, STRUCK BY WHITELOCKE'S FRUDENCE IN A LONG CONFERENCE OF STATE, BECOMETH CONFIDENTIAL AT ITS CLOSE.

Qu. *You speake very fully and truly of the interest of the severall princes and states of Europe*. I doe extremly like the buisines, and will prepare a memoire of some proposals concerning it, and give it to you to send into England; butt speed, and vigour, and secrecy are requisite heerin. And I must injoyne you to acquainte nobody with this discourse, *butt only your generall Cromwell, whose word I shall relye upon*: butt I would not have this matter made knowne to any other whatsoever; and I desire you not to speake of it to any of my own ministers, nor of anything else relating to your negotiation, butt what I shall give way unto.

Wh. Madame, I shall faithfully obey your majesty's commaunds, and not reveale any tittle of these matters without your permission.

Qu. *Have you heard in England that I was to marry the King of Scotts?*

Wh. It hath bin reported so in England, and that letters have passed between your majesty and him for that purpose; and that your majesty had a good affection for the King of Scotts.

Qu. *I confesse that letters have past between us; butt this I will assure you, that I will not marry that king*: he is a young man, and in a condition sad enough; though I respect him very much, yett I shall never marry him, you may be well assured. Butt I shall tell you, under secrecy, that the King of Scotts lately sent a letter to the Prince Palatin, my cousen, and with it the order of a Knight of the Garter to the prince; butt the messenger had the witt to bring it first to me; and when I saw it and had read the letter, I threw it into the fire, and would not suffer the George to be delivered to my cousen.

WHITELOCKE'S DEVICE IN WRITING PRIVATELY TO CROMWELL; ALSO HIS DEVICE IN DELIVERING PRESENTS FROM MR. HUGH PETERS TO CHRISTINA.

Wh. I leave with my generall, or with the secretary of the counsell, two glasses of water, which I make: with the

one of the waters I write my letters, having two like glasses of waters with myselfe. The letter thus written no man can possibly reade, no more than if it were written with fayre water: butt wash over this letter with the water in the other glasse, and it turne it to blacke, and just as if it had bin written with inke.

Qu. That is a curious way indeed: and have you of those waters heer?

Wh. Yes, madame, I make them myselfe, and have left one of them with my generall; so that no creature can reade his or my letters without them.

Qu. *What huge dogge is this?*

Wh. It is an English mastiffe, which I brought with me, and it seems *is broke loose* and followed me even to this place.

Qu. Is he gentle and well conditioned?

Wh. The more courage they have, the more gentle they are; this is both. *Your majesty may stroke him*.

Qu. I have heard of the fierceness of these dogges; this is *very gentle*.

Wh. They are very gentle, unlesse provoked, and of a generous kind; no creature hath more mettle or faithfulness than they have.

Qu. Is it your dogge?

Wh. I cannot tell; some of my people told me that one Mr. Peters sent it for a present to the queen.

Qu. Who is that Mr. Peters?

Wh. A minister, and great servant to the Parliament.

Qu. *That Mr. Peters sent me a letter?*

Wh. He is a great admirer of your majesty; butt to presume to send a letter, or a dogge, for a present to a queen, I thought above him, and not fitt to be named to your majesty.

Qu. I have many letters from private persons: *his letter and the dogge doe belong to me, and are my goods; and I will have them*.

Wh. Your majesty commands in chiefe, and all ought to obey you, and so will I; not only as to the letter and dogge, but likewise as to another part of his present, a *great English cheese of his country making*.

Qu. *I doe kindly accept them from him; and see that you send my goods to me*.

Wh. I will not fayle to obey your majesty.

The queen was pleased to take notice herselfe, and to promise to give order for supply, of some accommodations which were heer wanting to Whitelocke and his company; and so they parted in much drollery.

CHRISTINA INTERESTS HERSELF IN THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS OF CROMWELL—PROPHESYETH HIS DESIRE TO BE KING, SIMPLE LORD-GENERAL AS HE IS—AND STARTLETH WHITELOCKE WITH SOME DELICATE QUESTIONS, AS ALSO WITH A PIECE OF PLAIN SPEAKING.

Qu. Hath your generall a wife and children?

Wh. He hath a wife and five children.

Qu. What family were he and his wife of?

Wh. He was of the family of a baron,\* and his wife the like from Bouchiers.

Qu. Of what parts are his children?

Wh. His two sons and three daughters are all of good parts and liberal education.

Qu. Some unworthy mention and mistakes have been made to me of them.

Wh. Your majesty knows that to be frequent; butt from me you shall have nothing butt truth.

Qu. Much of the story of your generall hath some parallel with that of my ancestor, Gustavus the First, who, from a private gentleman of a noble family, was advanced to the title of Marshall of Sweden, because he had risen up and rescued his country from the bondage and oppression which the King of Denmark had putt upon them, and expelled that king; and for his reward, he was at last elected King of Sweden; and I believe that your generall will be King of England in conclusion.

Wh. Pardon me, madame, that cannot be, because England is resolved into a Commonwealth; and my generall hath already sufficient power and greatness, as generall of all their forces both by sea and land, which may content him.

Qu. *Resolve what you will, I believe he resolves to be king; and hardly can any power or greatness be called sufficient, when the nature of man is so prone (as in these dayes) to all ambition*.

Wh. I find no such nature in my generall. (!)

Qu. It may easily be concealed till an opportunity serve, and then it will show itselfe.

Wh. All are mortal men, subject to affections.

Qu. *How many wives have you had?*

Wh. I have had three wives.

Qu. *Have you had children by all of them?*

Wh. Yes, by every one of them.

\* This and knighthood were often confused in that day.

Qu. *Par Dieu, vous estes incorrigible!*<sup>a</sup>

Wh. Madame, I have bin a true servant to your sexe; and as it was my duty to be kind to my wives, so I count it my happiness, and riches, and strength to have many children.

Qu. You have done well; and if children doe prove well, it is no small nor usuall blessing.

[Much more discourse her majesty moved of private matters, whereby she made experiment if the truth would be told her: it appearing that the particulars were known to her before, and that she had good intelligence. She was pleased with some earnestness to say],

Qu. *You are hypocrites and dissemblers.*

Wh. For my selfe, I can have little of design (especially in your country) to dissemble; I always hated hypocrisy as a thing unworthy a Christian or a gentleman; and my generall hath not bin charged with that odious crime.

Qu. I do not meane either your generall or your selfe; butt I thinke that in England there are many who make profession of more holyness than is in them, hoping for advantage by it.

#### THE WISE OXENSTIERNE INTERESTED IN CROMWELL.

At this meeting the chancellor inquired much of Whitelocke concerning Cromwell's age, health, children, family, temper, &c., and said that Cromwell was one of the gallantest men that this age had brought forth, and the things which he had done argued as much courage and wisdom in him as any actions that the world had seen for many years. In which discourse Whitelocke did not omit to doe right to the generall and to the Parliament, and informed the chancellor fully of their courses, actions, counsellis, and successes.

#### NEWS OF CROMWELL'S USURPATION REACHETH STOCKHOLM.

Qu. *Par Dieu, I beare the same respect, and more, to your generall and to you than I did before; and I had rather have to doe with one than with many.*

Wh. I may very well believe it; and returne thanks to your majesty for the continuance of your respects to England, and to my generall, and to his servant; your majesty understands he hath a new title, butt his power was not meane before.

Qu. It was very great before, and I thinke it greater now, and it therefore better for England, butt subject to envy; and I tell you, under secrecy, that my chancellor would formerly have bin so in Sweden when I was young, but could not attaine it; butt if he was my enemy, yett I should say that he is a wise and a gallant man; and if your generall were the greatest enemy I have, yett I should give him his due, that he is a wise and brave man, and hath done the greatest things of any man alive. I much desire his friendship, and am heartily glad of his present condition.

#### CHRISTINA'S OPINION OF THE PROTECTORATE, AND HER WISE ADVICE.

Qu. Sir, you are welcome still to me; and, if possible, more than before the change.

Wh. Madame, it is your goodness and favour to a gentleman, a stranger in your country, who truly honours your majesty; and you are pleased to show much respect to my generall.

Qu. Your generall is a gallant man, and you are fitt to serve any prince in Christendome.

Wh. I may without vanity thinke the better of him, and of my selfe, because of your majesty's judgement.

Qu. My judgement is, that your affaires in England are much amended, and better established, by this change than before.

Wh. We hope that our God will give us a settlement; and we have found much of his favour therein already, and doubt not of the continuance thereof to us.

Qu. Is your new government by a Protector different from what it was before as to monarchy, or is the alteration in all points?

Wh. The government is to be the same as formerly, by successive representatives of the people in Parlement; only the Protector is the head or chief magistrate of the Commonwealth.

Qu. He is a gallant man; and I pray lett him know that no person hath a greater esteem and respect for him than I have.

Wh. I presume, then, that his letters to your majesty will not be unwellcome?

Qu. They shall be most welcome to me.

Wh. I then present these new credentials to your majesty from his highnes my lord-protector.

<sup>a</sup> So Charles II. thought, in a doe not he seems to have borrowed from the *mafee* Christina. It is related of him that, when the obsequious Whitelocke waited on his majesty at the Restoration to beg his pardon for all he had transacted against him, Charles laughed and said, "Go, go, good Whitelocke, go and live in the country, and take care of your wife and one-and-thirty children!"—*Biog. Brit.* vii, 423.

Qu. What is the reason that the Protector's name is putt first in the letters?

Wh. The Protector's name, signed by himselfe, is at the bottom of the letter; and the naming of him first is because he writes to your majesty, and is the constant forme in England used to all other princes and states.

Qu. *If it be used to other princes, I am satisfied, and expect no other. What is the substance of your new government?*

Wh. I shall shew your majesty the instrument of our new government, whereof a copy is sent me; and I shall sende such parts of it to your majesty in French as may satisfy you.

[Then Whitelocke read unto the queen some parts of the Instrument of Government; and when he came to the title, she said],

Qu. *Why is the title protector, when the power is kingly?*

Wh. I cannot satisfy your majesty of the reasons of this title, being att so great a distance from the inventors of it.

Qu. *New titles, with sovereign power, proved prejudiciall to the state of Rome.*

Wh. One of your majesty's ancestors was not permitted to keep the title of Marshall of Sweden.

Qu. *He was afterwards king, and that will be next for your protector.*

Wh. That will not be so consonant to our commonwealth as it was to your crown.

Qu. It is an honour to our nation that you have looked into the story of it.

Wh. It is the duty of an ambassador to study the history of that crown to which he is employed.

Qu. It becomes you well; butt why is your new government so severe against the Roman Catholiques?

Wh. It is not more severe against them than it was formerly, and in some things lesse.

Qu. *Metthinke that you, who stand so much for liberty, should allow it to them, as well as to others, in a tolleration of them.*

Wh. Their principles are held contrary to the peace of the nation, and therefore they are not tollerated the publique exercise of those principles: they hold your majesty's profession and ours to be hereticall; and a foreigne power to be above you and above our commonwealth.

Qu. *Those among them who understand themselves are of another opinion, and it is pity they should be persecuted for their conscience sake.*

Wh. We are not for persecution in any point of conscience; butt we expect a submission to the civil magistrate, and nothing to be done to the disturbance of our peace.

Qu. That is fitt to be preserved with all care. *Is your protector sacred as other kings are?*

Wh. He is not anointed and crowned: those ceremonies were not used to him.

Qu. His power is the same with that of king, and why should not his title have been the same?

Wh. It is the power which makes the title, and not the title the power; our protector thinks he hath enough of both.

Qu. *He is hardly a mortall man then; butt he hath brought his buisnes notably to passe, and hath done great things. I give you my hand for it that I have a great value for him.*

#### THE SWEDISH CHANCELLOR OXENSTIERNE DISCUSSETH CROMWELL'S USURPATION WITH WHITELOCKE—SOME HOME TRUTHS REVEALED BY THE LAWYER-AMBASSADOR.

CHAN. I doe like your settlement the better, because the power of the Protector is limited by your laws; there remains nothing for him now to do butt to gett him a *back and breast of Steele*.

Wh. Without limitation in the power of a chiefe magistrate, it will be hard to distinguish him from a tyrant; butt what meaneth my father by a *back and breast of Steele*?

CHAN. I meane the confirmation of his being Protector to be made by your Parlement, which will be his best and greatest strength.

Wh. For your farther satisfaction of the settlednes of government, I have caused the writing or instrument agreed upon in our last change to be translated into Latin, that you may peruse it.

CHAN. Is the Protector and the people bound to an observation of this instrument?

Wh. This is agreed upon as to the rule of government, to oblige both the people to obey it, and the Protector to govern according to it.

CHAN. *From whom is this power derived, and given to the Protector? and who had power to ordaine it to be binding to the people?*

Wh. The Parlement, then sitting, found the peace of the Commonwealth in danger to be againe disturbed, and the many divisions in the nation hardly to be cured; they thereupon judged it the best and most expedient way, to prevent the mischiefs threatened, to make choise of a head of the Commonwealth, and the generall to be the fittest and worthiest person for that office and trust; and therefore

they, by a solemn writing, did resigne their power and authority into the hands of the generall, and desired him to accept of the government as chiefe magistrate, under the title of Protector; (!!) and to this, the officers and soldiers of the armies and navies, the magistrates of London, the principall judges of England, and divers noblemen, gentlemen, and persons of quality and faithfulness to the common interest and peace of the nation, did assent, and were present in a solemn meeting, where he was sworne to observe this instrument; and the people generally, by their acclamations, testified their agreement therunto. (!!!)

CHAN. This seems to be an election by the sword, and prevailing party of the nation; and such precedents in other countries have proved dangerous and not durable.

WH. God hath thus ordered it; and I heare there is a generall acquiescence and submission to it, (!!) and the supream law of *salus populi* seemed to require this change: and though he were the generall that is chosen to be the head, yett the soldiers were not sole, butt joint actors in this designation.

CHAN. Such military elections of the Roman emperors, and in other nations, proved fatal to the publique peace and liberty.

WH. I hope this may prove a means for the conservation of our peace and freedom.

CHAN. *Doe you hold this to be an election, or rather a military imposition, of your chiefe governor?*

WH. It is certainly a very generall agreement of persons in power and authority, and of principall interest in the nation, to sett up this government, and therefore may be hoped to continue as firme as those elections of kings by a few great men only, which was used in yours and the neighbour countries by the senators.

CHAN. Those elections by the senators, formerly made, rayed great factions, and occasioned much civil war and misery; therefore our Ricksalagh judged it necessary to alter that course of elections of our kings, and to settle the crown in an hereditary succession, which proves more peacefull and prosperous than these elections.

WH. This was a great change, yett foreign treaties were still kept with you. I was borne under hereditary kings, and do not disprove of that government; yett I hope our commonwealth, as now constituted, will also flourish, and afford liberty and advantage to the people under it, and be as fixed as any other; and if you (my noble father) have as good an opinion thereof as I have, our treaty will have the better issue.

CHAN. The great doubt will be of the permanency thereof, you bring so much subject to changes; and then, how will our treaties be observed?

WH. I suppose that the treaties which you made with other states in the names of your elective kings doe yett remaine good, and are observed in the time of your hereditary queen. I come not to treat with you concerning the interest of my generall, now Protector, but concerning the interest of England, and on the behalfe of the Commonwealth and people of England to treat with the crown of Sweden, and on the behalfe of the people of Sweden; and whether the head of either people be called king or queen, or protector, and the nation be called a commonwealth or a kingdom, yett the people's interest is the same, and of equal force att one time or another.

CHAN. Sun, I am satisfied with your reasons, and convinced that we may safely proceed in a treaty with you.

#### CHRISTINA AND HER LADIES AT WHITELOCKE'S MAY-DAY ENTERTAINMENT.

Her majesty, to expresse her contentment in this collation, was full of pleasantness and gaiety of spirit, both in supper-time and afterwards: among other frolickes, she commanded Whitelocke to teache her ladies the English salutation; which, after some pretty defences, their lips obeyed, and Whitelocke most readily.

#### WHITELOCKE STANDETH UP FOR THE HONOUR OF ENGLAND.

[The master of the ceremonies came to Whitelocke from the queen, to desire his company this evening att a masque; and they had this discourse:]

WH. Present my thanks to her majesty, and tell her I will waite upon her.

MR. What would your excellencie expect in matter of precedence, as in case you should meet with any other ambassador att the masque?

WH. I shall expect that which belongs to me as ambassador from the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and I know no other ambassador now in this court besides my selfe, except the ambassador of the King of Denmark, who I suppose hath no thoughts of precedence before the English ambassador, who is resolved not to give it him if he should expect it.

MR. Perhaps it may be insisted on, that he of Denmark is not ambassador to the Protector, a new name, and not sacred.

WH. Whosoever shall insist on that distinction will be

mistaken; and I understand no difference of power between king and protector, or anointed or not anointed; and ambassadors are the same publique ministers to a protector or commonwealth, as to a prince or sultan.

MR. There hath always been a difference observed between the publique ministers of kings and of commonwealths or princes of inferior titles.

WH. The title of Protector (as to a sovereign title) hath not yett bin determined in the world as to superiority or inferiority to other titles; butt I am sure that the nation of England hath ever bin determined superior to that of Denmark. I represent the nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Protector, who is chiefe of them; and the honour of these nations ought to be in the same consideration now as it hath bin formerly; and I must not suffer any diminution of that honour by my person to please any whatsoever.

MR. I shall propose an expedient to you, that you may take your places as you come; he who comes first, the first place, and he who comes last the lower place.

WH. I shall hardly take a place below the Danish ambassador, though I come into the roome after him.

MR. Butt when you come into the roome, and find the Danish ambassador sett, you cannot help it, though he have the upper place.

WH. I shall endeavour to help it, rather than sit below the Danish ambassador.

MR. I presume you will not use force in the queen's presence.

WH. Murther, it is impossible for me, if it were in the presence of all the queens and kings in Christendome, to forbear to use any means to hinder the dishonour of my nation in my person.

MR. I believe the Danish ambassador would not be so high as you are.

WH. There is no reason why he should: he knows his nation never pretended to have the precedence of England; and you, being master of the ceremonies, cannot be ignorant of it.

MR. I confesse your nation alwayes had the precedence of Denmark when you were under a king.

WH. I should never give it from them, though they were under a constable.

MR. If you insist upon it, the Danish ambassador must be uninvited againe, for I perceive that you two must not meet.

WH. I suppose the gentleman would not expect precedence of me.

MR. I can assure you he doth.

WH. I can assure you he shall never have it, if I can help it; butt I pray, master, tell me whether her majesty takes notice of this question of precedence, or did she wish to conferre with me about it?

MR. The queen commandeth me to speake with you about it, hoping that the question might be so composed that she might have the company of you both att her intertainment.

WH. I shall stay att home rather than interrupt her majesty's pleasure, which I should doe by meeting the Danish ambassador, to whom I shall not give precedence, unless he be stronger than I.

MR. The queen makes this masque chiefly for your excellencie's intertainment, therefore you must not be absent, butt rather the Danish ambassador must be uninvited; and I shall presently goe about it.

[In the evening, according to the invitation from the queen, Whitelocke went to court to the masque, where he did not find the Danish ambassador; butt some of the court tooke notice of the discourse which had bin between the master of the ceremonies and Whitelocke, touching precedence, and they all approved Whitelocke's resolution, and told him that the queen highly commended him for it, and said that he was a stout and faithfull servant to the Protector and to his nation, and that she should love him the better for it; nor was the contest the lesse pleasing, because with the Dane in Sweden.]

#### WHITELOCKE DANCETH WITH CHRISTINA—A CURIOUS REMARK AFTERWARDS.

[After they had done dauncing, and Whitelocke had waited upon the queen to her chayre of state, she said to him],

QU. Par Dieu! these Hollanders are lying fellows.

WH. I wonder how the Hollanders should come into your mind upon such an occasion as this is, who are not usually thought upon in such solemnities, nor much acquainted with them.

QU. I will tell you all. The Hollanders reported to me a great while since, that all the nobles of England were of the king's party, and none but merchants of the Parliament party, and not a gentleman among them; now I thought to trye you, and to shame you if you could not daunce; butt I see that you are a gentleman, and have been bred a gentleman; and that makes me say the Hollanders are lying fellows, to report that there was not a gentleman of the

Parliament's party, when I see by you chiefly, and by many of your company, that you are gentlemen.

WM. Truly, madame, in this they told a great untruth to your majesty, as I believe they have done in several other particulars; I do confess that the greatest part of our nobility and gentry were of the king's party; but many of them likewise were of the Parliament's party: and I, who am sent to wait upon your majesty, can (without vanity) derive to myself an antient pedigree of a gentleman.

THE CHANCELLOR OXENSTIERNE TRANSMITTETH ADVICE TO CROMWELL BY HIS AMBASSADOR, WHICH THE AMBASSADOR FORGETTETH TO DELIVER.

CHAM. I shall advise you, att your returne home, to putt the Protector in mind of some particulars, which in my judgement require his speciall care.

WM. I shall faithfully doe it, and I know they will be received with much the more regard, coming from you; and I pray doe me the favour to lett me know them.

CHAM. I would cancell the Protector to take heed of those dangerous opinions, in matters of religion, which daily increase among you, and, if not prevented and curbed, will cause new troubles; they never resting till themselves may domineer in chiefe.

WM. Will not the best way to curb them be to slight them, and so they will fall of themselves?

CHAM. I doubt they have taken too much roote to fall so easily; butt if they be not countenanced with preferments, they will the sooner wither and decay.

WM. That will surely lessen them.

CHAM. The Protector must also be careful to provide money and employment for his soldiers, else he will hardly keep them in order.

WM. That is very requisite; and for money there is good provision already made.

CHAM. He must likewise be watchfull of the king's party, who will be buisy att worke, especially upon the new change.

WM. The care thereof is the life of our affayres, and his highnes is most vigilant.

CHAM. It behoves him to be so, for they that could not vanquish him by armes, will endeavour to doe it by craft, and treachery\* of your own party, which you must looke to.

WM. He hath good intelligence of their plots.

CHAM. It will also be prudence in him to lett the people see that he intends not to rule them with an iron scepter, nor to govern them by an army, butt to give them such a liberty and enjoyment of the benefit of their lawes, that the continuance of his government may become their interest, and that they may have no cause to desire a change; else, though they must beare the yoke for a time, yett as soon as they meet with an opportunity they will shake it off againe.

WM. This is counsell proper to come from such a mind and judgement as yours is, and I shall not fayle to report it to his highnes; and your excellencie hath rightly stated the disposition of my countrymen, who love peace and liberty, and will hardly brooke slavery longer than they are forced to it by necessity; and the best way to govern them is, to lett them enjoy their lawes and rights, which will rule them better than an iron scepter.

CHAM. It is the disposition of all generous and free people, as the English are, whom I truly respect, and him that is their head, that gallant person, the Protector.

A YOUTHFUL QUEEN, PROSPEROUS AS SHE IS BELOVED, GROWS TIRED OF STATE AND RESIGNS HER CROWN—THE LORD-AMBASSADOR WHITELOCKE'S WONDERMENT—HE RECOLLECTS THAT CROMWELL ONCE INTENDED TO RETIRE.

(After this discourse, she drew her stooles close to Whitelocke, and this discourse passed:)

QU. I shall surprise you with something which I intend to communicate to you; butt it must be under secrecy.

WM. Madame, we, that have bin versed in the affayres of England, doe not use to be surprized with the discourse of a young lady; whatsoever your majesty shall thinke fitt to impart to me, and commaund to be under secrecy, shall be faithfully obeyed by me.

QU. I have great confidence of your honour and judgement, and therefore, though you are a stranger, I shall acquaint you with a buisenes of the greatest consequence to me in the world, and which I have not communicated to any creature; nor would I have you tell any one of it, no, not your generall, till you come to see him; and in this buisenes I desire your counsell.

WM. Your majesty doth me in this the greatest honour imaginable, and your confidence in me I shall not (through the help of God) deceive in the least measure, nor relate to any person (except my generall) what you shall impart to me; and wherein your majesty shall judge my counsell worthy your receiving, I shall give it you with all sincerity, and according to the best of my poore capacity.

\* Here used by the chancellor as another word for just discontent.

QU. Sir, this it is: I have it in my thoughts and resolution to quitt the crowne of Sweden, and to retire myseife unto a private life, as much more suitable to my contentment than the great cares and troubles attending upon the government of my kingdome: and what thinke you of this resolution?

WM. I am sorry to heare your majesty calle it a resolution; and if any thing would surprise a man, to heare such a resolution from a lady of your parts, power, and judgement, would doe it; butt I suppose your majesty is pleased only to drolle with your humble servant.

QU. I speake to you the truth of my intentions; and had it not bin for your coming hither, which caused me to deferre that resolution, probably it might have bin done before this time.

WM. I beseech your majesty deferre that resolution still, or rather wholly exclude it from your thoughts, as unfit to receive any intertainment in your royall breast; and give me your pardon if I speake my poore opinion with all duty and plainnesse to you, since you are pleased to require it: can any reason enter into a mind, so full of reason as yours is, to cause such a resolution from your majesty?

QU. I take your plainnes in very good part, and desire you to use freedome with me in this matter. The reasons which conduct me to such a resolution are, because I am a woman, and therefore the more unfit to govern, and subject to the greater inconveniences; that the heavy cares of government doe outweigh the glories and pleasures of it, and are not to be imbraced in comparison of that contentment which a private retirement brings with it.

WM. As I am a stranger, I have an advantage to speake the more freely to your majesty, especially in this great buisenes: and as I am one who have bin acquainted with a retired life, I can judge of that; butt as to the cares of a crowne, none butt those that weare it can judge of them; only this I can say, that the higher your station is, the more opportunity you have of doing service to God, and good to the world.

QU. I desire that more service to God, and more good to the world may be done, than I, being a woman, am capable to performe; and as soon as I can settle some affayres for the good and advantage of my people, I think I may, without scandall, quitt myseife of my continuall cares, and enjoy the pleasure of a privacy and retirement.

WM. Butt, madame, you that enjoy the kingdome by right of descent, you that have the full affections and obedience of all sorts of your subjects, why should you be discouraged to continue the reines in your own hands? How can you forsake those who testify so much love to you and liking of your government?

QU. It is my love to the people which causeth me to thinke of providing a better governor for them than a poor woman can be, and it is somewhat of love to myseife, to please my own fauzy, by my private retirement.

WM. Madame, God hath called you to this eminent place and power of queen: doe not act contrary to this call, and disable yourseife from doing Him service, for which end we are all heer; and your majesty, as queen, hath farre greater opportunities than you can have as a private person, to bring honour to Him.

QU. If another person who may succeed me have capacity and better opportunity, by reason of his sexe and parts, to doe God and his cuntry service than I can have, then my quitting the government and putting it into better hands doth fully answer this objection.

WM. I confesse my ignorance of better hands than your owne in which the government may be placed.

QU. My cousin, the Prince Palatin, is a person of excellent parts and abilities for government, besides his valour and knowledge in military affayres: him I have caused to be declared my successor: it was I only that did it. Perhaps you may have heard of the passages between him and me; butt I am resolved never to marry. It will be much more for the advantage of the people that the crown be on his head than on mine; none fitter than he for it.

WM. I doe believe his royall highnes to be a person of exceeding great honour and abilities for government: you have caused him to be declared your successor, and it will be no injury to him to stay his time: I am sure it may be to your majesty to be perswaded (perhaps designedly) to give up your right to him whilst you live and ought to enjoy it.

QU. It is no designe, butt my owne voluntary act, and he being more active and fitt for the government than I am, the sooner he is putt into it the better.

WM. The better for him indeed. With your majesty's leave, I shall tell you a story of an old English gentleman, who had an active young man to his son, that perswaded the father to give up the management of the estate to the son, who could make greater advantage by it than his father did: he consented. writings were prepared, and friends mett to see the agreement executed to quitt all to the son, reserving only a pension to the father. Whilst this was doing, the father (as is much used) was taking tobacco in the better roome, the parlour, where his rheum caused

to spitt much, which offended the son; and because there was much company, he desired his father to take the tobacco in the kitchen, and to spitt there, which he obeyed. All things being ready, the son calls his father to come and seale the writings: the father sayd his mind was chauged: the son wondered at it, and asking the reason, the wise old man said the reason was, because he was resolved to spitt in the parlour as long as he lived; and so I hope will a wise young lady.(!)

QU. Your story is very apt to our purpose, and the application proper, to keep the crowne upon my head as long as I live: butt to be quitt of it, rather than to keep it, I shall think to be to spitt in the parlour.

WH. What your majesty likes best is best to you: butt doe you not thinke that Charles V. had as great hopes of contentment by his abdication as your majesty hath, and yett repented it the same day he did it.

QU. That was by reason of his son's unworthiness; butt many other princes have happily, and with all contentment, retired themselves to a private condition; and I am confident that my cousen, the prince, will see that I shall be duly paid what I reserve for my owne maintenance.

WH. Madame, lett me humbly advise you, if any such thing should be (as I hope it will not), to reserve that country in your possession out of which your reserved revenue shall be issued; for when money is to be paid out of a prince's treasury, it is not alwayes ready and certaine.

QU. The Prince Palatin is full of justice and honour: butt I like your counsell well, and shall follow it, and advise further with you in it.

WH. Madame, I shall be alwayes ready to serve you in any of your commaunds, butt more unwillingly in this than any other. Suppose, madame (as the worst must be cast), that by some exigencies or troubles, your lessened revenue should not be answered and payd, to supply your own occasions; you that have bin mistress of the whole revenue of this crowne, and of so noble and bountifull a heart as you have, how can you beare the abridging of it, or, it may be, the necessary supplies for yourselfe and servants to be wanting to your quality?

QU. In case of such exigencies, notwithstanding my quality, I am content myselfe with very little; and for servants, with a lacquey and a chambermaid.

WH. This is good philosophy, butt hard to practice. Give me leave, madame, to make another objection: you now are queen and sovereigne lady of all the nations subject to your crowne and person, whose word the stoutest and greatest among them doe obey, and strive to cringe to you: butt when you shall have divested yourselfe of all power, the same persons who now fawne upon you will be then apt to putt affronts and scornes upon you; and how can your generous and royall spirit brooke them, and to be despised by those whom you have rayzed and so much obliged?

QU. I looke upon such things as these as the course of this world, and shall expect such scornes, and be prepared to contemne them.

WH. These answeres are strong arguments of your excellent temper and fitness to continue in your power and government; and such resolutions will advance your majesty above any earthly crowne. Such a spirit as this shewes how much you are above other women, and most men in the world, and, as such a woman, you have the more advantage for government; and without disparagement to the prince, not inferior to him, or any other man, to have the trust of it.

QU. What opinion have they in England of the Prince Palatin?

WH. They have a very honourable opinion of him, butt have not heard so much of him as of your majesty, of whom is great discourse, full of respect and honour to your person and to your government.

QU. I hope I shall testify my respects to your commonwealth in the buisnes of the treaty between us, and that it shall be brought to a good issue, and give satisfaction to us both.

WH. That doth wholly rest in your majesty's power, to whom I hope to have the favour to offer my reasons in any points wherein there is a difference of opinion between your chancellour and me; and I shall much depend upon your majesty's judgement and good inclinations to my superiour.

QU. I shall not be wanting in my expressions thereof, and doe hope that the Protector will afford me his assistance for the gaining of a good occasion and place for my intended retirement.

WH. You will find his highnes full of civility and respects and readines to serve your majesty.

QU. I shall never desire any thing butt what may stand with the good of both nations; and what doe you judge the best means to procure free navigation through the Sundt?

WH. I know no other means butt force, the King of Denmarke denying it.

QU. That is the way indeed; butt what shall then be done with the castles upon the Sundt, and the King of Denmarke's land there?

WH. If it shall please God to give a blessing to the de-

signe, the castles must either be razed, or they and the island putt into good hands, such as both may trust.

QU. That is to the purpose; but doe you thinke that England will assist to that end?

WH. I thinke they will, upon such reasonable conditions as shall be accorded; butt, in such actions, speedy and vigorous prosecution is necessary. The spring should not be lost, against which time preparations are to be made, and your majesty must be pleased to give me your proposals for that buisnes; nor is the present treaty upon my articles to be delayed, they being the foundation of the whole designe.

QU. You may assure yourselfe that the alliance between the two nations is as good as concluded, and will be done; and I will give you my proposals concerning the Sundt: and if Zeland could be taken from the Dane, and the Protector agree to my living there, it should be the place of my retirement; I would quitt the crowne of Sweden and retire there.

WH. Your majesty would have the worst part of the bargain; I hope you would then bestow upon your servant the commaund of one of the castles there.

QU. With all my heart; butt I believe you doe butt drolle. I will promise you more, that if this buisnes be brought to effect, I shall be willing, if England will consent to it, that you shall have the commaund of all the island, and of all such Swedish and English forces as shall be placed there; and I should not be willing to putt that trust into the hand of any other stranger whatsoever, so much confidence I have of your worth and honour.

WH. Your majesty is pleased to putt an exceeding great obligation upon me, and I hope (by the assistance of God) I should approve my faithfulness in any trust reposed in me. I believe my lord-protector would as soon putt this great trust in me as in any other of his servants, and I shall acquaint his highnes with what your majesty mentions.

QU. I pray doe so; and I shall give you my proposals.

WH. This discourse putt me in mind of a passage of my generall before I came out of England: *he told me he had a mind to quitt his charge*, and presently followed an addition of honour to him: the like may be to your majesty, though not in title, yet in good successes.

QU. All the addition I desire is to be lesse than I am, by a private retirement.

WHITELOCKE RETURNED.—HE RECOUNTS TO CROMWELL, LORD-PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH, THE ADVENTURES OF HIS EMBASSY TO CHRISTINA.—THE LORD-PROTECTOR'S REMARKS THEREON.

[Whitelocke came to Whitehall about nine o'clock this morning, where he visited Mr. Secretary Thurloe, who brought him to the Protector; and he received Whitelocke with great demonstration of affection, and carried him into his cabinet, where they were together about an hower, and had this among other discourses:]

PRO. How have you enjoyed your health in your long journey, both by sea and land; and how could you indure those hardships you were putt unto in that barren and cold countrey?

WH. Indeed, sir, I have indured many hardships for an old crazy carcas as mine is; butt God was pleased to shew much mercy to me in my support under them, and vouchsafing me competent health and strength to indure them.

PRO. I have heard of your quarters and lodging in strawe, and of your diet in your journey: we were not so hardly nor so often putt to it in our service in the army.

WH. Both my company and myselfe did cheerfully indure all our hardships and wants, being in the service of our God and of our countrey.

PRO. That was also our support in our hardships in the army; and it is the best support; indeed it is: and you found it so in the very great preservations you have had from daungers.

WH. Your highnes hath had great experience of the goodness of God to you; and the same hand hath appeared wonderfully in the preservation of my company and myself from many imminent and great daungers both by sea and land.

PRO. The greatest of all others, I heare, was in your return home upon our coast.

WH. That indeed, sir, was very miraculous.

PRO. I am glad to see you safe and well after it.

WH. I have cause to blasse God with all thankfulness for it as long as I live.

PRO. I pray, my lord, tell me the particulars of that great deliverance.

[Therupon Whitelocke gave a particular account of the passages of that wonderfull preservation: then the Protector said,]

PRO. Really these passages are full of wonder and mercy; and I have cause to join with you in acknowledgement of the goodness of the Lord hearin.

WH. Your highnes testifies a true sence thereof, and your favour to your servant.

\* Monday, July the 24, 1654.

PRO. I hope I shall never forgett the one or the other; indeed, I hope I shall not: butt, I pray, tell me, *is the queen a lady of such rare parts as is reported of her?*

WH. Truly, sir, she is a lady excellently qualified, of rare abilities of mind, perfect in many languages, and most sorts of learning, especially history, and beyond compare with any person whom I have knowne, understanding the affaires and interest of all the states and princes of Christendome.

PRO. That is very much: butt what are her principles in matters of religion?

WH. They are not such as I could wish they were; they are too much inclined to the manner of that countrey, and to some persuasions from men not well inclined to those matters, who have had too much power with her.

PRO. That is a great deale of pitty; indeed, I have heard of some passages of her, not well relishing with those that feare God; and this is too generall an evill among those people, who are not so well principled in matters of religion as were to be wished.

WH. That is too true; butt many sober men and good Christians among them doe hope, that in time there may be a reformation of those things; and I took the boldnes to putt the queen and the present king in mind of the duty incumbent upon them in that buisnes; and this I did with becoming freedom, and it was well taken.

PRO. I thinke you did very well to informe them of that great duty, which now lyes upon the king; and did he give care to it?

WH. Yes, truly, sir, and told me that he did acknowledge it to be his duty, which he resolved to pursue as opportunity could be had of it; butt he said, it must be done by degrees with a boisterous people, so long accustomed to the contrary; and the like answer I had from the Archbishop of Upsale, and from the chancellour, when I spake to them upon the same subject, which I did plainly.

PRO. I am glad you did so. Is the archbishop a man of good abilities?

WH. He is a very reverend person, learned, and seems very pious.

PRO. The chancellour is the great wise man?

WH. He is the wisest man that ever I conversed with ABROAD, (!) and his abilities are fully answerable to the report of him.

PRO. What character do you give of the present king?

WH. I had the honour divers times to be with his majesty, who did that extraordinary honour to me as to visit me at my house: he is a person of great worth, honour, and abilities; not inferior to any in courage and military conduct.

PRO. That was an exceeding high favour to come to you in person.

WH. He never did the like to any publique minister; butt this, and all other honour done to me, was butt to testify their respects to your highnes, the which, indeed, was very great, both there and where I past in Germany.

PRO. I am obliged to them for their very great civility.

WH. Both the queen, and the king, and his brother, and the archbishop, and the chancellour, and most of the grantees, gave testimony of very great respect to your highnes, and that not only by their words, butt by their actions likewise.

PRO. I shall be ready to acknowledge their respects upon any occasion.

WH. The like respects were testified to your highnes in Germany, especially by the town of Hambourgh, where I indeavoured, in your highnes's name, to confirme the privileges of the English merchants, who, with your resident there, showed much kindness to me and my company.

PRO. I shall heartily thanke them for it. Is the court of Sweden gallant and full of resort to it?

WH. They are extreme gallant for their cloathes; and for company, most of the nobility, and the civill and military officers, make their constant residence where the court is, and many repaire thither on all occasions.

PRO. Is their administration of justice speedy; and have they many law-suits?

WH. They have justice in a speedier way than with us, butt more arbitrary, and fewer causes, in regard that the boores dare not contend with their lords, and they have butt few contracts, because they have butt little trade; and there is small use of conveyances or questions of titles, because the law distributs every man's estate after his death among his children, which they cannot alter, and therefore have the fewer contentions.

PRO. That is like our gavel-kind.

WH. It is the same thing; and in many particulars of our lawes, in cases of private right and of the publique government (especially in their Parlements), there is a strange resemblance between their law and ours.

PRO. Perhaps ours might, some of them, be brought from thence?

WH. Doubtless they were, when the Goths and Saxons, and those northerne people, planted themselves heer.

PRO. You met with a barren countrey, and very colde?

WH. The remoter parts of it from the court are extreme barren; butt att Stockholm and Upsale, and most of the great towne, they have store of provisions: butt fatt beefe and mutton in the winter time is not so plentiful with them as in the countreies more southerly; and their hott weather in summer as much exceeds ours, as their colde doth in winter.

PRO. That is somewhat troublesome to indure; butt how could you passe over their very long winter nights?

WH. I kept my people together, and in action and recreation; by having musick in my house, and encouraging that and the exercise of dauncing, which held them by the ears and eyes, and gave them diversion without any offence. And I caused the gentlemen to have disputations in Latin, and declamations upon words which I gave them.

PRO. Those were very good diversions, and made your house a little academy.

WH. I thought these little recreations better than gaming for money, or going forth to places of debauchery.

PRO. It was much better; and I am glad you had so good an issue of your treaty.

WH. I blesse God for it, and shall be ready to give your highnes a particular account of it when you shall appoint a time for it.

PRO. I thinke that Thursday next, in the morning, will be a good time for you to come to the councill, and to make your report of the transactions of your negotiations; and you and I must have many discourses upon these arguments.

WH. I shall attend your highnes and the councill.

The treaty thus successfully concluded by Whitelocke is matter of history, and will find mention in the Notice of the Protectorate. It was a treaty of commerce between the two countreies, and a prohibition of protection and favour to the enemies of either.

It is pleasant to be able to close these interesting scenes with a happy piece of gallantry on the part of Cromwell. Soon after Whitelocke's return, he sent over his portrait to Queen Christina, inscribed with a Latin epigram, for which the hand of Milton had been right cheerfully employed, and which ran to this effect. "Virgin, powerful in war, queen of the frozen north, bright star of the pole, you see what furrows the toils of the field have traced in my brow, while, already old in appearance, I still retain the energies of a soldier, and pursue the untrod paths of fate, executing the heroic behests of that country with whose welfare I am intrusted. Yet to you I willingly smooth the sternness of my feature; nor shall the royal Christina find that I at all times regard the possessor of a throne with severity."

This portrait, I should add, was seen a century afterward at the court of Stockholm by one of the ambassadors to that court, Isaac Le Heup, Esq., who described it to several gentlemen in this country. It was by Walker, and represented Cromwell in his warrior garb, but (in delicate compliment to Christina) with a double gold chain (her gift) hanging down his neck to his breast, and pendent from it three crowns, with, below them, a white pearl. These were the arms of Sweden, which, with the gold chain, and a private memento from Christina, imagined in her wildest and most fantastic humour, were said to have rapidly followed Whitelocke to England. The massive was to the effect that, supposing a marriage practicable, she should not hesitate, in Cromwell's favour, to forego her objections to the drudgery of it, since she thought it possible that between them they might get a race of Alexanders. Our notices of Cromwell and Christina may not inaptly close with this characteristic incident, which the grave reader will not indignantly reject altogether as a piece of wild romance, until he shall have read the following extract of a "letter of intelligence" from one of Thurlow's most trustworthy spies stationed at the Hague, and who thus conveys what was the gossip of almost every court at the time:

"Vois douter, si la Hollande soit corialement encliné à la paix; mais icy on a plus de sujet de douter, si les

\* The original runs thus:

"Bellipotens virgo, septem regna trionum,  
Christina, Arctic lucida stella poli!  
Cernis, quas merui dura sub caside rugas,  
Utique senex, arma impiger, ora tero:  
Invis fatum dum per vestigia nitor,  
Ezquor et populi, fortis iussa manu.  
At tibi submisit frontem reverentior umbra;  
Nec sunt hi vultus regibus aque truces."

Of which, should the reader desire to see an indifferent poetical translation, he has it from Toland:

"Bright martial maid, queen of the frozen zone!  
The northern pole supports thy shining throne:  
Behold what furrows age and steel can plow;  
The helmet's weight oppress'd this wrinkled brow.  
Through fate's untrodden paths I move; my hands  
Still art my freeborn people's bold commands;  
Yet this stern shade to you submits his frowns  
For are these looks always severe to crowns."

Cromwell  
Anglois ou 130 aient veritablement enclins à la paix. Les  
Orange-party Royalists Cromwell  
145 and 146 icy soustionnent fort et ferme, que 130 af-  
fecte le droit de 138. L'on en raille, disant que l'effigie de  
Queen of Sweden Cromwell  
141 pend en sa chambre: que la femme de 130 en soit ja-  
loux; auroit dit 130 voudroit bien, que je fusse morte; cars  
Queen of Sweden  
alors aussy tost il espousera cette 141."

## F.

*A New Ballad to the Tune of Cock-Lorrell.*

WILL you hear a strange thing ne'er heard of before,  
A ballad without any lies;  
A Parliament that is turn'd out of door,  
And a council of state likewise!

*Brave Oliver came to the House like a sprite,  
His fiery look struck the speaker dumb:  
"You must be gone hence," quoth he; "by this light,  
Do y' intend to sit here till doomsday come!"*

With that the speaker look'd pale for fear,  
As if he had been with the nightmare rid,  
In so much that some did think that were there  
That he ev'n did as the alderman did.

But Oliver, though he be doctor of law,  
Yet seem'd to play the physician here,  
Whose physic so wrought in the speaker's maw,  
That it gave him a stool instead of his chair.

Sir Arthur thought Oliver wond'rous bold,  
I mean that knight that was one of the five,  
For he was loth to lose his freedom;  
But needs must he go whom the devil doth drive.

And gone he is for the north country,  
In hope thereabout to make some stir;  
But in the mean time pray take it from me,  
Brave Arthur must yield to brave Oliver.

Harry Martin wonder'd to see such a thing  
Done by a knight of such high degree,  
An art which he couldn't expect from a king,  
Much less from such a John Dore as he.

But Oliver, laying his hand on his sword,  
Upbraided him with his adultery.  
Then Martin gave him never a word,  
But humbly thank'd his majesty.

Allen the coppersmith was in great fear,  
He did us much harm since the war begun,  
A broken cit was he many a year,  
And now he's a broken Parliament-man.

Bold Oliver told him what he had been,  
And him a cheating knave did call,  
Which put him into a fit of the spleen,  
For now he must give an account for all.

It went to the heart of Sir Harry Vane  
To think what a terrible fall he should have,  
For he that did once in the Parliament reign  
Was call'd, as I hear, a dissembling knave.

Bradshaw, that president, bold as a pope,  
Who loves upon kings and princes to trample;  
Now the House is dissolved, I cannot but hope  
To see such a president made an example.

Now room for the speaker without the mace,  
And room for the rest of the rabble rout:  
My masters, methinks it's a pitiful case,  
Like the snuff of a candle thus to go out.

Some like this change, and some like it not;  
For they say they are sure it was done in due season:  
Some say it was the Jesuits' plot,  
Because it resembled the gunpowder treason.

*Some think that Cromwell with Charles is agreed,  
And say 'twere good policy if it were so,  
Lest the Hollander, French, the Dane, and the Swede,  
Do bring him in whether he will or no.*

And now I would gladly conclude my song  
With a prayer, as ballads are wont to do;  
But yet I'll forbear, for I think, ere 't be long,  
We may have a king and a Parliament too.  
July 13, 1653.

## G.

*A Sketch of the Civil Wars to the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell, in a Letter from Maidstone, of Oliver's Household, to John Winthrop, Esq., Governor of the Colony of Connecticut in New-England.*

SIR,—YOUR kinde remembrance of mee  
letter covered mee with noe small shame,

lected a person of soe signal worth, as all reportes I meet  
with present you in, especially when it is attended with  
the consideration of the obligations your father's memorie  
hath left upon me.

Yet may I not be soe injurious to myselfe as to acknowl-  
edge that the long omission of writing to you proceeded  
from forgetfulness. The frequent discourses I have made  
of yourselfe and honoured father have created testimony  
sufficient to vindicate mee from such ingratitude. But the  
perpetual hurry of distressing affaires, wherein for some  
years I have been exercised, deprived mee of gaining a fit  
opportunity of conveying letters. And thus is briefly and  
truely the cause of soe long an intermission. For mee now  
to present you with a relation of the unheard-of dealing of  
God towards his people in these nations, is not my designe;  
partly because I believe you have heard much of it, but  
principally because such a worke would better become a  
voluminous chronicle than a short epistle. For it would  
weary the wings of an eagle to measure out the wayes  
wherein God hath walked, with all the turnings and in-  
tricacies that are found in them. The quarrel, at first com-  
menced betwixt king and Parliament, was grounded upon  
a civil foundation: the king accusing them of invading his  
prerogative, and the House charging him with the breach  
of their privileges, and consequently the invassalaging the  
people represented by them. When this argument had for  
some time been agitated by as hot and bloody a war as this  
latter age hath seen, it fell at last to be managed (on the  
Parliament side) by instruments religiously principled, in  
whose hand it received so many evident testimonies of God's  
extraordinary presence and conduct, that in conclusion a  
period was put to it, the king made a prisoner, and all his  
expectation of rescue utterly defeated and cut off. While  
the matter stood in this posture, great debates, solicitous  
consultations and cabals are held, in order to settlement;  
for these transactions (according to the constant product of  
all such things) had created factions and divisions betwixt  
persons of equal worth in point of parts, and (as themselves  
thought) of ballancing merit, to receive the reward of soe  
great and hazardous an undertaking as they had gone  
thorow. The parties instantly divyded themselves (or  
rather did appeare divyded, for they had been soe before)  
under the heades of Presbitry and Independency. The  
former had the advantage in number, the ministry gene-  
rally adhering to them; the latter in having been the active  
instrument by whose valour and conduct the king was  
brought from a pallace to a prison, and thereby were pos-  
sessed of the militarie power of the nation; by helpe whereof,  
and having many friends in the House of Commons against  
the minde of the major part, they first secluded them, and  
then set aside the House of Lords; and by a co-operation  
with the House of Commons then sitting (whom they owned  
as the supreme power of the nation), the king was brought  
to tryall before an high court of justice (consisting of mem-  
bers of Parliament, officers of the army, and others), and  
proceeded against to execution.

This art was highly displeasing to many, who with equal  
zeal and forwardness had assisted in the war, insomuch  
that the difference which the king's party put between  
them that fought with him and those that take away his life,  
they express in this proverb: that the Presbyterians held  
him by the hayr, till Independants cut off his head. Yet  
have the former struggled hard ever since to doe something  
that might render them under a better character as to their  
covenant and loyalty to the king. The peace of the nation  
being thus settled, and the king's family and offspring de-  
parted into foreign places, his eldest son, the Prince of  
Wales, travelled into the Netherlands, where (after some  
short time) application was made to him by the most seve-  
re and prudent party of Scotland (amongst whom I know  
some to be as choyce men as most I have been acquainted  
with for wisdom and true holynesse, for soe it becomes  
mee to judge), who presented to him the consideration of  
the stupendous judgments of God upon him and his father's  
house, and prest upon him the sense of it, endeavouring to  
reduce him to Scotland, in order to restore him to his do-  
minions, upon hope that he might be instrumental to hon-  
our God, and re-establish publique peace. To this he gave  
very fayre returns, and in a short time shipt himself for  
Scotland, and arrived there, where he was honourably en-  
tertained by that which is called the Kirk party, and is,  
indeed, the religious party of that nation: by them he was  
crowned King of Scotland, and soe brought into a capacity  
of action.

The Kirk party had now the command of him and the  
nation; but another party had a greater room in his heart,  
having been constant to his father when the other had  
raised war against him. These divyded under two heades,  
called Resolutioners and Protesters.

The Parliament of England by this time grew awakened,  
foreseeing that this whole action was calculated to the per-  
fect capacity of Scotland, imposing a king upon England,  
of which they were evinced by more than probable argu-  
ments; to obvial which they resolve to send a potent army,  
under the command of General Cromwell (the Lord Fair-



fax refusing that service, upon the influence of Presbyterians, as was said), that Scotland might be rendered the seat of war, and soe made less able to annoy England. This accordingly was done; an invasion made from England; Scotland put into arms to resist it, whereby they wearied and wasted the English army, and forced it (in a miserable condition) to retreat for England, had they not, at Dunbar, out of pure necessity, enforced an engagement to their own destruction; for the defeat then given to the Scotch army was as signal as any thing in the whole war. The advantage of number and men fit for fight was very great, but that which is most observable is the quality of the persons; for Presbyterie being the golden ball that day, I am credibly informed that thousands lost their lives for it (after many meetings, debates, and appeals to God betwixt our English officers and them), of as holy, praying people as this island or the world affords.

The Lord-general Cromwell was a person of too great activity and sagacity to lose the advantage of such a victory, and therefore marcht his army to Edinburgh, and possess himselfe of that place, lay'd siege to the strong castle in it, and distrust it till it submitted, being soe situated as not to be enter'd by onslaught, nor undermined, by reason of the rocks on which it is built. There he spent the winter, but was not idle, for in that time many strong places became subject to him; by this means the young king had opportunity to fall in with his beloved party called the Resolutioners. His interest likewise wrought here in England, carried on by the Presbyterian party; and in this quarrel, honest Mr. Love, who doubtless was a godly man, though indirect, lost his head, and many of his brethren were endangered, being detained prisoners till General Cromwell came home and procured their release. But before that, his continuance in Scotland was a time of great action, wherein he soe distressed the king, as he enforced him to march with all the force he could make for England; but being close pursued by the English horse, under the command of General Lamir: (a prudent, valiant commander, and a man of gallant conduct), and resisted by force rayed in England, he was compelled to make a halt at Worcester city, till the lord-general, with a body of the army, advanced thither, and after a short time totally defeated his army, himselfe escaping very hardly, and afterwards (with great difficulty) convey'd himselfe beyond the seas. The idea of the stocks of honour which General Cromwell came invested with to London, after this crowning victorie (suggested to what God had before clothed him with, not only by his achievements in England, but those in Scotland, which I pretermitt, because, being grounded on those barbarous massacres, the habitable world sounded with the noise of them), will in my silence present itself to your imagination. He had not long continued here before it was strongly imprint upon him by those to whom he had no reason to be utterly incredulous, and strengthened by his own observation, that the persons then cull'd the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, as from whom he had derived his authority, and by virtue whereof he had fought soe many holy men in Scotland into their graves, were not such as were spirited to carry the good interest to an end, wherein he and they had jeopardized all that was of concern to them in this world; and I wish cordially that there had not been too great a ground for those allegations. The result of them, after many debates betwixt the members then sitting and the general, with some who joynd with him, was the dissolution of that Parliament by a military force, since called by a softer word, interruption. *Great dissatisfaction sprung from this action, and such as is not yet forgotten amongst good men; for let the reasons and end be never so good upon which the general acted this part, yet, say they, 'twas high breach of trust in him to overthrow that authority, in defence of which God had appeared, and made him soe significant an instrument; yet factum valet, say others, who were not well satisfied neither; and now care is used to settle fluctuating Britain.*

In order to which, the lord-general, by his authority (which was but military), summons one hundred persons out of all parts of the nation (with competent indifferency and equality) to represent the nation, and invests them with legislative authority. They meet and accept it, assume the title of Parliament, and sit in the House of Commons, and enact sundry lawes; but in a short time made it appear to all considering and unprejudiced men that they were huic negotio imparis, non obstante their godlinesse; of which the more judicious of them being sensible, contrived the matter soe as to dissolve themselves by an act of their owne, and resolve their authority, whence they first derived it, upon the general. It was not long before he was advised to assume the government of this nation in his single capacity, limited with such restrictions as were drawne up in an instrument of government framed to that purpose. This he accepted of, and (being by it with due ceremony in Westminster Hall inaugurated) he assumed it accordingly. According to one of the articles in it, he summoned a House of Commons at Westminster the September following, of which House I had the honour to be a member. The House,

consisting of many disobliged persons (some upon the king's account, and others upon a pretence of right to sit upon the former foundation, as not being legally, though forceably dissolved; and others judging that the powers given by the instrument of government to the Protector were too large, professing that though they were willing to trust him, yet they would not trust his successors with soe large a jurisdiction), fell into high animosities, and after five months spent in framing another instrument instead of the former (which they sayd they could not swallow without chewing), they were by the Protector dissolved.

This was ungratefull to English spirits, who drif their representatives; but the Protector's parts and interest enabled him to stemme this tyde. Yet the weight of government incumbering too heavily upon him, before many years passed he summoned another Parliament, and his experience guided him to concur with them in a new instrument to governe by. In it they would have changed his title, and made him king, and I thinke he had closed with them in it, not out of lust to that title (I am persuaded), but out of an apprehension that it would have secured (in a better way) the nation's settlement; but the party to whom the Protector ever professed to owe himself (being the generality of his standing friends) rose so high in opposition to it (by reason of the scandal that thereby would fall upon his person and profession), as it diverted him, and occasioned him to take investiture in his government, though from them, yet under his former title of Protector.

As in former cases, this found acceptance with many, but was dissatisfactory to a greater number.

The instrument of government made in this Parliament, and to which the Protector tooke his oath, was called the humble Petition and Advice.

In it provision was made for another House of Parliament instead of the old Lords, that this might be a screen or balance betwixt the Protector and Commons, as the former Lords had been betwixt the king and them.

Then to consist of seventy persons, all at first to be nominated by the Protector, and after as any one dyed, a new one to be nominated by him and his successors, and assented to by themselves, or without that consent not to sit: twenty of them was a quorum. It was noe small taske for the Protector to finde idoneous men for this place, because the future security of the honest interest seemed (under God) to be layd up in them; for by a mortal generation (if they were well chosen at first), like foundationals in the gathering of a church, they would propagate their owne kinde when the single person could not, and the Commons (who represented the nation) would not, having in them, for the most part, the spirit of those they represent, which hath little affinity with or respect to the cause of God. And indeed, to speake freely, soe barren was the island of persons of quality spirited for such a service, as they were not to be found, according to that of the apostle, 1 Cor. i. 26: "Yee see your calling, not many wise, nor noble," &c. This forced him to make it up of men of meane ranke, and consequently of lesse interest, and upon trayll too light for ballance, too thin for a screen, and upon the point ineffectual to answer the designe, being made a scorn by the nobility and gentry, and generality of the people; the House of Commons continually spurning at their power, and spending large debates in controverting their title, till at length the Protector (finding the distempers which grew in his government, and the dangers of the publique peace thereby) dissolved the Parliament, and soe silenced that controversy for that time. And that was the last that sat during his life, he being compelled to wrestle with the difficulties of his place, soe well as he could, without Parliamentary assistance, and in it met with soe great a burthen, as (I doubt not to say) it dranke up his spirits, of which his natural constitution yeilded a vast stocke, and brought him to his grave; his interment being the seed-time of his glory, and England's calamity. Before I passe further, pardon mee in troubling you with the character of his person, which, by reason of my nearnesse to him, I had opportunity well to observe.

His body was well compact and strong, his stature under 6 foote (I believe about two inches), his hea't so shaped as you might see it a storehouse and shop both of a vast treasury of natural parts. His temper exceeding fiery, as I have known, but the flame of it kept downe for the most part, or soon allayed with those moral indowments he had. He was naturally compassionate towards objects in distresse, even to an effeminate measure; though God had made him a heart wherein was left little room for any fear but what was due to himselfe, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he exerce in tendernes towards sufferers. A larger soul, I thinke, hath seldom dwelt in a house of clay than his was. I doe believe, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world well acquainted with it, she would adde him to her nine worthies, that number a decemviri. He lived and dyed in a noble communion with God, as judicious persons well observed. He was that Mordecai that saved the life of his people, and spake peace to his temptations such as it appeared frequently.

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to my progress, viz

How available to the "old school"

If you shall give yourself the trouble at any time of honouring mee with a letter, you may please to direct it to Pond House, at Bostell, in Essex, where my father lived: it is three miles from Colchester.

These for his honourable friend and kinsman, John Winthorpe, Esq., governor of the colonies of Connecticut, in New-England.

## H.

*Specimens of the Court Circular in Cromwell's Protectorate.*

"Nov. 11. This day the most illustrious lady, the Lady Frances Cromwell, youngest daughter of his highness the Lord Protector, was married to the most noble gentleman, Mr. Robert Rich, son of the Lord Rich, grandchild of the Earl of Warwick, and of the Countess Dowager of Devonshire, in the presence of their highnesses, and of his grandfather and father, and the said countess, with many other persons of high honour and quality. The solemnities of the happy nuptials were continued and ended with much honour."—*Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 5 to 12, 1657.

"Nov. 19. Yesterday afternoon, his highness went to Hampton Court, and this day the most illustrious lady, the Lady Mary Cromwell, third daughter of his highness the Lord Protector, was there married to the most noble lord, the Lord Faulconbridge, in the presence of their highnesses, and many noble persons. Friday, 20. Their highnesses, with the said lord and lady, returned from Hampton Court."—*Merc. Pol.*, Nov. 19 to 26, 1657.

## I.

*Some Extracts from a Description of Cromwell's Lords.*

RICHARD CROMWELL, eldest son of the Protector (so called), a person of great worth and merit, and well skilled in hawking, hunting, horse-racing, with other sports and pastimes; one whose undertakings, hazards, and services for the cause cannot well be numbered or set forth, unless the drinking of King Charles's, or, as is so commonly spoken, *his father's landlord's health*; whose abilities in praying and preaching, and love to the sectaries, being much like his cousin Dick Ingoldsby's, and being so very likely to be his father's successor, and to inherit his noble virtues, in being the light of the eyes, and breath of the nostrils of the old heathenish popish laws and customs of the nation, especially among the learned, the University of Oxford have therefore thought fit, he being also no very good scholar, to choose him their chancellor.

Henry Lawrence, a gentleman of a courtly breed and a good trencher-man, who, when the bishops tuffed in their pride and tyranny, went over to Holland, afterward came back, and became a member of the Long Parliament; fell off at the beheading of the late king and change of the government, for which the Protector, then lieutenant-general, with great zeal declared, "*That a neutral spirit was more to be abhorred than a Cavalier spirit, and that such men as he were not fit to be used in such a day as that, when God was cutting down kingship root and branch*;" yet came in play again, upon design, in the Little Parliament, and contributed much to the dissolving of them, as also setting up the Protector, and settling the Instrument of Government and a single person, affirming, "*That other foundation could no man lay*." For which worthy services, and as a snare or bait to win over, or at least quiet the baptized people, himself being under that ordinance, he was made and continued president of the Protector's council, where he hath signed many an arbitrary and illegal warrant for the carrying of honest, faithful men to prisons and exile without cause, unless their not apostatizing with them from just and honest principles. His merits are great and many, being every way thorough-paced, and a great adorer of kingship: so as he deserveth, no doubt, and is every way fit, to be taken out of the Parliament, to have the third place of honour, and negative voice in the other House over the people of these lands.

Colonel Desborough, a gentleman or yeoman of about sixty or seventy pounds per annum at the beginning of the wars, who, being allied to the Protector by marriage of his sister, he cast away his spade and took a sword, and rose with him in the wars, and in like manner, upon the principles of justice and freedom, advanced his interest very much; if he were not of the Long Parliament, he was of the little one, which he helped to break. Being grown considerable, he cast away the principles by which he rose, and took on principles of violence and tyranny, and helped to set up the Protector, for which he was made one of his council, and one of the generals at sea, and hath a princely command at land, being major-general of divers counties in the west, as also one of the lords of the Cinque Ports.

Lord-viscount Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, was of the Long Parliament to the last, and at the change of government, and making laws of treason against a single person's rule, and, no question, concurred with the rest therein; he was also of the Little Parliament, and of all

the Parliaments since: was all along of the Protector's council, and was never to seek; who having learned so much by changing with every change, and keeping still like his father-in-law, the Earl of Salisbury, and Peter Sterry, on that side which hath proved trump, nothing need farther be said of his fitness, being such a man of principles, to be taken out of the Parliament to have a settled negative voice in the other House over all the good people of these lands, he being a lord of the old stamp already, and, in time, so likely to become a peer.

Sir Gilbert Pickering, knight of the old stamp, and of a considerable revenue in Northamptonshire, one of the Long Parliament, and a great stickler in the change of the government from kingly to that of a commonwealth; helped to make those laws of treason against kingship; hath also changed with all changes that have been since; he was one of the Little Parliament, and helped to break it, as also of all the Parliaments since; is one of the Protector's council; and, as if he had been pinned to his sleeve, was never to seek; is become high-steward of Westminster; and, being so final, spruce, and like an old courtier, is made lord-chamberlain of the Protector's household or court, so that he may well be counted fit and worthy to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House, though he helped to destroy it in the king and Lords. There are more besides him, that make themselves transgressors, by building again the things which they once destroyed.

Walter Strickland, some time agent or ambassador to the Dutch in the Low Countries from the Long Parliament, and a good friend of theirs, at length became a member of that Parliament; was also of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break; was of the Parliament since, and is now of the Protector's council. He is one that can serve a commonwealth, and also a prince, so he may serve himself and his own ends by it; who, having so greatly profited by attending the Hugan Mogans, and become so expert in the ceremony postures, and thereby so apt like an ape, with his brother Sir Gilbert and the president, to imitate or act the part of an old courtier in the new court, was made captain-general of the Protector's magpye, or gray-coated foot-guard in Whitehall, as the Earl of Holland formerly to the king; who, being every way of such worth and merits, no question can be made or exception had against his fitness to be taken out of the Parliament to exercise a negative voice in the other House over the people of this Commonwealth.

Sir Charles Ousely, a gentleman who came something late into play on this side, being converted from a Cavalier in a good hour. He became one of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to set the Protector on the throne; for which worthy service, he was, as he well deserved, taken in to be one of his council; was also of the Parliaments since; a man of constancy and certainty in his principles much like the wind; and, although he hath done nothing for the cause whereby to merit, yet is he counted of that worth as to be every way fit to be taken out of the Parliament to have a negative voice in the other House over such as have done most and merited highest in the cause, the Protector and his fellow-negative men excepted, and over all the Commonwealth besides.

Mr. Rouse, one of the Long Parliament, and by them made provost or master of Eton College; he abode in that Parliament, and helped to change the government into a commonwealth, and to destroy the negative voice in the king and Lords; was also of the Little Parliament, and their speaker; who, when the good things came to be done which were formerly declared, and for not doing of which the old Parliament was pretendedly dissolved, being an old bottle, and so not fit to bear that new wine, without putting it to the question, left the chair, and went with his fellow old bottles to Whitehall, to surrender their power to the general, which he as speaker, and they by signing a parchment or paper, pretended to do. The colourable foundation for this apostacy, upon the monarchical foundation being thus laid, and the general himself, as Protector, seated thereon, he became one of his council, good old man, and well he deserved it, for he ventured hard. He was also of the Parliaments since, and, being an aged, venerable man, all exceptions set aside, may be counted worthy to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over all that shall question him for what he hath done, and over all the people of these lands besides, though he would not suffer it in the king and Lords.

Colonel Sydenham, a gentleman of not very much per annum at the beginning of the wars, was made governor of Maloumb Regis, in the west; became one of the Long Parliament, and hath augmented his revenue to some purpose; he helped, no question, to change the government, and make those laws of treason against kingship; was also of the Little Parliament, and of those that were since one also of the Protector's council, hath a princely command in the Isle of Wight, is one of the commissioners of the treasury, by all which he is grown very great and considerable.

Colonel Montague, a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, of a fair estate, a colonel formerly in the association army under the Earl of Manchester, where he for some time appeared, while Colonel Pickering lived, to be a sectary, and for laymen's preaching, as also a lover of the rights and freedoms of the people, rather than of the principle he now acts by; but, that honest colonel dying, some other things also coming between, he became of another mind. He gave off being a soldier about the time of the new model, it is likely upon the same account with Colonel Russell; did not greatly approve of beholding the king, or change of the government, or the army's last march into Scotland, as the Protector, then general, may witness; yet, after the war was ended at Worcester, and the old Parliament dissolved, he was taken in, though no change appearing from what he was before, to be of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to set up monarchy anew in the Protector, which he designedly was called to do; for which worthy service he was made one of the council, a commissioner of the treasury, and one of the generals at sea. He was of the Parliaments since; all which considered, none need question his fitness to be a lord, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House, not only over the treasury and war, but all the good people of these lands besides.

Commissioner Lisle, some time a counsellor in the Temple; one of the Long Parliament, where he improved his interest to purpose, and bought state lands good cheap; afterward became a commissioner of the great seal, and helped in Parliament to change the government from king to Parliamentary, or of a commonwealth; changed again to king, or of a single person; and did swear the Protector at his first installing chief magistrate, to the hazard of his neck, contrary to four acts of Parliament, which he helped to make, with others, that make it treason so to do. He hath lately retired for sanctuary into Mr. Rowe's church, and is still commissioner of the seal; and being so very considerable in worth and merit, is also fit to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over the good people, and all such who shall any way question him. He is since made president of the high court, so called, of justice.

Treason never prospers: what's the reason?  
For, when it prospers, none dare call it treason.

Chief-justice Glyn, some time a counsellor at law, and steward of the court at Westminster, formerly one of the Long Parliament, and that helped to bait the Earl of Strafford and bring him to the block, was recorder of London, and one of the eleven members impeached by the army of treason, and by that Parliament committed to the Tower; the Protector, through apostasy, assuming the government, took him up and made him a judge, and finding him so fit for his turn, did also make him chief-justice of England; so that, of a little man, he is grown up into great bulk and interest, and of complying principles to the life; who, being so very useful to advance and uphold the Protector's great negative voice, is thereby questionable, in his sense, fit to be taken out of the House, and to have a negative voice himself in the other House, not only over the people, but over the law he is to be chief judge of, and in a capacity to hinder that *so good law, for the future, be made for the ease of the people, or to hurt of the lawyers' trade.*

Bulstrode Whitelocke, formerly a counsellor at law, one of the Long Parliament, profited there, and advanced his interest very greatly; became one of the commissioners of the great seal, one that helped to change the government, and make laws against a single person's rule. In the time of the Little Parliament, he went ambassador to Sweden in great state; that Parliament being dissolved, he agitated there for the Protector, then came over; and, when some alteration and pretended reformation was made in the chancery, he stood off from being any longer a commissioner of the seal, and became one of the supervisors of the treasury at one thousand pounds per annum salary. He is one who is guided more by policy than by conscience, and being, on that account, the more fit for the Protector's service, there is no question to be made of his worth and merit to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over the people there, though he helped to put it down in the king and Lords.

Mr. Claypole, son of Mr. Claypole in Northamptonshire, now Lord Claypole. He long since married the Protector's daughter; a person, whose qualifications not answering those honest principles, formerly so pretended to, of putting none but godly men into places of trust, was a long time kept out; but, since the apostasy from those principles, as also the practice broke in, and his father-in-law (the head thereof) came to be Protector, he was then judged good enough for that dispensation, and so taken in to be master of his horse, as Duke Hamilton to the king. Much need not be said of him; his relation, as son-in-law to the Protector, is sufficient to bespeak him every way fit to be taken out of the House and made a lord; and, having so

long time had a negative voice over his wife, Spring Garden, the ducks, deer, horses, and asses in James's Park, is the better skilled how to exercise it again in the other House over the good people of these nations, without any gain saying or dispute.

Colonel Pride, then Sir Thomas, now Lord Pride, some time an honest brewer in London, went out a captain upon the account of the cause, fought on, and in time became a colonel; did good service in England and Scotland, for which he was well rewarded by the Parliament; with cheap debentures of his soldiers and others, he bought good lands at easy rates; gave the Long Parliament a purge, fought against the king and his negative voice, and was against the negative voice of his brethren, the lords spiritual and temporal, being unwilling to have any in the land; but hath now changed his mind and principles with the times, and will fight for a negative voice in the Protector, and also have one himself, and be a lord, for he is a knight of the new order already, and grown very bulky and considerable. It is hard to say how the people will like it. However, his worth and merits, rightly measured, will, no question, render him fit to be taken out of the House to be one of the other House, and to have a negative voice, not only over the bears, but all the people of these lands, though he did formerly so oppose and fight against it; and the noble lawyers will be glad of his company and friendship, for there is now no fear of his hanging up their gowns by the Scottish colours in Westminster Hall, as he formerly so greatly boasted and threatened to do.

Colonel Hewson, then Sir John, now Lord Hewson, some time an honest shoemaker or cobbler in London, went out a captain upon the account of the cause, was very zealous, fought on stoutly, and in time became a colonel; did good service both in England and Ireland; was made governor of Dublin, became one of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments since; a knight also of the new stamp. The world being so well amended with him, and the sole so well attuned to the upper leather, having gotten so considerable an interest and means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the House to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House, over all of the gentle craft, and cordwainers company in London, if they please. But, though he be so considerable, and of such merit in the Protector's, as also in his own esteem, not only to be a knight, but also a lord, yet it will hardly pass for current with the good people of these lands if being so far beyond the last; neither will they think him fit (saving the Protector's pleasure) to have a negative voice over them, though he formerly fought so stiffly against it in the king and Lords, in order to set them free.

Colonel Barkstead, then Sir John, now Lord Barkstead, some time a goldsmith in the Strand of no great rank, went out a captain to Windsor Castle, was some time governor of Reading, got at length to be a colonel, then made lieutenant of the Tower by the old Parliament. The Protector (so called), finding him fit for his turn, continued him there, and also made him major-general of Middlesex in the decimating business, and assistant to Major-general Skippon in London. He is one of the life to fulfil the Protector's desires, whether right or wrong, for he will dispute no commands, nor make the least demur, but, in an officious way, will rather do more than his share. His principles for all arbitrary things whatsoever being so very thorough, let friends or foes come to his den, they come not amiss, so he gets by it; yea, rather than fail, he will send out his armed men to break open other men's houses, and seize their persons, and bring them to his jail, and then, at his pleasure, turn them out. He hath erected a principality in the Tower, and made laws of his own, and executes them, in a martial way, over all comers, so that he hath great command, and makes men know his power. He was of the latter Parliaments; is one of the commissioners, like the bishop's pander's in the king's days, for suppressing truth in the printing presses, an oppression once the army so greatly complained of; is, for sanctuary, gotten in to be a member of Mr. Griffith's church; is also knighted after the new order, and the better to carry on the Protector's interest among the ear-bored slavish commons, is lately become an alderman, so that he hath advanced his interest and revenue to purpose. His titles and capacities, enblazoned, will sufficiently argue his worth and merits, and speak him out fully to be a man of the times, and every way deserving to be yet greater, and Haman-like, to be set higher: all which considered, it would seem a wrong not to have taken him out of the House, and made him a lord of the other House.

Colonel Ingoldsby, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, allied to the Protector. He betook himself to the wars on the right side, as it happened, and in time became a colonel. A gentleman of courage and valour, but not very famous for any great exploits, unless for beating the honest innkeeper of Aylesbury in Whitehall, for which the Protector committed him to the Tower, but was soon released. No great friend of the sectaries (so called), or the cause of

freedom then fought for, as several of his then and now officers and soldiers can witness; and, although it be well known, and commonly reported, that he can neither pray nor preach, yet, complying so kindly with new court, and being in his principles of kingship, as also a colonel of horse, and the Protector's kinsman, he may well be reckoned fit to be taken out of the House and made a lord.

Colonel Whaley, formerly a woollen draper, a petty merchant in London, whose shop being out of sorts, and his cash empty, not having wherewithal to satisfy his creditors, he fled into Scotland for refuge till the wars began; then took on him to be a soldier, whereby he hath profited greatly: was no great zealot for the cause, but, happening on the right side, he kept there, and at length was made commissary-general of the horse. He was of these latter Parliaments, and, being so very useful and complying to promote the Protector's designs, was made major-general of two or three companies. He is for a king, or protector, or what you will, so it be liked at court; is, with his little brother Glyn, grown a great man, and very considerable, and wiser, as the Protector saith, than Major-general Lambert; who having, with his fellow-lords, Claypole and Howard, so excellent a spirit of government over his wife and family, being also a member of Thomas Goodwin's church, no question need be made of his merit of being every way fit to be a lord, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over the people, for that he "never, as he saith, fought against any such thing as a negative voice."

Colonel Goffe, now Lord Goffe that would be, some time Colonel Vanghan's brother's apprentice (a salter in London), whose time being near or newly out, betook himself to be a soldier instead of setting up his trade; went out a quartermaster of foot, and continued in the wars till he forgot what he fought for; in time became a colonel, and, in the outward appearance, very zealous and frequent in praying, preaching, and pressing for righteousness and freedom, and highly esteemed in the army on that account, when honesty was in fashion; yet having, at the same time, like his general, an evil tincture of that spirit that loved and sought after the favour and praise of man more than that of God (as, by woful experience in both of them, hath since appeared), he could not further believe or persevere upon that account, but by degrees fell off. And this was he who, with Colonel White, brought musketeers, and turned the honest members, left behind in the Little Parliament, out of the House. Complying thus kindly with the Protector's designs and interest, he was made major-general of Hampshire and Sussex; was of the late Parliament; hath advanced his interest greatly, and is in so great esteem and favour at court, that he is judged the only fit man to have Major-general Lambert's place and command as major-general of the army; and, having so far advanced, is in a fair way to the Protectorship hereafter, if he be not served as Lambert was. He, being so very considerable a person, and of such great worth, there is no question of his deserts and fitness to be taken out of the House to be a lord, and to have a negative voice in the other House; the rather, for that he "never, in all his life, as he saith, fought against any such thing as a single person or a negative voice, but only to put down Charles and set up Oliver," and hath his end.

Colonel Berry. His original was from the iron-works, as a clerk or overseer; betook himself to the wars on the Parliament side; profited greatly in his undertaking, and advanced his interest very far; who, though he wore not the jester's coat, yet, being so ready to act his part and please his general, in time he became a colonel of horse in the army, afterward a major-general of divers counties, a command fit for a prince, wherein he might learn to lord it in an arbitrary way beforehand at his pleasure.

Colonel Cooper, some time a shopkeeper, or salter, in Southwark, a member of Thomas Goodwin's church, one formerly of very high principles for common justice and freedom, like his brother Tichborn. The army, then in Scotland, sending into England for faithful, praying men to make officers of, the honest people in the borough recommended him to the general in order to have a command who accordingly went down, but left his principles behind him, and espoused others; was made colonel at the first dash, and, though he began late, yet hath so well improved his interest, that he hath already gotten as many hundreds per annum as he had hundred pounds when he left his trade. He hath a regiment of foot in Scotland, and another in Ireland, where he is major-general of the North, in Venables's room, and governor of Carrickfergus, so as he is in a very hopeful way to be a great man indeed.

Alderman Pack, then Sir Christopher, now Lord Pack. His rise formerly was by dealing in cloth; near the beginning of the Long Parliament was made an alderman; was then very discreet, and meddled little, more like a neuter or close malignant than a zealot for the cause; was a commissioner of the customs, also sheriff and lord-mayor of London, next after Alderman Viner. The Protector taking on him the government, the sunshine of the new court

pleased him, and brought him in full compliance. He was one of the last Parliament, and zealous to re-establish kingship in the person of the Protector, and judged the only meet man to bring the petition into the House, praying him to accept of and take it upon him, which, though he then refused, yet, as is reported, hath since repented his then refusal.

Alderman Tichborn, then Sir Robert, knight of the new stamp, now Lord Tichborn. At the beginning of the Long Parliament, when a great spirit was stirring for liberty and justice, many worthy petitions and complaints were made against patentees, the bishops, and the Earl of Strafford. He being the son of a citizen, and young, fell in and espoused the good cause and principles then on foot, and thereby became very popular, and was greatly cried up by the good people of the city, &c. His rise was first in the military way, where he soon became a colonel, and by the Parliament made lieutenant of the Tower of London; and, though he was a colonel, yet never went out to fight, but became an alderman very timely, and then soon began to cool and lose his former zeal and principles, and left off preaching, as his pastor, Mr. Lockyer, did the church, to his brother George Cockain. He was afterward sheriff and lord-mayor in his turn; was also of the committees for the sale of state lands, whereby he advanced his interest and revenue considerably. Out of zeal to the public, he offered the Parliament to serve them freely as a commissioner of the customs, whereby he supplanted another, and planted himself in his room, and then, with the rest of his brethren, petitioned the committee of the navy for a salary, and had it; notwithstanding he was so well rewarded for his pains, after he had pretended to serve them for nothing, yet, with his brother, Colonel Harvey, and Captain Langham, came off bluey in the end. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to dissolve it; one of the late Parliament also. He hath, by degrees, sadly lost his principles, and forgotten the good old cause, and espoused and taken up another; being so very officious for the new court interest, and such a stickler for them, he is become a great favourite; it is not hard to read his change, it being in so great letters. All things considered, he is, no question, fit to be called Lord Tichborn.

Sir Francis Russel, knight baronet of the old stamp, a gentleman of Cambridgeshire, of a considerable revenue. In the beginning of the wars was first for the king, then for the Parliament, and a colonel of foot under the Earl of Manchester; a man, like William Sedgwick, high flown, but not serious or substantial in his principles. He continued in his command till the new model, then took offence, and fell off or was laid aside by them; no great zealot in the cause, therefore not judged honest, serious, or wise enough to be of the Little Parliament, yet was of these latter Parliaments: is also chamberlain of Chester, at about £500 per annum. He married his eldest daughter to Henry Cromwell, second son of the Protector, then colonel of horse, now lord-deputy, so called, of Ireland; another to Colonel Reynolds, a new knight, and general of the English army in France, under Cardinal Mazarin, since, with Colonel White and others, cast away coming from Mardike. There is no question but his principles are for kingship and the new court, being so greatly concerned therein; wherefore it were great pity if he should not also be taken out of the House to be a lord of the other House, his son-in-law being so great a lord, and have a negative voice over Cambridgeshire, and all the people of these lands besides.

Sir William Strickland, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Yorkshire, and brother to Walter Strickland; was of the Parliament a long time, but hath now, it seems, forgotten the cause of fighting with, and cutting off the late king's head, and suppressing the Lords their House, and negative voice. He was of these latter Parliaments, and of good compliance, no question, with the new court, and settling the Protector anew in all those things for which the king was cut off; wherefore he is fit, no doubt, to be taken out of the House and made a lord; the rather, for that his younger brother, Walter, is so great a lord, and by whom, in all likelihood, he will be steered to use his negative voice in the other House over Yorkshire, and the people of these lands, to the interest of the court.

Sir Richard Onslow, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Surrey, of good parts, and a considerable revenue. He was of the Long Parliament, and with much ado, through his policy, steered his course between the two rocks of king and Parliament, and weathered some sore storms. Was not his man taken in his company, by the guard of Southwark, with commissions of array in his pocket from the king, and scurrilous songs against the Roundheads? Yet, by his interest, rode it out till Colonel Pride came with his purge, then suffered loss, and came no more in play till about Worcester fight; when, by the help of some friends in Parliament, he was empowered to raise, and lead as colonel, a regiment of Surrey-men against the Scots and their king, but came too late to fight, it being over. Being popular in Surrey, he was of the latter Parliaments, is fully for kingship, and was never otherwise.



and sticked much among the seventy kinglings to that end; and, seeing he cannot have young Charles, old Oliver will serve his turn, so he have one; so that he is very fit to be Lord Onslow, and to be taken out of the House to have a negative voice in the other House over Sarrey, if they please, and all the people of these lands besides, whether they please or not.

Mr. John Fiennes, son of the Lord Say, and brother to Commissioner Fiennes: brought in, it is likely, for one upon his score, is, in a kind, such a one as they call a secondary, but no great stickler; therefore, not being redeemed from the fear and favour of man, will, it is probable, follow his brother, who is, as it is thought, much steered by his subtlety, his father, that lies in his den, as Thurlow by his Mr. St. John, and will say No with the rest when any-thing opposes the interest of the new court, their power, and greatness, and may therefore pass for one to be a lord, gentleman of Norfolk, of a considerable estate, part whereof came lately to him by the death of a kinsman. He was of these latter Parliaments, but not of the former; had meddled very little, if at all, in throwing down kingship, and hath sticked very much in helping to re-establish and build it up again; and a great stickler among the late kinglings, who petitioned the Protector to be king. His principles being so right for kingship and tyranny, he is in great favour at court, as well as Dick Ingoldsby, and, no question, deserves to be a lord.

Sir Thomas Honeywood, knight of the old stamp, a gentleman of Essex, of a considerable revenue. He was a committee-man in the time of the Long Parliament, and also a military man, and led, as colonel, a regiment of Essex-men to the fight at Worcester; came in good time, and fought well against kingship and tyranny in the house of the Stewarts; was of the last Parliament. He is not so wise as Solon, or so substantial and thorough in his principles for omson, or so rightousness and freedom as Job (chap. xxix.), but rather rightousness and too easy, like a nose of wax, to be sold in his spirit, and the greatest strength is. Being, turned on that side where the greatest strength is. Being, therefore, of so hopeful principles for the new court interest, and so likely to comply with their will and pleasure, no doubt need be made of his fitness to be a lord.

Mr. Hampden, now Lord Hampden, a young gentleman of Buckinghamshire, son of the late Colonel Hampden, that noble patriot and defender of the rights and liberties of the English nation, of famous memory, never to be forgotten, for withstanding the king in the case of ship-money; being also one of the five impeached members which the said king endeavoured to have pulled out of the Parliament, blood. This young gentleman, Mr. Hampden, was the last of sixty-two, which were added singly by the Protector, after the choice of sixty together; it is very likely that Colonel Ingoldsby, or some other friend at court, got a cardinal's hat for him, thereby to settle and secure him to the interest of the new court, and wholly take him off from the thoughts of ever following his father's steps, or inheriting his noble virtues; and as likewise, that the honest men in Buckinghamshire, and all others that are lovers of freedom and justice, that cleaved so cordially to, and went so cheerfully along with his father in the beginning of the late war, might be out of his hopes of him, and give him over for lost to the good old cause, and inheriting his father's noble spirit and principles, though he doth his lands. He was of the latter Parliament, and found right, saving in the design upon which he was made a lord after the rest, and the Protector's pleasure. It is very hard to say how fit he is to be a lord, and how well a negative voice over the good people of this land, and his father's friends in particular, will become the son of such a father, and how well the aforesaid good people, now called sectaries, will like of it; but, seeing it is as it is, let him pass for one as fit to be taken out of the House, with the rest, to have a negative voice, and let him exercise it in the other House over the good people for a season.

K.

*Procession, with ceremony of the Investiture and Installation of His Highness Oliver Cromwell, as by the Parliament appointed to be performed in Westminster Hall, on June 26, 1657, written by me, Edmund Prestwick, of the city of London, an eye and ear witness to all that passed on this glorious occasion. Now set forth by me, John Prestwick, Esq.*

In Westminster Hall, at the upper or south end thereof, there was built an ascent, whereon was placed the chair of Scotland, brought for this purpose out of Westminster Abbey, and here set under a prince-like canopy of state. Before his highness, and below him, was set a table covered with pink-coloured velvet of Genoa, fringed with fringe of gold. On this table, besides the Bible, sword, and sceptre of the Commonwealth, were pens, ink, paper, sand, wax, &c., &c.

Before this table, on a chair, sat Sir Thomas Widdrington, the speaker to his highness and the Parliament. At some distance were seats built scaffold-wise, like a theatre, where, on both sides, sat the members of his highness's Parliament, and below were places for the aldermen of London and the like.

After all things were thus ordered, the Protector came forth out of the council-room adjoining to the Lords' House, and in the order following proceeded into the Hall:

First went his highness's gentlemen, two and two.  
A herald.

Aldermen of London, two and two.  
A herald.

Edmund Prideaux, his highness's attorney-general.  
The judges following of both benches.

John Glyn, lord-chief-justice.

Peter Warburton and Richard Nodgate.  
Justices of the Upper Bench.

Barons of his highness's Exchequer.

Robert Nicholas.  
John Parker.

Roger Hill.  
Norroy king-at-arms.

Commissioners of the Treasury.

Commissioners of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, their officers, &c.:

Commissioner Nathaniel Lord Fiennes, carrying the Seal.

Commissioner John Lord Lisle.

William Lenthall, master of the Rolls.

Officers attending, &c.:

Henry Middleton, sergeant-at-arms.

Mr. Brown and Mr. Dove.  
Garter king-at-arms.

Before the Protector came, first,

Robert earl of Warwick, with the sword of the Commonwealth, bare-headed, on the right hand; and the left, the lord-mayor, Tichborn, carrying the sword of the city of London, bare-headed.

His highness, OLIVER CROMWELL, richly dressed, habited with a costly mantle of ermine, with ermines, and girt with a sword of great value, highness's train supported by three generals, headed, and armed with drawn swords. Close to his highness followed the members of the other House, &c., House of Lords, in order, two and two, in like manner, in order, two and two, were the members of the Parliament, as knights of the counties of the cities, and burgesses of the boroughs and barons of the Cinque Ports, of the Commonwealth, land, Scotland, and Ireland; of which first came England, the county of Middlesex, and the north-berland, and so in like manner.

Besides these were many persons of distinction, and a small number of Scotch and Irish nobles.

## INSTALLATION OF HIS HIGHNESS

The Protector, with loud acclamation, was being seated in the chair of state; on the left stood the lord-mayor, Tichborn, and the Dutch the French ambassador, and Robert earl of the right.

Behind the Protector stood his son, Lord I well; Charles lord Fleetwood, lieutenant-army; John lord Claypole, master of the house; and the privy council, of whom, as were the Earl of Manchester, Lord Wh Mulgrave, the rest being very much their a lower descent stood the Lord-viscount Lague and Whitelocke, with drawn swords.

The heralds, in the name of his highness, commanding silence, then the Protector, in the name of the Commonwealth, Oliver Cromwell, seated to his highness, lined with ermine robe of purple velvet, lined with ermine, mented with bosses and clasps, richly gilded sword; and a sceptre of massy gold. these things, the speaker made a short on and on the ceremonies thereof, which he Protector, dividing them into four parts, 1

"First, the robe of purple; this is an trace, and imports righteousness and justice. This robe is of a mixed colour, to shew justice and mercy. Indeed, a magistrate's hands, *pietentem et amplectentem*, to ch

"Second, the Bible is a book that contains, in which you have the happiness of New. The first shows Christum as *Christum revelatum*; Christ veiled in a book of books, and doth contain both for good government.